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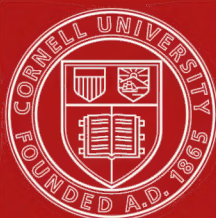
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**Proofs of the interpolation of the vowel**



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*From an original portrait of the Vice President of Trinity College, Dublin,  
presented to him by his former pupils  
in the year 1849.*







PROOFS  
OF THE  
INTERPOLATION OF THE VOWEL-LETTERS  
IN THE  
TEXT OF THE HEBREW BIBLE,  
AND GROUNDS THENCE DERIVED  
FOR  
A REVISION OF ITS AUTHORIZED ENGLISH VERSION.

BY  
CHARLES WILLIAM WALL, D. D.,  
VICE-PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

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"Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path."—Ps. cxix. 105.

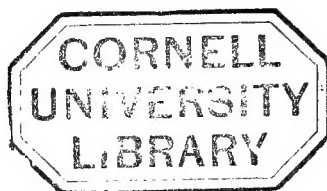
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*ms*

TO  
THE PROVOST, MY BROTHER-FELLOWS, AND THE EX-FELLOWS  
OF  
TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,  
*This Work*  
IS DEDICATED,  
AS A PARTING TRIBUTE OF AFFECTION AND ESTEEM,  
BY  
THEIR AGED FRIEND,  
THE AUTHOR.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,  
*July 1, 1857.*



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## ERRATA.

| Page | 6, line | 7, read | 1638,            | instead of | 1658.            |
|------|---------|---------|------------------|------------|------------------|
| "    | 54, "   | 1,      | is               | "          | it.              |
| "    | 57, "   | 13, "   | <i>Henoch</i>    | "          | <i>Henock.</i>   |
| "    | 67, "   | 26, "   | <i>Δα-υ-ιδ</i>   | "          | <i>Da-vid.</i>   |
| "    | 85, "   | 14, "   | you              | "          | your.            |
| "    | 127, "  | 12, "   | exhibited        | "          | exhibit.         |
| "    | 168, "  | 19, "   | מן               | "          | מן               |
| "    | 329, "  | 9, "    | in our           | "          | of our.          |
| "    | 444, "  | 34, "   | addition         | "          | edition.         |
| "    | 483, "  | 11, "   | said             | "          | read.            |
| "    | 490, "  | 29, "   | Tanaitis         | "          | Tanaitis.        |
| "    | 491, "  | 33, "   | תָּ              | "          | תָּ              |
| "    | 502, "  | 25-6, " | chapters         | "          | passages.        |
| "    | 507, "  | 31, "   | quibus           | "          | uibus.           |
| "    | 520, "  | 3, "    | occurs           | "          | occur.           |
| "    | 538, "  | 36, "   | names            | "          | name.            |
| "    | 553, "  | 17, "   | actions          | "          | action.          |
| "    | 568, "  | 24, "   | <i>περιῶνται</i> | "          | <i>πελιῶται.</i> |

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## INTRODUCTION.

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1. GENERAL VIEW OF THE ADVANTAGES OF THE DISCOVERY HERE UNFOLDED—
2. SOME PREPOSSESSIONS ENDEAVOURED TO BE REMOVED—
3. TRACES OF A PROVIDENTIAL INTERFERENCE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE BIBLE—
4. TWO CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE GOSPEL HISTORY EXPLAINED BY MEANS OF THE PRESENT DISCOVERY—
5. BRIEF NOTICE OF SOME POINTS RELATING TO THE PLAN OF THE FOLLOWING TREATISE.

WHEN through the publication of the *Arcanum punctationis revelatum* by Capellus in 1624, the comparatively modern origin of the vowel-points in Hebrew writing was clearly exposed, vast advantages were expected to result from this disclosure. These anticipations, however, have not been realized. In fact, the Masoretic system was the gradual production of a long series of ages extending from about the seventh or eighth to the twelfth century of our era ; and the Masorets pointed their Scriptures, not only with great care and deliberation, but also with the most scrupulous honesty : so that the misreadings to be laid exclusively to their charge, which have been detected by Hebraists since the period of its having been found that the pointing of the sacred text is to be treated as a work of uninspired, fallible men, are neither extremely numerous nor of the very highest importance. But the case is widely different with regard to the further disclosures made in the following Essay, namely, that the Hebrew Bible, as it issued from the pens of its inspired authors, was written without vowel-signs of any kind, whether points or letters :—that where *Haleph*, *Yod*, and *Waw* are now to be seen in the pointed text useless, and in the unpointed one diverted from

their primary and proper use (of the same general nature as that of all the other elements of the Hebrew alphabet) to the occasional service of denoting vowels, they there constitute no part of the original writing, but were interpolated in it not long after the commencement of the second century ; that this interpolation of vowel-letters, in the main correctly executed, and which contributed essentially to preserving the legibility of the Word of God in the original tongue after the ancient Hebrew had ceased to be spoken as a living language, was yet due to an improvement in orthography which, as of foreign and of Pagan growth, the Jews were at first reluctant to admit even into their ordinary writing, and of which they were at length induced to extend the use to their Scriptures solely from violent aversion to Christianity, and with a view to evade the force of prophecies bearing on the divinity of Jesus and on his identity with the promised Messiah ; that, accordingly, it is in several passages of Holy Writ designedly wrong, and in a great many more is so without design, through the haste with which, from a desire of concealment, the operation was conducted ;—that the Samaritans having also, in imitation of the Jews, introduced vowel-letters by stealth into the Pentateuch, with like precipitation and from like motives, their vocalization abounds with similar faults, both intentional and unintentional ; but that these faults are frequently neither the very same, nor occurring in the same places, as those committed by the Jewish vocalizers ; the two sets of scribes having scarcely agreed with each other, in any other respect but in the feeling they entertained in common, of bitter hostility to the Christian religion. If these particulars be really founded in truth, it is evident that a discovery which, in bringing them to light, strips the vowel-letters or *matres lectionis*, as they are called, of the inspired authority they have, up to the present day, been invested with, and enables us to judge of the readings they confine the original groups to, with the same freedom as we should examine any other merely human exposition of Scripture, must

lead to consequences of the greatest value and deepest interest. These consequences, which serve likewise as proofs, while the matter is analytically investigated, include both the restoration of the true sense of corrupted prophecies, and also the accounting for discrepancies of various sorts, that have hitherto proved most vexatious and perplexing to the learned,—between the Old and New Testaments,—between parallel passages of the Old Testament,—between the Hebrew and Samaritan copies of the Pentateuch,—and between the Hebrew text at large and the translations of it that were made before it was vocalized, namely, the first Greek and Syriac versions.

2. To prepare the reader for an unbiassed consideration of the subject, I shall endeavour to remove a few objections, likely to occur to him at his entrance on this discussion ; and which, for the sake of brevity, I put in the form of questions, with an answer subjoined to each. In the first place, then, it may be asked, when was there a possibility of introducing vowel-letters into the inspired volume secretly and without detection ? In reply to this I admit, that such an operation could not have been attempted while any of the Christians were acquainted with Hebrew, and, consequently, was not practicable in either the first century, or after Origen had in the third century inserted the Hebrew text in one of the columns of his Hexapla ; but in the intervening time the Old Testament in the original language was exclusively in the hands of the Jews, and the use of it confined solely to their learned men ; the great body of the nation being then utterly unable to read, and having the Scriptures read to them only in Greek. The interpolations objected to, may, therefore, have been effected during that interval, with the privacy of but a very small number of individuals.

In the second place, how can the Jews be supposed to have availed themselves of this opportunity to tamper in secret with any part of Holy Writ,—men who have ever shown such a high veneration for the Hebrew Bible and such a scrupulous regard to its exact preservation ? I reply that

they certainly are entitled to the credit of having been most faithful guardians of this Book at every known period of their history except the one here referred to ; and that it is, at first blush, very unlikely that their conduct should have been, at this conjuncture, wholly at variance with what it constantly and uniformly was for numerous ages before and after. But, however strange a fact may appear, before its circumstances are investigated, it must yet be assented to, if sustained by sufficient evidence ; and there is connected with this very case a still stranger fact, of whose reality we, notwithstanding, cannot have the slightest doubt. The Jewish priesthood have been clearly convicted of having at the period in question, from hatred of Christianity, yielded to the temptation of corrupting their Greek Scriptures, in prophecies relating to the Messiah ; and it surely required a more extraordinary and unaccountable degree of rashness on their part, to take liberties with a translation under the public eye, than to make free with the original in secret. Justin Martyr, who wrote in the second century, has transmitted to us some examples of their suppressing, and others of their altering, passages of the Septuagint which the Christians brought forward to identify our Lord with the predicted Messiah ; and his charge against them on the latter point is fully verified by remnants of certain Greek versions made about that time by apostates from Christianity, or Judaizing heretics, and which were introduced into the synagogues to supply the place of the one first composed in that language. For instance, the above-mentioned author, in the account still extant of his disputation with Trypho at Ephesus, expressly accuses the Jews of having, in the remarkable prophecy of Isaiah commencing with the declaration that a virgin should bring forth a son, substituted *νεανίς*, the Greek for ‘a young woman,’ instead of *παρθένος*, which denotes ‘a virgin,’—a substitution which obviously violates the context in divesting the predicted event of a miraculous nature,—and this corruption of the Septuagint, besides being commented on by Jerome, is actually found in

extracts from the spurious versions just alluded to, which are preserved in the writings of Eusebius. The very same corruption, indeed, is attested specially to have existed in the versions of Aquila and Theodotion, by Irenæus, who, as well as Justin Martyr, was a writer nearly contemporary with those translators.

In the third place, if the vowel-letters were introduced surreptitiously into the original text of the Old Testament during the earlier part of the second century, how is it possible that the Christians could have failed to detect this change in the orthography of the books on their return to the cultivation of Hebrew in the course of the third century? My answer is, that we are now able to learn this written language, and the mode of reading it, quite independently of the Jews, by means of grammars founded on information derived from the second and more complete vocalization of the Bible with the system of points gradually invented by the Masorets: but, at the early period under discussion, the Christians had no such aid; and Origen, who led the way in the return to this study, was forced to get all his instruction in it from the Jews, that is, from the very party who were interested in concealing the fact of the interpolations in question having been committed. From the same party also he took the Hebrew text inserted in the first column of his Hexapla; and so highly were his learning and talents then estimated, that what passed current with him on this subject was never after disputed, or thought to require any further examination.

In the fourth place, the reader, even without admitting the divine origin of alphabetic writing, may ask, if the Hebrew system of letters, in its primitive state, was—as I have in a former Essay endeavoured to prove it—a miraculous gift from God, how could it be supposed to have been imperfect in that state? To this I reply, that there is no inconsistency between the two suppositions: the first of them could, indeed, be hardly reconciled with the existence in the system in question, as originally constituted, of positive faults (such as the employment of the



same character with powers of different kinds); but it may, surely, with that of mere defects. The external gifts conferred by the Almighty through natural means are not supplied to us in the state fittest for use, but require the vigilant exertion of our talents in their cultivation and improvement, in order to their producing all the advantages they are capable of affording. Where, then, is the wonder, if the full benefit of one originally conveyed to our species from the same gracious Being, though in a different manner, should be made to depend upon the same proviso? That in this, as in other cases, what we are qualified naturally to effect, we should be left to ourselves to accomplish, is entirely in accordance with the general plan of God's government of the present world, as taught to us by experience: and it is gratifying to observe the benevolence of his designs which is thus indicated; for the exercise of our natural faculties to which he encourages, and, in some measure, compels us, tends to the strengthening and enlarging of those faculties, and thereby contributes to our advancement in the scale of intellectual creatures. Of this even a Pagan writer must have been aware, when he described the manner in which he conceived the Supreme Ruler of mankind to be occupied, in the following terms:—

——“*curis acuens mortalia corda.*”

Had man been unable to rise by his own efforts from a syllabary to a superior alphabet, no doubt this grand instrument of human knowledge would have been given to him from the first, in the state best adapted for preserving the divine revelations. For this purpose, indeed, a more complicated miracle would have been required than that actually wrought, and, while the notion was suggested to the first alphabetic writer of expressing his thoughts by signs of things wholly different from thoughts, there would have been impressed on his mind not only the subdivision of significant words into syllabic sounds destitute of signification, but also the still more subtle decomposition of those sounds again, each of them, into two

parts, one of which (i.e. the consonantal part), taken by itself, is destitute even of sound. But accounts are to be found in the Bible of compound miracles having been displayed, when there were strong reasons for their being of this description. Such, for example, were all those worked by our Lord, in giving sight or speech to persons born blind or deaf. Thus, in performing each of the former class, he conferred on some blind individual not only the faculty of immediately perceiving light and colours, but also the power of instantaneously inferring from the various appearances of those qualities the shapes, sizes, and distances of the surrounding objects ;—a power which is naturally acquired but by 'slow degrees in infancy, and afterwards comes to be exerted with rapidity through the force of habit.<sup>a</sup> Had he, in a case of this sort, granted only sight without the judgment respecting external things which, in the course of nature, is after some time connected with its immediate perceptions, the man he had to deal with would indeed eventually have arrived at the full use of this sense, but in the first instance would have groped about in the same manner as if he was still blind, and have thought everything he saw to be in immediate contact with him, just as those do on whom the surgical operation of couching has been performed, when first the cataracts are removed from their eyes. But in the latter class of miracles referred to, as worked by our Lord, the complexity is perhaps more obvious.

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<sup>a</sup> In the instance recorded in Mark, viii. 23–5, of a complex miracle of the above description, our Lord performed the parts of it separately, having conferred at the first touch sight alone, and at the second the judgment necessary to render that sight available for immediate use. The motive for his making this separation may, possibly, have been to afford a very striking additional indication of the veracity of the historian, as soon as the perceptions employed in the ordinary process of vision should come to be better understood. For the composite nature of those perceptions was entirely unknown to mankind at the period when this account was written; and, therefore, its conformity with that nature could have arisen solely from the strict adherence of the writer to the circumstances of the case, just as they actually came under human observation.

In the case of each of these he at once bestowed to the person he operated on, 1st, the sense of hearing ; 2ndly, the power of articulation which, in the usual course of things, is learned but very slowly in childhood, and, if not then acquired, is never after naturally attained to in perfection ; 3rdly, the knowledge of a language before utterly unknown, and so familiar an acquaintance with it as to both speak and understand the words, with the same fluency and readiness as if he had been accustomed to each use of them all along from his earliest years. But when a miracle of either class was to be performed, if a single one of its ingredients had been omitted, the crowd of ignorant bystanders would not have perceived that any at all had been wrought. So, where the object was to convince the fair-minded spectators of the divinity of our Saviour, there was, in the case of both classes, an obvious reason for the multifold exertion of his almighty power.\* And, in like manner, if a syllabary had not sufficed for preserving at first the Word of God, it may, I submit, be concluded, that the miracle by which the use of syllabic letters was conveyed to the intellect of Moses, would have been carried a step farther ; so as to make him understand a superior mode of writing, and convert his alphabet into one consisting of consonants and vowel-signs.

3. The inferior system, however, answered the purpose for which it was given, during a great length of time, and even for some centuries after the period when the ancient Hebrew became a dead language ; though the difficulty of reading the divine record, while therewith written, increased of necessity, according as men lived at a greater distance from that period. But while, on the one hand, writing which contained no vowel-signs of any kind must be admitted to have been peculiarly defective in reference to a tongue in which the inflexions of

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\* It was not the mere performance of miracles, however stupendous, that proved the divinity of our Lord, but the circumstance of his working them as of himself and by his own authority ; in which respect they differ prominently from those recorded in the Bible as wrought by any other person.

the words depend chiefly on their vowels, so that, if that of the Hebrew Bible had always remained such, the sacred text must at length have become quite illegible; it is worth while, on the other hand, to trace the steps by which frail human beings were made to be unconsciously the agents in averting this evil, as well as in furnishing the means of eventually removing others, in the first instance, resulting from the mode in which the antidote made use of was applied.

In the first place, then, about two centuries after the termination of the Babylonian captivity, and while a considerable number of persons still continued to speak pure Hebrew as their vernacular dialect, Asia was invaded by a people who had introduced into the original alphabet the vast improvement of vowel-letters; and the Jews were, in consequence, forced in spite of their prejudices to learn a species of writing that made them acquainted with the use of such letters.

In the second place, their Scriptures were very soon afterwards translated into the tongue connected with this writing, by the order, as tradition tells us, of a Pagan government, and at any rate in a country in which they and their religion were peculiarly hated and despised. This rendering of the Old Testament into Greek<sup>a</sup>—a language at the time understood throughout the civilized portion of the world—has

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<sup>a</sup> It is a curious and interesting circumstance—which is well assorted, too, with those noticed in my text—that the Greek character, which was originally the same as that of the Phœnicians, and therefore must after its introduction into Europe have undergone great alteration, has been scarcely in the slightest degree changed, since the Bible was first translated into Greek, that is, during a length of time which now exceeds two thousand years. The Rosetta inscription, which is about the same age as the oldest part of the Septuagint, exhibits the elements of its alphabetic portion almost exactly the same as the Greek capitals employed at the present day; the chief difference consisting in the want of cross lines in the *Alphas* and of central points in the *Thetas* of that portion—a defect which most probably did not exist at first, and is to be considered as the mere effect of age. On the contrary, in every kind of ancient Shemitic writing whereof specimens of ascertained different ages have reached us, the letters have been considerably changed in shape within an interval which is very short in comparison with that just referred to.

always been considered most providential in serving the important use of preparing the minds of the Gentiles for the reception of the Gospel; for, though but little studied by heathens of distinguished learning, it was not so neglected by others. Most of those called by St. Luke *devout*—an epithet which, with a slight variation in the form of the original word, he applies to great numbers of both men and women—were converts from Paganism, who, without conforming to the rites and ceremonies of the Jews, had yet become more or less acquainted with the doctrines of true religion, through this very translation, and were led by it to expect the advent of a divine instructor and Saviour of mankind. But a further service may now be perceived to have been performed by the Septuagint, in tending to reconcile the Jews to the use of the Greek alphabet, and render them less averse to borrowing thence, in like manner as other Shemitic nations had previously done, a very important improvement of their ordinary writing. Accordingly, the legends upon extant coins of their country that were stamped during the high priesthood of Simon of the Hasmonæan race, show that they occasionally employed *Waw* and *Yod* as vowel-letters within less than two centuries after the death of Alexander the Macedonian conqueror; and if Hebrew inscriptions of ascertained greater age<sup>a</sup> could be procured, we should most probably find that they commenced this alteration of their original practice still sooner and nearer to that epoch.

In the third place, all their scruples were at length over-

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<sup>a</sup> When Jewish coins dug out of the ruins of Jerusalem were brought under the notice of the public about two hundred years ago, the writers of that day assigned to them an extravagant antiquity; but, after some had been identified as belonging to the number of those which, in accordance with historic information (1 Mac. xv. 6), were stamped during the independent government of Simon, brother of Judas Maccabeus, it was found from a comparison of the characters on these and the rest, that none of them could be so old, as was at first imagined. This conclusion is fully confirmed by the present discovery; for, although some other Asiatic nations making use of syllabaries may have been induced, by observation of Grecian practice, volun-

come by the violence of their enmity to Christians; and they were induced to extend the benefit of this Pagan innovation from their ordinary to their sacred writings in the early part of the second century of our era, on account of the opportunity it afforded them of perverting the sense of prophecies relating to the divinity of Jesus, and to the fact of his being the Christ; as well as from an eager desire to throw discredit on the Septuagint, and thereby weaken or evade the force of arguments drawn from that version in support of Christian doctrines. Their primary object is exposed by the parts of their vocalization that are absolutely unfair; while their secondary one, and less direct attack upon Christianity, is betrayed by the parts that are fair in effect, though very unfair in the motive to which they can be traced: for, wherever the words of the text in its original state could be read in any respect variously without altering the general purport of a sentence, they almost constantly vocalized the groups for a different form of expression from that indicated by their Greek rendering; and so contrived to give the Septuagint the appearance of a loose, inaccurate translation, where it did not, in the remotest degree, deserve that character. But by far the greater number of their intentional deviations from this version are of the latter description, those of the former kind being, comparatively speaking, very few; and the consequence has most providentially resulted that, in spite of the extreme culpability of the motives by which they were actuated, their work was in the main correctly done. It deserves further to be noticed

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tarily to change them into alphabets of a superior order through the introduction of the irregular species of vowel-letters technically called *matres lectionis*, yet the Jews, who were particularly averse to holding any communication with Pagans, cannot be supposed to have adopted this improvement till they were compelled to learn the benefit of it, by being subjected to the dominion of the Greeks. But all their extant coins exhibit either *Waw*, or *Yod*, or both of these letters, employed as vowel-signs; and, therefore, each must have been stamped subsequently to the period when they came under the yoke of that people.

with respect to the change thus made in the orthography of the Hebrew Bible, that they were induced to adopt it, at a period when Greek had become the mother tongue of the great majority of their nation—as it continued to be for above four centuries after<sup>a</sup>—and when even those of the Jews who still spoke a Shemitic dialect had been making use of vowel-letters in their ordinary writing for above 250 years, and, therefore, could scarcely have retained any longer the power of reading the sacred text, if it remained unvocalized, or in a species of writing, as well as in a language, with which they had long ceased to be familiar. That I have rightly assigned the period when this vocalization of the Bible took place, can be easily proved: for, on the one hand, it certainly was not effected till after the Syriac version was written, and, indeed, could not have been attempted as long as either the Asiatic or European Christians were acquainted with the Hebrew Scriptures, nor, consequently, till after the end of the first century; while, on the other hand, it must have preceded the framing of the spurious Greek versions of the second century, which can now be clearly shown, by their extant remains, to have been fabricated for the very purpose of supporting its unfair parts. But the most remarkable of those versions, and the one in greatest repute with the Jews while they continued

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<sup>a</sup> In an edict of Justinian, passed in the year of our Lord 551—being the 146th of the ‘*Novellæ Constitutiones*,’ and which is also extant in the original Greek—it is enacted that, whereas great tumults had been caused by an attempt of the *Archipherecitæ*, or Jewish chiefs, to innovate upon the established practice, the Jews should not be compelled to hear the Bible in the original Hebrew, but should continue to have it read to them in their synagogues in Greek, or in whatever language might be the vernacular one of each congregation. Hence it appears that, for a considerable length of time, which reached down at any rate to some date later than the middle of the sixth century, Hebrew was an unknown tongue to the great body of the Jews; though the knowledge of it was all along kept up among the more learned class of their priests—a result to which the vocalization of the inspired text about the commencement of this interval must, no doubt, have mainly contributed.

to make use of any Greek translation, namely that of Aquila, was composed during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, and, therefore, before the year of our era 139.

In the fourth place, the vocalization of the Hebrew record with letters having been by far too scanty to keep it permanently legible, we find that, according as a fuller system of vowel-signs became requisite for this purpose, a second one was gradually formed to supply the defects of the first. The Masoretic punctuation being founded on the older vocalization of the text, retains nearly all the errors of that vocalization, and has superadded some of its own : but the latter class of faults the system itself supplies the means of correcting ; and —what is of immense advantage to the Hebrew student—it has preserved and transmitted to us the inflexions of the words, and through them, the grammatic structure of the ancient language. This system, indeed, was framed under the direction of the Jewish priesthood solely for their own use ; but at length it got into the hands of the Christians, who have thereby been rendered quite independent of Rabbinical instruction, and have, in fact, outstripped their first instructors in this study, and attained to a much superior knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures ; so that the custody of those Scriptures has been virtually transferred to them from the Jews.

At every step of this train of events, as far as we have as yet traced them, the hand of an overruling Providence may, I submit, be discerned protecting the Bible, and, for this end, turning even the bad passions of mankind to good account. But there yet remains to be considered a further step, which places this interference in a still more striking light. However valuable the first vocalization was, not only in itself, but also on account of its constituting the groundwork of the second, it, notwithstanding, was attended with the serious evil of the perversion of the sense of certain prophecies of the highest importance. In the fifth place, then, I have to state that provision was made from the very commencement of this evil, for its eventual removal, through the manifestation of the adven-



titious nature of the *matres lectionis* ; by means of which exposure we are enabled to treat the use made of them in the Hebrew Scriptures as an uninspired work, and retain only the good parts of it, separated and purified from the bad. But, although the perverted prophecies afford a strong confirmation of the truth of the discovery in question, when once it has been arrived at through other channels, yet they do not in the first instance lead to it ; because, in the case of obscure passages, we could not venture to trust our judgment in pronouncing them corrupted, till the letters confining them to apparently objectionable senses were previously known to be interpolated elements. Still less would the other class of unfair readings already noticed conduct us at first to this discovery ; because, each of these being consistent with the context, it is only by viewing them in the aggregate that their systematic deviation from the interpretation of the Seventy can be perceived ; but it would never occur to a reader to search for their collective bearing in this direction, till after it was found out, or at least till after some suspicion had arisen, that the letters restricting them to their present meanings, were introduced into the text, since the period when the Septuagint was finished. In order, therefore, that the writing of the sacred record should of itself lead to the detection of the spuriousness of its vowel-letters, it was necessary that it should betray, in its present state, more obvious and glaring instances of their misuse than are exhibited under either of the above heads ; and, consequently, it was requisite to this end, that very gross blunders should have been committed in the first vocalization of the Hebrew Bible, and also that those blunders should have been afterwards retained in all the successive transcriptions of this book, till they answered the purpose for which their occurrence therein appears to have been at first permitted. Now, both these conditions have been completely fulfilled,—as will be shown with regard to each, upon frequent occasions, in the following Essay,—and, moreover, fulfilled in ways which it would be very difficult to account for, upon the ground of human motives.

With respect to the mistakes above alluded to, an immediate cause, indeed, can be assigned for them, in the precipitation with which the old vocalizers executed their task from an anxious desire for its concealment. But what was it that impelled them, through this desire, to such haste? They had, at the time, the original text entirely to themselves: the very language in which it was written was then understood by none of the Christians, and by very few of their own nation, of whom still fewer could decipher it; as its orthography had become obsolete not only to those habituated to Greek, but even to such of them as still continued to make use of Shemitic writing. Truly, the shrewdness for which the Jews are in general distinguished, failed their priests on this occasion in a very remarkable manner. Again, the mistakes I refer to, are of so obvious a nature and so manifestly at variance with the context of the passages in which they occur, that they would have been left uncorrected by no other series of transcribers that ever existed:<sup>a</sup> yet they have, by the Jewish scribes, been fixed, and, as it were, stereotyped; so that the Hebrew text displays them now in very nearly the same state as when it was first

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<sup>a</sup> The framers of our English version indirectly support me in the description above given of the subject in question; as they have taken no notice whatever, in their translation, of the irregularities of the kind alluded to, which are at present to be seen in the Hebrew text,—a mode of proceeding which can be justified solely on the ground of those irregularities being obvious mistakes; and on the same ground that, as translators, they have abstained from intimating those errors, they evidently would, if they had been transcribers of the original record, have removed them. The Masorets, though they have constantly, in such cases, pointed the Hebrew words as if the objectionable letters were not in them, have yet never ventured to omit those letters. The corresponding line of conduct, on the part of our translators, would have been, while they inserted, as they have done, in the body of their work the renderings required by the context, to have subjoined others in the margin, agreeing exactly with the sacred text in its existing state. The contrast here drawn between the Masorets and the English translators does not warrant any censure of the latter party; but it certainly places in a very prominent light the over-scrupulous honesty of the former one.

vocalized. The immediate cause of this fixedness, I admit, is to be found in the scrupulous editorial honesty shown in every instance but one by the scribes in question. But what was it that induced them, in violation of common sense, thus to push their scrupulousness to an extreme that actually amounts to the weakest superstition?—or how did it come to pass, that men of this description should have abandoned their habitual line of conduct, just at the moment when, if they had not done so, the Bible in the original language must have ceased, in the natural course of things, to be any longer legible; and that they should have directly after returned to, and ever since persevered in that line, as the faithful, though blind guardians of this record? Surely, such extraordinary coincidences and combinations of events indicate a design quite distinct from the intentions of those through whose instrumentality it was put in execution;—the design of bringing about an important good, and of providing at the same time means for eventually cleansing it of the evil with which its introduction was at first polluted.

I now pass on to later times and a very different class of agents, not at all chargeable with the same culpability of motives, but still so far of the same character, inasmuch as they were engaged in the execution of part of the same general plan, and had just as little conception, as their predecessors, of the noble end to the achievement of which they were thus contributing. It is evident, that the provision which had been made for the writing of the sacred text leading of itself to the detection of its interpolated elements, could not take effect, till the attention of the learned among the Christians, which had been long drawn off from that writing, should be directed to it again. In the sixth place, then, I have to bring under notice the unqualified preference which Luther and subsequent Protestant writers, while translating the Bible, gave to the original record over all its ancient versions;—a preference which of necessity revived the study of the original language of the Old Testament, and that too under the most

favourable circumstances, after the labours of the Masorets enabled men to acquire a critical knowledge of its structure, quite independently of Jewish instruction. For the dislike of the older translations, shown by the leaders of the Protestant Reformation, it is attempted to account, by the corruptions introduced into the Vulgate with a view to countenancing Papal errors. But, surely, this afforded them no ground of objection against the Septuagint or the Peshitah,<sup>a</sup> neither of which had been so corrupted; while, on the other hand, those learned men must have been well aware, that these two versions had greatly the advantage over the Hebrew text, in its existing state, with regard to several of the prophecies respecting the Messiah;—an advantage sustained not only by internal and external evidence of ordinary kinds, but also in some instances by even the inspired authority of the New Testament. Undoubtedly, their proper course would have been, to make the sacred text the principal standard for their modern translations, but still to deviate thence, whenever the weight of evidence bears decisively against it in favour of its oldest and best versions. But the zeal of our Reformers carried them far beyond this point, in their adherence to the original record as it now stands. To such an extent, indeed, did they, in this respect, stray beyond the bounds of prudence,

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<sup>a</sup> No part of the Peshitah was printed till about thirty years after the publication of Luther's Bible; but the whole of it, if not in print, at least in manuscript, was in the hands of the learned, while several of the principal modern versions due to Protestants were not as yet framed, and in particular before our present authorized English translation came out in the year 1611. Archbishop Ussher, for instance, who was then past the age of thirty, and had been some years previously appointed Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, makes frequent reference in his writings to the Syriac version of the Old as well of the New Testament. And, to go further back, Andrew Masius, who published his Commentary on the Book of Joshua in the year 1574, mentions in his Dedicatory Epistle that in framing it he made use of a Syriac version, and that he had also in his possession, taken from the same version—most probably the Peshitah—a translation of Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Esther, Judith, Tobit, and of a good part of Deuteronomy.

that they, in many instances, unwittingly rendered themselves the aiders and abettors of the Judaizing translators of the second century in supporting the fraudulent parts of the vocalization of the Hebrew Scriptures. Still, it is to be observed, in this as well as in every preceding instance, that the temporary evil of the course here brought under notice is greatly overbalanced by the good which has thence arisen ; namely, the increased spirit of inquiry, with regard to the original text, and increased ability to examine it, which are so eminently calculated, in combination with the other specified means, to lead to the one grand result, the detection of the cause of the present anomalies of that text.

The last step in this series of events to which I shall here advert, as indicating the same design and tending to the same result as those which precede it, is the re-introduction into Europe of the Samaritan Pentateuch, through the exertions of Archbishop Ussher and other eminent scholars, nearly two centuries and a half ago, after the learned had lost sight of it for about a thousand years. Of the high degree in which this event actually drew attention, at first, to the very features of the Jewish copy of the Hebrew text best adapted to disclose the fact of its having been interpolated, we may judge; by the great importance which Bishop Walton attached to a judicious classification of the different sorts of discrepancies subsisting between the two editions of the original Pentateuch, as well as between them and the Septuagint ; and by the anxious desire he expressed, that such a work should be undertaken by some scholar of sufficient ability to give reasonable prospect of its being well executed.<sup>a</sup> He had not,

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<sup>a</sup> The following are the Bishop's words, above referred to—"Quod enim de editione Græca τῶν ο' diximus, idem de exemplari Samaritano optandum, ut doctus aliquis iudicio et linguarum cognitione pollens, et partium studio non abreptus, cui otium et ingenium ad rem tantam aggrediendum suppetit, accurate discrepantias has examinaret, et quænam ex scribarum errore, quænam ex codicum Hebræorum varietate ortæ sint, quænam de industria mutationes factæ, distingueret. Certe qui hoc opus perficeret, magnam à grata posteritate laudem reportaret."—*Prolegom.* xi. 16.

indeed, the slightest notion that a principle should ever be arrived at, which would account for and virtually remove, all at once, the vast majority of the discrepancies in question. But still, the analysis he recommended had a tendency to conduct to this unexpected result : for, if diligently gone through, it must have shown the analyzer that, in the main, the two texts were exactly the same in point of consonants, and differed only in vowel-letters ;—an observation that would have placed him in the direct road to the present discovery, and which now serves powerfully to corroborate the proofs of its truth derived from other sources. But what likelihood was there, in the ordinary course of human affairs, that the Samaritan Pentateuch should have been preserved to answer this end ?—or how can we account, upon the ground of ordinary motives, for the conduct of its vocalizers, in suffering it to yield such decisive evidence as it does of the interpolations they committed ? The Samaritans were, through the earlier portion of their history, scarcely better than Pagans, having, while Antiochus Epiphanes reigned over Syria, gone so far in abandoning the worship of the true God, as to dedicate their temple on Mount Gerizim to the Grecian Jupiter ; and, in later times, severely oppressed, first by the sovereigns of the eastern division of the Roman empire, and afterwards by their Mohammedan rulers, they sunk into the lowest depth of ignorance, and their population dwindled into the most insignificant number ; so that Bishop Walton describes them and their religion as nearly extinct about the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>a</sup> Yet still, not only did they retain, and continue to read their edition of the Pentateuch, but also full evidence is afforded to us, of their having guarded it with the strictest fidelity during the thousand years that it was left in their sole keeping : for Jerome, and some later authors

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<sup>a</sup> “. . . sub Imperatoribus ita fracti et dissipati sunt, ut paucæ ipsorum reliquæ hodie supersint . . . . . ita ut tam gens quam ipsorum religio pene extincta esse videatur.”—*Prolegom.* xi. 5.

extending as far down as the latter end of the sixth century, noticed several points of agreement or disagreement between it and the Jewish edition, which points were found, almost without exception, to hold exactly in the same way between the two texts, on the recovery of the Samaritan one by Europeans, after it had been for so very long an interval out of their possession. Again, the Samaritan scribes, when framing their own vocalization of the Pentateuch, had to a certainty under their inspection that previously applied to it by the Jews ; from which they could not deviate, without affording to those who might at any subsequent period compare the differently vocalized texts, a strong ground of suspicion against the genuineness of the *matres lectionis* in each. To what cause, then, can we attribute their permitting a vast multitude of discrepancies to appear between the two series of interpolations ? It is true, they hated the Jews ; but they could not expose the Jewish fraud without affording at the same time evidence of that committed by themselves. To me, I confess, it appears that the difficulties involved in the consideration of the several occurrences here brought together under view, cannot, any of them, and still less all, be satisfactorily explained, except by referring those events, and the manner in which they have been interwoven and combined, to the interposition of the Almighty, directing natural means to the protection of the Bible ;—an interposition which, as it was more called for, so it has been likewise rendered more visible, by the very defectiveness of the alphabetic system with which he permitted his revealed Word to be, in the first instance, committed to writing.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Some points in the above historic sketch will be more fully discussed, and others therein omitted will be supplied on a future occasion, if it should please God, in the exercise of his gracious providence, to grant me a continuance of life and health sufficient for writing a supplementary volume, to complete this Treatise. There are, indeed, certain portions of the investigation itself on which also I would wish to enlarge, if an opportunity of so doing should be thus allowed me.

4. Here I take the opportunity of noticing two points connected with the Gospel-history of our Lord, not at all as proofs that the Hebrew Scriptures were unvocalized at the period when he dwelt in human form upon earth, but as fully according with, and accounted for, by that fact. The first is the great difficulty there was then found in deciphering the inspired text, as indicated not only by the multitudes of scribes and lawyers mentioned in the New Testament (of whom the former class had to read, as well as write that text, and the latter to expound it), but also by the extreme surprise which the Jews expressed, at seeing part of it read by a person in the humble station of life in which Jesus was brought up. "Whence hath this *man* this wisdom . . . . . is not this the carpenter's son?" In the case, indeed, of the incident which drew forth this exclamation from them, and which is related by three of the Evangelists, their astonishment is, by St. Matthew and St. Mark, described only in general terms, as produced by what he taught upon the occasion (Matt. xiii. 54, and Mark, vi. 2); but St. Luke more particularly informs us of that teaching, that it commenced with the reading out of a passage of Isaiah (Luke, iv. 16); and St. John, in recording a similar transaction, expressly states that the amazement of his countrymen was excited by their perceiving that our Saviour understood the use of the elements of the sacred writing:—"Now, about the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the temple, and taught: and the Jews marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters . . . ?"—John vii. 14, 15.

The other point to which I request attention, is the circumstance recorded by St. Luke, of our Lord's addressing to a certain lawyer two questions regarding the 'Law,' or Hebrew Pentateuch, which, if the text of that work was then in the same state as it now is, would have been in effect identical, and, consequently, one of them superfluous:—"He said unto him, What is written in the Law? how readest thou?" (Luke, x. 26). Nor can the second question, for the sake of getting



rid of its apparent redundancy, be assumed to mean, ‘What construction putteth thou on that which is written?’ For, to judge by the style of the Evangelist, the verb used by him, to give such a signification to the clause, would have been *ἐξηρμηνεύεις* or *ἐκτίθης*; while the one which occurs in this place, *ἀναγινώσκεις*, and which is always employed by him to denote the act of reading, is in many passages of his confined beyond a doubt by the context exclusively to that act.<sup>a</sup> Still, it is extremely improbable that any sentence ever dropped uselessly from the mouth of Jesus Christ,<sup>b</sup> of whom it was allowed, even by his enemies, that he expressed himself as no being, merely human, ever spake. The difficulty, however, of this case is wholly removed by considering the state of the sacred text at the period referred to: for each line, being then utterly unvocalized, admitted of having its several words pronounced with different inflexions, and of thereby conveying a variety of meanings; so that, granting the lawyer questioned in this instance to have known the series of alphabetic characters written on the subject of his own inquiry, he had yet to exert his judgment in determining by the context, how that portion of the Hebrew Scriptures was to be read; and the second question he was asked by our Lord thus turns out to have been quite distinct from the first.

5. I shall close this Introduction with a few remarks on the ensuing investigation. In the first place, no interpolation of the Hebrew text is therein brought under the reader’s notice,

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<sup>a</sup> As, for instance, the question of Philip, the deacon, to the eunuch—“Understandest thou what thou readest?”—(Acts, viii. 30)—is, in the original writing of St. Luke, *ἀρὰ γε γινώσκεις ἢ ἀναγινώσκεις*; where *ἀναγινώσκεις* not only is used without reference to the meaning of what the eunuch was reading, but is actually contradistinguished to a verb having such a reference.

<sup>b</sup> The above observation is not intended to apply to pleonasms with regard to particles, and other subordinate words, which the idiom of the dialect spoken by our Lord during his visible residence on earth may have required him to make use of; but it is opposed to any redundancy of complete expressions in his speech.

or, at any rate, none is pressed upon his attention as adding weight to my argument, when its exposure is not supported by ancient testimony.

In the second place, the records I have principally consulted, in addition to the Jewish and Samaritan Bibles, are the Septuagint and the Peshitah ; because these are the only versions that were written before the Hebrew text was vocalized. The Samaritan version, indeed, was supposed by Dr. Kennicott to be older than either of these ; but it can be clearly shown to have been composed in accordance with the erroneous parts of the vocalization of the Samaritan edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, and therefore subsequently to the period when that vocalization was effected. For a similar reason the very oldest of the Targums, namely Onkelos's and the first part of that called Jonathan's, could not have been written till after the Jewish edition of the Hebrew Bible was vocalized. For, although in those Targums, and more especially in that of Onkelos, some passages are correctly rendered according to the tenor of the Septuagint, and in opposition to gross violations of the context produced by the existing use of the *matres lectionis* in the original Scriptures, yet it is plain, from the fairness of mind in those instances displayed by the translators, that they would have much oftener abided by the authority of the Seventy Interpreters, where it is manifestly supported by the context, if they had lived before the introduction of vowel-letters into the sacred text ; as in that case their judgment would not have been fettered and cramped by the incorrect parts of a vocalization erroneously ascribed to inspired penmen. But, notwithstanding the inferiority of these versions to the first-mentioned pair in the service of exposing the spurious nature of the *matres lectionis* in the Hebrew Bible, they still are of some use for that purpose ; as are also the extant fragments of the various Greek versions successively written during the second and beginning of the third century, in support of this very vocalization, and which the priests of the Jews got composed, or at any rate patronized and endeavoured

to bring into repute, in the vain hope of thereby supplanting the Septuagint. Moreover, the Vulgate or Latin version of Jerome, when cleared of the corruptions introduced into it since his time, has likewise been of service to me. Nearly all the rest of the extant ancient versions appear to have been taken from that of the Seventy; and so are useful rather with a view to establishing the superior correctness of the Septuagint,<sup>a</sup> or with that of restoring some of its mutilated passages, than for the purpose of recovering the primitive state of the original record. Two, indeed, of the Arabic versions are not of this secondary nature, but are at least in part translated immediately from the Hebrew Bible; namely, that first printed in the Parisian, and afterwards, with some corrections, in the London Polyglot, and that composed by Saadiah; but these can hardly be classed among ancient versions, as neither of them was written till the tenth century, or consequently till near eight centuries after the insertion of the *matres lectionis* in the Hebrew text. The editions I have consulted of the Septuagint are the Vatican and the Alexandrian, but chiefly the former one. When the latter is made use of, the circumstance is expressly stated. Of all the modern versions of the Bible, the present Authorized English one is, I believe, upon the whole, by far the best; others, however, at times, are also referred to.

In the third place, the following particulars are to be noticed in my mode of dealing with the elements of Hebrew writing:—1. I employ for the Samaritan, as well as the Jewish representation of Hebrew words, the ordinary square character, as likely to be more familiar to the reader than the Samaritan letters; and also because it facilitates the comparison of two exhibitions of the same Hebrew word, or sentence, to have then presented to the eye in the same character. 2. To distinguish the *matres lectionis* from the original letters of the

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<sup>a</sup> The Coptic version will be found applied to the above use in the chapter of this Essay regarding the nomenclature employed in the Hebrew Bible.

sacred text, when this service is not effected by means of points, they are in such cases exhibited in an open type : but when there is room for any uncertainty whether an unpointed character be used as a vowel-letter or not, it is printed in the ordinary way. 3. Letters ascertained to be erroneously inserted in the text are not erased from it, but marked with a little circle placed over them : and, on the other hand, letters wanted in the text, and now restored to it, are inclosed within brackets. 4. The initial letters of proper names are printed in a larger form than their remaining elements, when they are not exhibited in a separate state, but given in connexion with other words ; and the sentences are divided by the notes of pauses employed in modern European typography, with the sole difference of the commas and the lower part of the semicolons having their direction changed to accord with that of Hebrew writing. I venture upon the former innovation for the purpose of avoiding the confusion sometimes occasioned by the want of some distinction to the eye between the proper names and other nouns ; and upon the latter, on account of the very perplexing and occasionally erroneous use made of the Hebrew accents as signs of stops. Moreover, notes of interrogation likewise tend to facilitate the process of reading, for which reason I introduce them also (with their direction of course changed) into this writing ; and I feel the less hesitation about extending to it all those modern improvements, because, if rightly applied, they afford some assistance to the reader, but, if wrongly, there is little danger of their misleading him ; as they have no pretension to antiquity, and still less to inspired authority, so he need not follow their guidance any farther than he finds it supported by the context. The like changes were long since introduced into the Septuagint ; and, surely, there is fully as much reason for applying them to the writing of the original record. Persons who object to their adoption, from a reluctance to allow any alteration whatever in the mode of printing the sacred text, should be reminded that it was, till many centuries after the commencement of the Christian era,

written, every line of it, as one long word without any separation of the letters into groups corresponding to its several words ; and, therefore, if they still adhere to their objection, they ought, consistently with their own view of the matter, to revert to the older very inconvenient method of exhibiting the text undistributed into distinct groups.

In the fourth place, for the convenience of persons not familiar with Hebrew, the words of this language are occasionally transcribed into European groups of letters denoting the same combinations of articulate sounds. In such cases, the number of letters in each original group is represented by that of capitals in the transcribed group ; and, consequently, whenever any element is doubled in pronunciation which is single in the Hebrew writing, or whenever its power is expressed by two European letters, the repetition of it, or the second ingredient of its phonetic value, is denoted by a Roman character of the ordinary shape. Moreover, in those transcriptions, whenever any vowel-sounds are not represented by letters separately applied to their expression in the original groups, they are denoted in the transcribed ones by *Italics*.

In the last place, with regard to other uses I make of *Italics*,—in the case of translated sentences, they are employed to intimate that the words therewith printed have none to correspond with them in the original lines, not only as in our English Bible, where they are suggested by the context, but also when they can be supplied on any other sufficient ground ; but in instances of the latter kind the authority for their insertion is notified. In sentences, not given as translations, *Italics* are used in the ordinary manner, for the purpose of directing attention to certain words ; while in translations the same object is effected by means of capitals.

It is unnecessary here to dwell at any length upon the particulars just enumerated ; since such of them as appear to require elucidation will be more fully explained in the first of the ensuing chapters.

P R O O F

OF

THE INTERPOLATION OF THE HEBREW TEXT

WITH VOWEL-LETTERS,

&c. &c.

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CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY PHILOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

BRIEF REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF HEBREW PHILOLOGY—ANALYSIS OF SUCCESSIVE CHANGES IN THE PRONUNCIATION OF HEBREW—ON THE EARLIER CONSONANTAL POWERS OF SOME OF THE HEBREW LETTERS—REMARKS ON THE VOCAL VALUES OF CERTAIN HEBREW LETTERS—SOME ILLUSTRATION OF THE EVIL EFFECTS OF THE DIAPHONISM OF װ—ANALOGY OF THE HEBREW ACCENTS TO THE OLDEST GRECIAN MUSICAL NOTES—NEW CLASSIFICATION SUGGESTED OF THE MASORETIC VOWEL-POINTS—CORRUPT STATE OF PRONUNCIATION OF THE SYRIAC MATRES LECTIONIS—ON SOME PECULIARITIES OF ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION OF VOWELS—ON THE PRESENT, COMPARED WITH THE FORMER, POWERS OF *J* AND *V*—A REQUISITE CHANGE IN THE ENGLISH TRANSCRIPTIONS OF HEBREW NAMES—USE IN HEBREW WRITING OF THE *WAW CONVERSIVE OF THE FUTURE*—ANALYSIS OF THE STRICT MEANING OF THE *WAW CONVERSIVE OF THE PAST*—BRIEF NOTICE OF THE HEBREW *PROPHETIC FUTURE*—FIRST CLASS OF FAULTS IN THE AUTHORIZED ENGLISH VERSION—SECOND CLASS OF FAULTS IN THE AUTHORIZED ENGLISH VERSION—THIRD CLASS OF FAULTS, AND BENEFIT OF AN ADDITIONAL USE OF ITALICS—FOURTH CLASS OF FAULTS IN THE AUTHORIZED ENGLISH VERSION.

**A** KNOWLEDGE of the principles of grammar commenced so late among the Jews, that it can be clearly traced to its origin, and the individuals specified who introduced it among them. In reference chiefly to this point I give, through the medium of Conant's translation, the following extract from the

grammatic treatise of Gesenius (in which it is inserted from another work of his entitled *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*); as it comes from the pen of the latest author who has with ability, though not without prejudice, touched upon the subject; and as it, after a few corrections, brings well together a number of particulars occasionally referred to in the ensuing pages, for whose explanation I should, otherwise, have to cite various authorities.

“After the extinction of the Hebrew as a spoken language, and the nearly contemporaneous collection of the books of the Old Testament, the Jews applied themselves to the preparation of *translations* of this, their sacred codex, and to the *criticism* and *interpretation* of its text. The oldest version is that of the so-called Seventy interpreters: it was executed by several translators, and at different periods of time. The work was begun with the translation of the Pentateuch, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, at Alexandria: it was designed to meet the wants of the Jews residing in Alexandria and other Grecian cities, and was made, in part, from knowledge of Hebrew whilst it was yet a living language. At a later period, the Chaldee translations, or *Targums* (תרגומין, i. e. translations) were made in Palestine and Babylonia. The *interpretations*, drawn in part from alleged traditions, relate almost exclusively to civil and ritual laws, and to doctrinal theology. These, as well as the equally unscientific *observations* on various readings, are preserved in the *Talmud*, of which the first part (Mishna) was composed in the third century of the Christian era, but the second part (Gemara) not till the sixth.<sup>a</sup> The lan-

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<sup>a</sup> The above dates appear to be fixed too early by at least two centuries. From the active and persevering spirit of Jerome it is clear that, if any of the *Targums*, or Chaldee versions, had been composed before the termination of his life, he would have carefully studied their contents, and have transmitted to us in his writings some account of those versions. From his total silence, therefore, respecting them, it may be fairly inferred, that none of the *Targums* came into existence till after his death, in the year of our era 420; but of the works above referred to the commentaries were most probably written still

guage of both is a mixture of Hebrew and Chaldee [and in neither does the slightest mention whatever occur of any of the vowel-points, wherein it is evident, from the nature of the subjects treated of, that they must have been noticed, had they been in existence before those works were ended].

“To the period of time between the conclusion of the Talmud and the age of the first writers on the grammar of the [Hebrew] language belongs, chiefly, the application of vowel-signs to the text.\* Of the same period is the collection of critical observations called the *Masora* (מסורה, *traditio*), by which the received text of the Old Testament was settled, and from which it bears the name of the *Masoretic text*. The various readings of the *Qeri* [or words inserted in the margin as they should be *read*, instead of the *Kethib*, i. e., their corruptions as at present *written* in the text] are the most important portion of the *Masora* [but the most valuable result of the labours of the critics who composed this work undoubtedly was the introduction of the vowel-points, which are called,

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later than the versions. Besides, in more immediate reference to those commentaries, it may be stated, that the Jewish traditions comprising the *Mishnah*, or secondary law (called in Greek *Deuterosis*), were not committed to writing till after the death of Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, in the year 430, as appears from the following passage in his works:—“Nescit autem [adversarius] habere præter Scripturas legitimas et propheticas Judæos quasdam traditiones suas, quas non scriptas habent, sed memoriter tenent, et alter in alterum loquendo transfundit, quas Deuterosin vocant.”—*Augustinus contra adversarium Legis et Proph.*, lib. II. cap. i. sect. 2. The question when the *Gemara*, a work later written than the *Mishnah*, was finished, is now of little interest, further than as it supplies a limit to the antiquity of the Hebrew vowel-points, the formation of the oldest of which, it is at present very generally admitted, did not commence till after both parts of the Talmud had been completed.

\* A limit is above correctly applied to the time of the commencement of the system of Hebrew vowel-points, but that of its completion must be placed at least two centuries later than the period when the first Hebrew grammar was written: for nearly three centuries elapsed after that epoch before any grammatic work of the Jews was composed in which technical names for all of those points are to be found; and, as such names were given to some of



after them, *Masoretic*, although they only commenced this system of vocalization, and left it to be completed by their successors, the grammarians].

"The first attempts to illustrate the grammar of the language were made, after the example of Arabian scholars, in the tenth century. What was done by *Saadia* in this department is wholly lost. But there are still extant, in manuscript, the works of *R. Juda Chiug* and *R. Jona ben Gannach* composed in the Arabic language. Aided by these labours of his predecessors, *R. David Kimchi* acquired among Jewish scholars his reputation as the classical grammarian of the language. From these earliest writers on the subject are derived many of the methods of classification and of the technical terms which are still employed; e.g., the use of the forms and letters of the verb פִּעַל (formerly employed as a paradigm) in designating the conjugations and the different classes of irregular verbs; the *voces memoriales*, as בִּגְדֵי כְּפֹת, &c.

"*R. Saadia Gaon*,<sup>a</sup> Rector of the Academy at Sora, near

them at an early stage of the invention, it is not at all likely that the rest should have been left without designations of the same kind for any considerable length of time. Upon this subject Cappellus makes the following observations: "— antiquissimæ notæ Masorethicæ, quum punctorum meminerunt, non alia usurpant eorum nomina, præterquam ista, Cametz et Pathach. Sub Cametz enim illi complectuntur Tseri, quod vocant Cometz parvum; sub Pathach autem comprehendunt Segol, quod ab eis vocatur Pathac parvum (imo vero sic etiam loquuntur antiquiores grammatici Judæi, qui ante quinque vel sex sæcula scripserunt). Reliqua puncta vocant *i, o, u*, atque ea solent sic experimere יִי, יִי, יִי, יִי, יִי, יִי; eorum vero nomina [scil. Khireq, Kholem, Shureq, Khireq parvum, &c.] non occurrunt, nisi in posterioris ævi grammaticis recentioribus ante annos 300, aut 400."—*Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum*, lib. i. cap. 12.

\* "*Gaon* (i. e. *excellent*) was the title given to those who presided over the schools of Jewish learning in Babylonia. Bishop Walton tells us of *Saadia* (Proleg. xiv. 15), that he translated the entire of the Hebrew Scriptures into Arabic, written by him in Hebrew letters; of which version the Pentateuch was printed by the Jews at Constantinople about the middle of the sixteenth century. This people were, by Mohammedan oppression, driven from Babylonia about a hundred years after the death of *Saadia*; and, in the

Babylon (obiit A.D. 942), wrote *Liber Linguae Sanctæ*, known only from the quotations of the Rabbins. *R. Juda Chiug*, styled *caput sive princeps grammaticorum*, was a physician at Fez about the year 1040. He composed some treatises on difficult points in grammar; e.g., *De verbis quiescentibus, geminatis*, in the Arabic language [the author here mentions his having seen a manuscript copy of these works at Oxford]. *R. Jona ben Gannach*, physician at Cordova about 1120, wrote the first complete grammar, with the title *Liber Splendoris*, کتاب اللّمع, which is also found in manuscript (though very indistinct) at Oxford. Even in this early work the arrangement is made with reference to the three parts of speech [of course it is, as having been derived immediately from the grammatic system of the Arabians, who distributed the parts of speech into verbs, nouns, and particles, deviating in this respect from the Grecian models from which they had received their first notions on the subject]: it was afterwards translated by other Rabbins into Hebrew. *Liber Supplementi* is the title of another grammatical work of this writer, intended as a supplement to *R. Chiug De verbis quiescentibus*. *R. Aben Ezra* of Toledo (ob. 1174), the most thinking, sagacious, and unprejudiced of the Rabbins, wrote on grammar סֵפֶר מֵאֵינִים [*book of scales*], and סֵפֶר צְהוּת (*book of purity, or correctness*). *R. David Kimchi* flourished about 1200 in (the then Spanish) Narbonne. He wrote מְכֻלֵּל (*Perfectio*), containing a lexicon and grammar. *Elias Levita*, a German who taught at Padua, Rome, Venice (ob. 1549), first admitted the modern origin of the vowel-points,<sup>a</sup> and was, in consequence, accused of

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list above given of their subsequent Rabbins who were most distinguished for learning, we may track them in their flight to Morocco and thence to Spain, which latter country was for a long time their principal place of residence in Europe.

\* Elias Levita himself appealed to earlier Jewish writers, and more especially to Aben Ezra and Kimchi, in support of his theory. Whether he represented the sense of the passages he quoted from their works unfairly

heresy. He wrote *Liber Electi, Capita Eliæ*, and many other grammatical works.

“The father of Hebrew philology, among Christians, was the celebrated *Reuchlin* (ob. 1522), to whom Greek literature also is so much indebted. He, however, as well as *Sebast. Münster* (ob. 1552) and *Joh. Buxtorf* (ob. 1629), adhered closely to Jewish tradition. *Lud. Cappellus* (ob. 1658) led the way to the opposite extreme—a rash distrust of this source of knowledge, and especially of the authority of the vowel-points. . . . . He maintained, with *Elias Levita*, the modern origin of those points, and in some instances called in question

(as was subsequently asserted by the opponents of Cappellus, and seems to be implied in the above statement of Gesenius) or fairly, it is not very material now to decide; at all events he did not succeed in convincing either his countrymen, or the public at large, of the justness of his views. The first writer who completely established the modern origin of the Hebrew points was Cappellus; but even his very able treatise on the subject did not, at the outset, meet with general assent. The Romanists, indeed, sided with him; because they thought that the vagueness of style produced in the Hebrew text, by divesting it of points, favoured their doctrine of the necessity of an infallible guide in the Church for the interpretation of Scripture; while the Protestants, on the other hand, for the opposite reason, took up warmly the opposite side of the question: and the then Calvinistic Church of Switzerland went even so far as to compel its clergy to avow a belief in the inspired authority of the points and their coequality with the letters of the sacred text; as may be seen fully attested in the following extract:—“*Sed ista Cappelli sententia [de novitate scil. punctorum] adeo non approbata fuit fidei sociis, ut potius Helvetii theologi et speciatim Genevenses, anno 1678, peculiari canone caverint, ne quis in ditione sua minister Ecclesiæ recipiatur, nisi fateatur publice textum Hebræum, ut hodie est in exemplaribus Masoreticis, quoad consonantes et vocales, divinum et authenticum esse. Confer Acta Erudit. anno 1686, p. 439, et Gilb. Burnetum in Epistolis Itinerariis, p. 152.*” *Wolfii Bibliothec. Heb. Pars ii. p. 27.* But the violence of party zeal which gave rise to this unprotestant and despotic infringement of the right of private judgment, gradually subsided, according as it came to be known that the sense of the Hebrew text could be determined with as much certainty, though not with as much ease, in unpointed as in pointed editions; and the modern origin of the vowel-points is now very generally admitted on all sides by the learned.

their correctness. Some of his partisans and followers wholly discarded them."<sup>a</sup>—*Grammar of Gesenius*, sec. 3.

From the foregoing historic sketch may be deduced—what I have in a former essay endeavoured to prove from the internal evidence of the case—that the inspired authors of the Hebrew text had no acquaintance with any technical rules of grammatic composition. In fact, no systematic collection of such rules was framed till long after the times in which they severally wrote : and the cultivation of grammar, we here see, was not taken up by the Jews till about the middle of the tenth century, when its rudiments were first communicated to them through one of their countrymen who derived his knowledge of it from the literature of the Arabians ; nor was this information conveyed to them through any other channel than a foreign dialect, till about 200 years later. Although the title of Masorets is, in this sketch, confined to Jewish writers who lived in the interval between the period when the Talmud was finished and the middle of the tenth century, yet it is usually employed in a more extended sense to include also the scribes who immediately preceded and followed those critics ; namely, on the one side, the Talmudists who, like

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\* In the above passage our author betrays a strong prejudice against Capellus, not only in withholding from him the credit to which he was eminently entitled, of having been the first to make generally known to the learned the modern origin of the vowel-points, but also in implicitly charging him with faults for which he was not answerable—those of some injudicious men who, because they found, through his valuable treatise on the subject, that the Hebrew points were not invested with inspired authority, rashly inferred that they were of no weight or use whatever. With respect to the various imaginary systems of vowel-letters to which this unwarranted inference gave birth, they at first, indeed, caught the attention of the public, through the flattering prospect held out of their making Hebrew as easy to read as any species of European writing : but totally at variance, as they all are, with the general mode, which subsists to this day, of reading the kinds of writing employed in such of the cognate dialects as still continue living languages, and resting on no better ground than mere arbitrary assumption, they have long since fallen into merited neglect.

them, relied entirely on tradition, and wrote many observations of the same kind as are contained in the Masora ; and, on the other side, the succession of early grammarians that reached down to the middle of the twelfth century, or till about the time when the system of vowel-points was completed. Accordingly, this system is termed *Masoretic*, although only begun by the authors strictly called Masorets, and finished by a later series of philologists, to whom the same denomination is loosely applied.

Here it may be observed, that great advantage has resulted from the application of the vocalic points to the letters of the sacred text, in transmitting the Hebrew inflexions of words on which the grammatic structure of the language depends, and in thus enabling us, quite independently of Jewish instruction, to examine the meaning of each sentence of that text with critical accuracy. But it would be going much too far in praise of the Masoretic system of vowels to assert that it has completely preserved the ancient pronunciation of Hebrew, or kept it exactly the same as it was from the very outset. On the contrary, external evidence which is accessible to us on the subject serves to show that, in the course of a vast number of successive ages, some changes have taken place in this respect ; but still, that they are not such as, in the least, to affect the sense of Scripture. To satisfy the reader on both points, but more especially on the latter, a brief discussion of a few examples is subjoined.

The oldest memorial we have in European writing of a Hebrew sentence is, I believe the exclamation of our Lord upon the cross,—“My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?”—recorded by St. Matthew in the original sounds, *Ηλι, Ηλι, λαμα σαβαχθανι* ;<sup>a</sup> a comparison of which with the same

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<sup>a</sup> Whatever may have been the reason for our Saviour's addressing his Heavenly Father on the above occasion in the pure Hebrew words, *Heli, Heli*, rather than in those of the same signification, *Halohi, Halohi*, in the dialect spoken at the time by the Jews ; his having done so accounts for the circum-

exclamation as predicted in the twenty-second Psalm, אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי לִמָּה עֲבַתְנִי, and with the Masoretic reading thereof, HēLI, HēLI, LaMaH HaZaBTaNI, both proves the whole quotation, excepting the root of the verb, to be pure Hebrew, and verifies in a very striking manner, as far as this example goes, the correctness of the system of vocalization by means of points, as well as that of the older and more scanty one by means of letters.\* Only two very minor innovations of the Masorets, or the critics who preceded them, are here exposed. According to their system, the first syllable of the verb should have been written σε instead of σα, with the Α changed to a very short Ε on account of the affix; and the letter representing the Hebrew affirmative for the second person ought to have been changed from θ to τ, to indicate that the original character was here deprived of the aspirate part of its power in consequence of its immediately following a syllable ending with a consonant; neither of which variations, the quotation from St. Matthew clearly attests, had come into use as early as the period when he wrote. But these are obviously mere phonetic niceties, and do not in the slightest degree interfere with either

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stance, mentioned by St. Matthew, of some of the bystanders misunderstanding him, with respect to the person he invoked. Now, St. Mark notices the very same mistake: whence, I submit, there is strong reason to suspect, that he too wrote the words of the address in question in Greek characters expressive of pure Hebrew, in like maner as St. Matthew, and that they were afterwards altered by some transcriber from Ηλϰ, Ηλϰ, to Ελωι, Ελωι, on the erroneous assumption that our Lord's exclamation must have been uttered by him in the language then in common use among his countrymen. This inference is supported not only by the internal evidence of the case, but also by the testimony of the Peshitah; in which the whole of the original exclamation is quoted in exactly the same words from St. Mark's Gospel as from that of St. Matthew. I may, perhaps, in a subsequent chapter return to the consideration of the Syriac representation of this exclamation.

\* The older vocalization of the text by means of letters is above adverted to merely as a matter of fact which cannot be disputed by any one accustomed to read unpointed Hebrew; but a direct inquiry into the question, whether such vocalization existed from the first in the inspired writings of the Old Testament, is reserved for the ensuing chapters of this Essay.

the context or the separate meaning of the words they are applied to.

This investigation next brings me down to the age of Origen, whose representation in Greek letters (preserved in a celebrated manuscript of Cardinal Barberini) of the Hebrew text of the first verse of the eleventh chapter of Hosea, I here select for consideration. Of the few extant remains of the second column of his Hexapla, the representation in question is, I conceive, that which can be best depended on for correctness; both because it is taken from a very ancient copy of the Septuagint translation of the Minor Prophets, which Bishop Walton styles *codex vetustissimus*, and ranks for antiquity in the same class with the Cottonian copy of the Book of Genesis (Proleg. ix. 42); and also because it forms part of an extract from the Hexapla,<sup>a</sup> which (as the Bishop informs us in his publication of the whole passage, *Polyglot*, tom. vi. p. 133) is given as a specimen of that work; where the copyist must, of course, have directed particular attention to the accuracy of his transcription. For my present purpose, indeed, only one column of the extract is wanted; but as I may in a subsequent chapter have occasion to refer to other portions of it, I here adduce the entire. The first column, which should exhibit the Hebrew text of the quoted verse in the original character, is omitted in this specimen: the remaining columns stand in the following manner:—

|                                                             |                                                                                                 |                                                                                   |                                                                                                                  |                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Χι νερ Ισραηλ<br>ουεαβηου ου-<br>μεμμεσραϊμ<br>καραθι βανι. | Α. ὅτι παῖς Ἰσ-<br>ραήλ, καὶ ἡγάπη-<br>σα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἀπὸ<br>Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλε-<br>σα τὸν υἱὸν μου. | Β. ὅτι παῖς<br>Ἰσραήλ καὶ ἡγα-<br>πημένος, ἐξ Αἰ-<br>γύπτου κέκληται<br>υἱός μου. | Γ. Οἱ ὁ. διότι νη-<br>πιος Ἰσραήλ,<br>ἐγὼ ἡγάπησα<br>αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐξ Αἰ-<br>γύπτου μετεκάλε-<br>σα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ. | Δ. ὅτι νήπιος<br>Ἰσραήλ, ἐκάλε-<br>σα υἱόν μου. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|

The initials heading the last four columns are used to de-

<sup>a</sup> This extract, Bishop Walton states, is written in the margin of the above-mentioned Barberini MS., and, therefore, is probably not as old as the text of that manuscript.

note Aquila, Symmachus, the LXX. translators, and Theodotion. The two circumstances above mentioned tend to support the correctness of the whole of this extract, as well as of the part of it I am now going to make use of; and, before doing so, I subjoin some additional particulars which have the like tendency. First, the order of the columns of the Hexapla is here exhibited the same as it is described by Jerome, in his commentary on the third chapter of the Epistle to Titus: “Unde et nobis curæ fuit omnes veteris Legis libros, quos vir doctus Adamantius [*i. e.* Origenes] in Hexapla digesserat, de Cæsariensi bibliotheca descriptos, ex ipsis authenticis emendare; in quibus et ipsa Hebræa propriis sunt characteribus verba descripta; et Græcis litteris tramite expressa vicino. Aquila etiam et Symmachus, Septuaginta quoque et Theodotio suum ordinem tenent. Nonnulli vero libri, et maxime hi qui apud Hebræos versu compositi sunt, tres alias editiones additas habent; quam Quintam, et Sextam, et Septimam translationem vocant, auctoritatem sine nominibus interpretum consequutas.”—*S. Hieron. Opera*, Ed°. Benedic., tom. iv., col. 437. Secondly, the extract from the Septuagint is here quoted exactly as it is written in the Vatican copy, with the sole exception of *διότι* substituted for its equivalent *ὅτι*. Thirdly, the final part of Aquila’s translation of the verse, where it differs from the Septuagint, is transmitted to us in the same words by Eusebius:—“*δουλεύσας τῷ Εβραϊκῷ—ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου—ἐξέδωκεν ὁ Ακύλας.*”—*Euseb. de Demon. Evang.*, lib. ix., sec. 4. Fourthly, the representation in Greek characters of the Hebrew verse referred to agrees, as far as Greek orthography admits, with the letters of the original text in its present state, except in the absence of the prefix to the last word;—a prefix which the context obliges us to treat as an unmeaning redundant, and whose omission, consequently, produces no alteration in the sense of the passage.

This much being premised, let us now compare the first column of the foregoing extracts,—*Χι νερ Ισραηλ ουεαβηου ουμεμμεσραιμ καθαθι βανι*,—with the Masoretic reading of the



same verse, KI NaHaR YiSRaHeL WaHoHaBeHU WuMiMmiSRaYiM QaRaHThI LiBNI;<sup>a</sup>—and we shall find in like manner, as in my first example, an agreement in essentials, and difference only in matters of very inferior importance. The circumstance of Origen's pronouncing the second word as a monosyllable can be accounted for, by the facility with which two vowels of the same sound, with only a weak aspiration intervening, glide into one in the rapid utterance of ordinary reading; whereas in the Masoretic pointing, which is adapted to the more solemn mode of recitation used in divine service, this word has preserved its dissyllabic form. Besides this difference, some change of pronunciation is here presented to our notice in the interior parts of the words, but not in, what is the main thing to be considered, their inflexions. There is but one exception to this remark: it occurs in the instance of the preformative of HaHaB, which has been regularly vocalized by Origen with a short *E*, while the Masorets have substituted a long *O*, to compensate for the weak power of the initial letter;—a substitution not always adhered to by them in such cases, and which is of very little consequence, as having a reference merely to sound. In the entire passage there is but one innovation of theirs, or their predecessors, which has any effect on the sense; namely, their vocalizing the conjunction *Waw* with an *A*, when employed before a verb in a future form with an influence on the tense; whereas, in whatever way it may be used, Origen is found to have constantly pronounced it *Wu* or *U*,<sup>b</sup> not only here, but also in every other extant instance

<sup>a</sup> If we should, in accordance with Origen's representation of the matter, omit the prefix to the last word of the Hebrew verse, then the Masoretic reading of this word would be BeNI, and would scarcely differ from his expression of its sound.

<sup>b</sup> Origen's mode of denoting the sounds *Wu* and *U* was of necessity the same; as Greek orthography admits of no way of expressing the semi-consonant *W* before *U*; and, consequently, he was compelled to represent each of the two sounds in question by the very same combination *ov*. For a like

of his expression of its sound by means of Greek letters.<sup>a</sup> The distinction thus shown to have been introduced since his time cannot, upon the whole, be deemed injurious; because, if the mode of applying it should give a wrong meaning to a passage, the context would clearly expose the mistake; and, on the other hand, when rightly applied, it is of use, to the extent of pointing out to a reader the tense of a verb at once, and without the trouble of reflection.

My last example shall be from the writings of Jerome. The fullest specimen I have met with, of his mode of reading Hebrew, occurs in an epistle he wrote to Evangelius, a Presbyter, on the subject of the different opinions that were formed respecting Melchizedek; where, coming to that of the Jews, he says:—"Ponam et Hebræorum opinionem; et ne quid desit curiositati, ipsa Hebraica verba subnectam." He then expresses the original words of Gen. xiv. 18-20, in Roman capitals, as follows:—"UMELCHISEDEC MELEC SALEM HOSI LEHEM, VAIAIN, UHU CHOEN LEEL ELION: VAIBARCHEU, VAIOMER; BARUCH ABRAM LEEL ELION CONE SAMAIM VAARES: UBARUCH

reason he could make no distinction between the sounds *Yi* and *I*, but was obliged to denote both of them in common by the Greek vowel *ι*.

<sup>a</sup> The reader, on finding that the prefix *Waw* was formerly pronounced the same way in all its different applications, may perhaps be amused with the *primitive* origin, assigned by grammarians to the distinctive sound with which it is now uttered, when used as *Waw conversive of the future*. "Ortum est hoc præfixum ex verbo substantivo הָרָה, ita ut *primitus* plene dictum sit הָרָה יִקְטֹל, *fuit* (ut) *interficeret*, dein ה (quod etiam Syri in hoc vocabulo supprimunt, וִיִּקְטֹל) abjectum, et וִיִּקְטֹל, ope Dagesch fortis conjunctivi, contractum in וִיִּקְטֹל."—*Gesenii Lexicon Manuale Heb. et Chald.* in loco. The evidence adduced in my text upon this subject plainly exposes the absurdity of the Rabinnical view of it here presented to us by Gesenius and adopted by him. But he betrays nearly as great a defect of judgment in his Syriac illustration of this view. For the *linea occultans* (warning the reader to avoid uttering the letters it is placed under), which his explanation requires us to suppose coeval with Syriac writing, could not have been introduced into that writing till after the words of the language had undergone a considerable alteration of sound.

EL ELION, ESER MAGGEN SARACH BIADACH, VAIETHEN LO MAASER MECCHOL."—*S. Hieronymi Opera*, Ed. Benedict., tom. ii., col. 572. But the Masoretic reading of the same passage runs thus :—WuMaLKISēDeQ MeLeK ShaLeM HOSIH LeHēM WaYa-YiN, WeHUH KoHeN LeHēL HeLYON: WaYyeBaReKeHU, WaYyoH-MaR; BaRUK HaBRaM LeHēL HeLYON QoNEH ShaMaYiM WaHa-ReS: WuBaRUK HēL HeLYON HaSheR MiGgeN ŠAREKa BeYaDKA.\* WaYyiTeN LO MaHaSER MiKkoL.

The Benedictine monk, Martianay, whose edition I am making use of, observes in a note upon Jerome's reading of this passage, that he had found several corruptions of it in former printed editions, which he corrected from ancient manuscripts ; the tendency of those corruptions being to approximate the words to their Masoretic pronunciation.<sup>b</sup> But no errors of a like nature can be supposed to have crept into the manuscript copies he consulted ; as they were produced in times when the study of Hebrew was very little attended to in the Western Church, and when, consequently, the representations made in them of Hebrew groups in Roman characters were exposed only to ordinary faults of transcription, not affecting the vowels in particular, but leaving those letters as

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\* The learned reader may perceive that, in the above word, I have omitted a sign, between D and K, for the *Segol* interposed by the Masorets on account of the pause immediately following ; and have preferred giving the reading of this compound, as it is in general pronounced, in order the more strongly to mark the distinction between the utterance of its final part after a singular and after a plural noun. An instance occurs, in the note after next, of my taking the same liberty in my representation of the Masoretic reading of a like compound in another passage. In the pointed original the *Segol* is sufficiently distinct from the *Seri* ; but the difference could not easily be expressed in Roman letters.

<sup>b</sup> The following is part of the note above referred to:—"Nullum fere in hac pericope recitata extat verbum, quod non sit corruptum apud Erasmm et Marianum, et contra antiquorum patrum consuetudinem positum. Non enim exemplaria Hieronymi manuscripta sequenda sibi proponunt; sed regulas hodiernorum grammaticorum longe diversas ab usu veterum Hebræorum atque ecclesiasticorum scriptorum."

little liable to alteration as the consonants. Of one vocalic corruption, however, in our editor's exhibition of the above reading, there can scarcely be a doubt; though the proper mode of correcting it is not quite so certain. In the case of SARACH BIADACH, which Jerome construes *inimicos tuos in manu tua*, the affix for the second person singular is made ACH after the plural noun, the same as after the singular one; although in another place he informs us that ACH is not an affix to nouns in the plural number.<sup>a</sup> Perhaps the letter *I* dropped out of the first of those groups of capitals in the course of successive transcriptions, and that it was written by Jerome SARAICH: certainly, he has inserted a vowel for *Yod*, when used as a mater lectionis, in every other place of its occurrence

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<sup>a</sup> The passage of Jerome, above referred to, occurs in his commentary on Habakkuk, iii. 13, and is as follows:—"Sciendum autem, ut suprà diximus, quod ubi posuerunt LXX. plurali numero, ut *salvares Christos tuos*, ibi esse in Hebraico LAIESUA ETH MESSIACH [לִישַׁע אֶת מְשִׁיחַךְ, read by the Masorets LeYeShaH̄ H̄eTh MeShIH̄Ka], quod Aquila transtulit, in *salutem cum Christo tuo*."—*Hieronymi Opera*, Ed. Benedict. tom. iii., col. 1633. The antithesis here drawn, in reference to the number of a noun, between its translation in the Septuagint and Jerome's reading of it in the original, shows ACH in that reading to have been an affix for the singular number alone. With regard to the discrepancy upon this point between the version of the LXX. and that of Aquila, I may here by anticipation observe,—what would more regularly come under the head of the discovery unfolded in the ensuing chapters,—that the Hebrew word to which those translators assigned different numbers, was written along with its affix, in the time of the older party, without any vowel-letter מִשְׁחַךְ; which admitted of being read in either the plural or singular number, whichever the context should be deemed to require. But after the introduction of matres lectionis into the sacred text, the omission of a *Yod* between the last two letters of this compound restricted its leading-part to the singular number. Thus, Aquila's translation, in this as well as in other instances, got the credit of being the more literal one; whereas, in point of fact, it is here closer, not to the original text, but merely to the construction put upon that text by its first vocalizers: and the question still remains to be determined by the context, which rendering of the disputed compound is more correct,—a question left entirely undecided in our Authorized Version, in which this combination is translated "thine anointed."

with that use, throughout the entire passage; and, therefore, it is very unlikely that he should have omitted a sign for it here. It is, however, immaterial to ascertain what was exactly the termination of this group, as it came from his pen: it was, at all events, different from what it now is, and from that of the group next following it. If the emendation I have suggested be the correct one, then the pronunciation of the affix of the second person singular was, in his time, the same for the masculine, as it still is for the feminine gender after plural nouns; and, at any rate, was very nearly so, after singular nouns;<sup>a</sup> whence it would appear that the distinction of gender at present applied to this case is of modern origin;—a conclusion which is not only completely accordant with the unpointed text, wherein no such distinction appears, but also is in part supported by even the Masoretic system, which attaches a common vocalization for both genders to the affix in question, when it is subjoined to verbs, or certain prepositions, at the close of a sentence. I should add, that the common reading of the affix retained by the Masorets for those peculiar situations, is precisely the same as was given to it by Jerome after nouns singular; which shows that, even where the modern pronunciation is different from the older one, it is still grounded thereon, and has been gradually thence derived. I may also observe of the innovation just discussed, as I have already done with respect to those previously brought under consideration, that the superfluously minute degree of distinctness thereby introduced of marking the gender of pronominal affixes for the second person, occasions no mischief; for, were it in any case erroneously applied, the context would at once enable a reader to detect the mistake.

Before concluding my examination of Jerome's mode of

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<sup>a</sup> The affix of the second person singular masculine in Jerome's time was after nouns singular, ACH, and, according to the above emendation, after nouns plural, AICH; or, in my way of transcribing the same Hebrew syllables, *αK* and *αIK*, respectively. But the corresponding affix for the feminine gender is at present, in the former site, *εK*, and in the latter, *αYεK* which would be more regularly sounded *αIK*.

reading Hebrew, I have to remark that the old Latin power of *V* was that which we now connect with *W*; and although the change of this power had commenced before his time, yet there is no certainty of its having come into general use till a later period. It may, therefore, be inferred from this circumstance, combined with his knowledge of Hebrew, that he employed the character with its original phonetic value, as being the correct equivalent of that of װ, when used as a consonant. It should also be noticed that Greek still continued to be generally spoken in the western parts of Asia, in the age when he visited Palestine; and, consequently, it was in all probability through the medium of this language that he was taught Hebrew by the Jews; which accounts for his following the Grecian mode of expressing Hebrew words, in not using any sign for the consonantal part of the syllables *Wu* and *Yi*, and also in frequently omitting a letter with which Latin orthography supplied him for the Hebrew aspirates. Moreover *Sh* is not a Latin combination, and, therefore, he was precluded by Latin as well as Greek orthography from giving a just representation of the power of *Shin*. By making due allowance for these particulars, we are led to two results. First, we shall find that, in all probability, Jerome's reading of Gen. xiv. 18–20, in the sacred text is, in the main, correctly preserved in the copy given of it in the Benedictine edition of his works: as the consonants, it is thus shown, certainly are so; and there is no reason to suspect that the copyists were less careful in their transcription of the vowels, or that they dealt at all differently with the two sets of letters, in the case of words whose Hebrew originals were wholly unknown to them. Secondly, it will be hereby perceived, that the greater part of the difference between Jerome's reading of the passage in question and that of the Masorets is only apparent, and that the small portion of it which is real has, with the single exception of the peculiarity noticed respecting the pronominal affix for the second person singular, a reference merely to euphony and to nice, but unnecessary, distinctions of sound. In the Latin author's reading of this

passage, the Masoretic form of the *Waw conversive of the future* begins to make its appearance, but is not there complete, as the duplication of the power of the following letter is still wanted; also the *Waw*, when used simply as a conjunction, is pronounced with other vowels besides *U*; but the distinction of uttering it with the last-mentioned vowel, only before labials or consonants sounded with a very short *E*, had not yet commenced. In short, there is in the case before us just enough of difference, in point of sound, to show that the Masoretic system was not established till after the age in which Jerome wrote;<sup>a</sup> while there is none which affects the sense, as even the alteration with the notice of which I commenced the discussion of this example, does not at all influence the meaning, but merely tends to render the expression of it more definite. All the other grammatical forms throughout the passage, of which there are several both regular and irregular, are vocalized by him precisely as they might be at present; nor do I make any abatement of this general assertion, either on account of his occasional omission of a letter to correspond with the sounded *Shewa* of the Masorets (which is now also slurred over, so as to be nearly imperceptible in familiar recitation), or for his reading the verb *מן* after the pronoun governing it, in the infinitive instead of the preterite form; as, although this anomaly has been avoided by the Masorets here, it is found in other parts of their pointing.

The particulars in which the modern way of reading Hebrew differs from that which prevailed in the age of Jerome, or from the methods used in still earlier times, I call Masoretic innovations, because first committed to writing by the Masorets, through the application of their points to the letters of the Hebrew text. But, from the strict attention of those critics to fidelity of transcription, it is most likely that they did

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<sup>a</sup> The use of the above limit to the age of the Masoretic system is superseded by the stricter one arrived at in a preceding part of this chapter: it, however, as far as it goes, agrees with and corroborates that closer limit.

not originate, but merely transmit, the innovations in question; and that they conveyed the pronunciation of Hebrew with scrupulous care exactly as it existed in their days, the changes in the vocalic part of the words having gradually taken place, while as yet that part was, either not at all represented with separate signs, or only very imperfectly denoted by letters. Even since their time some minor variations of the vowel sounds have crept into use; but they are such as no kind of writing could prevent; and if the previous greater alterations exerted no material influence on the grammatic structure of the language, of course the lesser ones could not seriously affect it. The ancient modes of pronunciation I have traced as far back as external evidence has enabled me to go, in order to show the real state of the case, but not with the slightest wish to revert to the use of any of them. In fact, as the Masoretic utterance of Hebrew substantially agrees with the older ways of pronouncing it, no advantage of importance could arise from going back to any such; while, on the other hand, great inconvenience would result from deviating in any respect from the at present received sounds of the words. In reading, therefore, even unpointed Hebrew, we still should do so according to rules deduced from the Masoretic system of punctuation; but where points are known to have been inserted with skilfulness and care, as in the case of the Bible, the use of a pointed text is to be preferred, as saving trouble; only we are to bear in mind that the Masorets, though very useful, were not infallible commentators on that text; and, consequently, when we meet with a sentence of obscure or disputed meaning, it is better to examine it divested of points;—a remark which, I may here by anticipation add, will be found equally to apply to the *matres lectionis*, after it shall have been proved that those letters do not, any more than the points, constitute part of the Hebrew Scriptures as originally written.

From the investigation of the ancient modes of pronouncing Hebrew words, I naturally proceed to inquire into the ancient powers of the Hebrew letters, as far back as they have



been looked upon and treated as consonants, or into the initial part of those powers, supposing them to have been at any time employed as syllabic signs. It is evident that, if the Old Testament was originally written without any separate representatives of vowels, whether letters or points, then, in order that the groups of characters should fully denote words, as they were obviously intended to do, their several elements must have been employed to express entire syllables, composed of consonants, and of the vowels with which the context and a knowledge of the language showed that those consonants were in each instance to be uttered. This state of the case, however, it would be premature as yet to discuss ; and I shall for the present consider only the consonantal powers of the Hebrew letters, as if from the very commencement the whole of the phonetic values of those characters—what they certainly have been at as remote a period as it can be proved through external evidence that there were *matres lectionis* in the sacred text, that is, as far back, at any rate, as the days of Origen.<sup>a</sup> But before entering on this inquiry I have to premise that, while I hold in great estimation the vocalic part of the Masoretic system of punctuation,—on which our knowledge of the grammar of the language mainly depends, and which, in the comparatively few instances wherein it is erroneously applied, furnishes itself the means of due correction,—I do not at all value so highly that part of it which affects the powers of the consonants, or either part as employed in the pointing of foreign names or names of rare occurrence, but, in reference to these subjects, attach far greater weight to the evidence of the Jews who composed the Septuagint. In thus preferring the more ancient testimony I find myself supported to a certain extent by the example of the very learned framers of our Authorized English Version, who, though they wrote before the comparatively modern origin of the Hebrew points

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<sup>a</sup> The above point will be found proved fully in a subsequent chapter.

was completely established, have yet transcribed פלשתים, for instance, after its Greek transcription Φυλιστιειμ, *Philistims*,<sup>a</sup> rather than *Pelishtims*, in accordance with the Masoretic reading of this name. It is, however, chiefly with a view to arriving at as correct a mode as I can get of transcribing Hebrew groups denoting proper names, that I inquire into the more ancient consonantal powers of the characters. In regard to the mode of reading the general text of the sacred record, I would, with a single exception presently to be noticed, adhere to the choice of powers assigned to its elements by the Masorets, as far as they have left us means of ascertaining that choice; and where they have not, I would conform to the modern practice of the Jews, as far as it is consistent with itself, and not in other respects objectionable. But in those instances in which neither the testimony of the Seventy Jews nor that of the Masorets is sufficient for the precise determination of consonantal powers, and in which the mutual disagreements of the modern Jews prove them to be no longer known with exactness, as also in those in which double powers have been transmitted to us without any criterion whereby to ascertain which of them should in each instance be selected, in all such cases I make use of certain distinguishing marks; since it is necessary to have some fixed standard of notation at least (where one of pronunciation cannot be obtained), for the sake of uniformity of transcription. The marks in question have been already employed in the volumes of an earlier work of mine; but for the convenience of readers who may

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<sup>a</sup> The above name is so written in the first edition of King James's Bible, though it came in later editions to be changed into *Philistines*, by a latitude of choice which custom has permitted with regard to the terminations of words. A stricter transcription of the commencement of this name would have been *Phylish*; as the vowel at present inserted in the first syllable deviates unnecessarily from both Greek and Masoretic authority; and with respect to the Hebrew sibilant ש, its ancient power was always *Sh*, though represented in the Septuagint by a letter equivalent to *S*, merely because Greek orthography supplies no means of expressing the former power.

not have met with those volumes, their explanation is here repeated. The letters on which I have to offer remarks, fall under the heads of—1st, the gutturals, or rather the aspirates; 2ndly, the quiescents; 3rdly, those technically called *Begad-kephath*; and, 4thly, the dentals, or rather the sibilants, of the Hebrew alphabet.

1. There are no less than four aspirates in Hebrew writing, which have been classed together by the Jewish grammarians under the denomination of gutturals, namely א (when treated as a consonant), ה, ח, and ע.<sup>a</sup> Their powers, taken in the same order, are denoted respectively in this work, by *H*, *H*, *H*, and *H*;—a notation which of course is not intended for popular use, any more than the other specimens of peculiar marking that follow, and which, even for the purposes of more accurate transcription to which it is applied, is adopted merely to distinguish those powers from each other, as different aspirations, the precise nature of three of which can now no longer be determined. The four letters are, however, known to have had a close affinity to each other, as they are frequently interchanged in the Hebrew Scriptures. With respect to א, the circumstance of its being at present unsounded as a consonant does not at all bear out the prevailing opinion, that it was always the weakest of those so-called gutturals: it must, on the contrary, have been formerly uttered with a stronger aspiration than ה; since it is nowhere found changed or suppressed to prevent a hiatus, as ה is. Thus, for instance, היה, *HaYaH*, when inflected for the third person singular feminine, and the third person plural, of the preterite tense, becomes היתה, *HaYeThaH*, and היו, *HaYU*; while, on the other hand, מצא, *MaSaH*, in the corresponding inflexions, retains its third radical, and is written מצאה, *MaSeHaH*, and מצאו, *MaSeHU*. In regard to the two last letters of this class, ח and ע,

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<sup>a</sup> ה and ע are sometimes uttered with guttural powers blended with their respective aspirations; which was probably the cause of all the four letters above considered being ranked in the class of gutturals.

they appear to have become, each of them, diaphonous, before the Septuagint was written, and to have been uttered either with simple aspirations of some kind or other, or with such aspirations compounded, for the former letter, with the power of *K*, and for the latter with that of *G*. As examples of their simpler powers we find חוה, *HeWaH*, and חנוך, *HeNOK*, represented in the Greek version of the Seventy by *Eva* and *Ενωχ*, also עשו, *HeSaW*, and עמלך, *HaMaLeK*, by *Ησαν* and *Αμαληκ*; and as examples of their compound powers, we have חם, *HaM*, and רחל, *RaHeL*, expressed by *Χαμ* and *Ραχηλ*, also עזה, *HaZaH*, and עמרה, *HoMoRaH*, by *Γαζα* and *Γομορρα*.<sup>a</sup> The possession, I may here by the way observe, of double powers by characters is one of the grossest faults to which they are liable as phonetic signs; since it not only is productive of much inconvenience, but also frequently misleads. Admitting, then, the first alphabet to have been derived immediately from inspiration, it can hardly be conceived to have contained diaphones in its original state. Though proceeding directly from a divine source, it may, indeed, like the external benefits that are conferred through natural means, have been given in a rude, imperfect condition, for the purpose of inciting man to exertion, room being afforded for its improvement through diligence and care as well as for its deterioration through indolence and neglect. Derived, then, from this source, it may be conceded to have had in its primitive construction, wants and faults of defect, but not faults of a positively vicious nature, such as diaphones undoubtedly are.<sup>b</sup> This

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<sup>a</sup> The character *χ* is equivalent to an aspirated *K*; but the Greek alphabet supplies no representative of an aspirated *γ*. The circumstance, therefore, of the Seventy Jews sometimes denoting the power of the fourth element of the class under consideration by simply a *gamma* is to be attributed merely to a defect of Grecian orthography, and does not tell against the Shemitic evidence which shows that the Hebrew letter always includes an aspiration in its phonetic value.

<sup>b</sup> The Arabians, whose alphabet is, through the medium of the Syriac one, derived from that of the Jews, have corrected the diaphonism of the above

conclusion, however, rests only on probable grounds, and the full establishment of its truth is by no means essential to the support of my views ; it is at least unlikely that the two letters above referred to were invested at first with more than one phonetic value each ; but we are unable to trace with certainty the nature of their powers farther back than the date of the Septuagint, since which epoch they have beyond all question been diaphones.

2. Of the four quiescents,  $\aleph$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$ , the second alone is ever naturally so, namely, at the end of syllables,—when, like our *H*, to which it is equivalent, its power is not rendered perceptible in utterance except in a few instances,—the other three are, contrary to their nature, degraded to the rank of mutes in places where in reality they were formerly employed as vowel-letters, and still constitute the *matres lectionis* of the unpointed text, the Masorets having put them to silence in such situations, in order to avoid the confusion that would arise from the simultaneous use of two systems of vocalization which do not always agree with each other in their application to the Hebrew Scriptures. This mode of dealing with the earlier system, I may here by the way remark, is evidently unwarranted, except on the supposition of that system being, just as much as the later one, the mere work of uninspired men. But the grammarians, after the time of the Masorets, went a step farther, which can on no ground be justified ; and with a view to concealing this treatment of what they conceived to be genuine elements of the original text of

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noticed letters by distinguishing each with diacritical points into two; both their *Hha* and *Kha* (denoted respectively by  $\aleph$  and  $\aleph^{\cdot}$ ) being descended from the Hebrew *Heth*, and also their *Ain* and *Ghain* (denoted by  $\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon^{\cdot}$ ) having in like manner sprung from the *Hayin*. As to the triple phonetic value which the Jews at present attach to this last-mentioned letter, of *gn* in the beginning, *h* in the middle, and *ng* at the end of a word, it is not at all warranted, either by the modern use of the corresponding element of any of the kinds of writing belonging to the cognate dialects, or by the ancient testimony of the Septuagint.

the Bible, as well as for the purpose of more completely preventing the disturbing effects of those letters on the Masoretic pointing, feigned them to be consonants in the sites in question, as they certainly are everywhere else, but still consonants there divested of their powers ;<sup>a</sup>—a fiction which, on the face of it, betrays gross improbability, and imposes on no one who can read the unpointed text. Neither have the later grammarians altogether abstained from misrepresentation on this subject. Thus, while Gesenius (in section 7 of Conant's translation of his Grammar) admits that *Haleph*, *Yod*, and *Waw* were, before the Hebrew Bible came to be pointed, occasionally diverted from their appropriate use as consonants to that of denoting vowels, he endeavours to account for the number of letters so applied being limited to three, by maintaining that of the five sounds contained in the common scale of vowels only three are in strictness vowels, the other two being diphthongs ;—a position which he defends chiefly on the authority of the Sanscrit system of orthography, in which the sound *E* is represented as composed of those of *A* and *I*, and the sound *O*, of those of *A* and *U*. But the two sounds thus deducted from the five are clearly not diphthongal or less simple than any of the other three ;<sup>b</sup> and the attempt made by this author to ex-

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<sup>a</sup> Another motive of the grammarians in maintaining that the characters silenced by them in the middle of syllables were consonants, and denying the existence of any vowel-letters among the elements of the sacred text, may have been the desire to make out a necessity for the use of the Hebrew points in that text from the time when it was first written. But on this subject, mere reasoning cannot outweigh the force of testimony ; and the latter species of proof decidedly forbids the concession of such great antiquity to those points.

<sup>b</sup> When there exists any composition in a vocalic sound, its want of simplicity can be shown by a prolongation of its utterance, which is thus found to terminate in the final, separated from the initial part of the compound. In this manner composition can sometimes be detected, where it is not exhibited in the writing. Thus, for instance, the English sound of *I* is in reality a diphthong terminating in a pure *I*, which is in English orthography written *EE* ; and, accordingly, if an Englishman pronounces *I* with a lengthened utterance, he unavoidably gets into a continuous sound which he would, in his mode of

tend the application of a false principle of the Sanscrit system of vocalization to that of the Hebrew vowel-letters can hardly be ascribed to any other motive than a design of reducing the latter system to a derivative from the former one, and thereby giving countenance to the delusion at present so popular of the Sanscrit alphabet being of enormous antiquity. He, indeed, in further support of the above position, appeals also to the example of the French, who, in their written language, read the combination of *A* and *I* as *E*, and that of *A* and *U* as *O*. But the connexion between the orthography and pronunciation of the French language is extremely capricious, and to such an extent subject to this charge in the adduced instances, that Frenchmen never undertake a formal vindication of them by attempting to resolve the sound of *E* into those of *A* and *I*, or the sound of *O* into those of *A* and *U*;—resolutions which the Brahmans affect to make only through sheer ignorance of the subject. As to his examples of the Hebrew preposition בֵּן, BEN, ‘between,’ and the Hebrew noun יוֹם, YOM, ‘a day,’ being pronounced respectively in Arabic *baina* and *yaum*, they afford him no aid whatever; as they are not specimens of the asserted transitions of sound occurring in Hebrew considered by itself, but merely in Hebrew compared with one of the kindred dialects. But the strangest point connected with his

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writing, denote by the combination *EE*, repeated a greater or less number of times, in proportion as he wishes to represent the time of the continued utterance longer or shorter. On the other hand, a combination of letters apparently expressing a diphthong may in reality denote a simple uncompounded vowel. Thus *AU* is, in English orthography, equivalent to *A* used with one of its pure open values, and therefore can be pronounced continuously for any length of time without the slightest alteration of its sound: it may also be treated in like manner with just a similar result in French writing, in which it is equivalent to a pure open *O*; but if in German, wherein it is equivalent to *OU* in English, its pronunciation be continued beyond a second, the sound of it is changed to that of a pure *U*, written in English *OO*; and to renew its original sound, the speaker must break off the drawl and recommence his enunciation of that sound. If this criterion be applied to the open sounds of *E* and *O*—the sounds above referred to as examined by Gesenius—they will be found as simple and devoid of composition as any of the other vowels.

argument is that, immediately after venturing upon the account of the matter whose fallacy has been just exposed, he notices the very circumstance which furnishes the true reason of there being no more than three *matres lectionis* in unpointed Hebrew writing; namely, that *Yod* is therein used indifferently to represent either *I* or *E*, and *Waw*, in like manner, to denote either *U* or *O*. In fact, the paucity of these clumsy substitutes for vowel-letters is not to be attributed to a limitation of the number of primary vowel-sounds that is quite imaginary, but to the rude simplicity and imperfection of the attempt made by Shemitic nations to express those sounds by means of letters—a rudeness and imperfection that may be observed in their use of alphabetic writing even up to the present day.

Another position of modern date, which appears to be equally unsound, though not so from any intentional fallacy on the part of its advocates, is that the vocal values of *Haleph*, *Yod*, and *Waw*, have sprung from the softened consonantal powers of those letters. How the vowel *A* could ever have been conceived to be derived from the softening of any modification of *H* power, it is not very easy to understand: it might possibly have been deduced from the vowel-sound in the first syllable of the name (*Haleph*) with which the letter expressing one of the modifications in question happens to be designated in the Hebrew alphabet, but certainly not from any state, whether hardened or softened, of that modification itself. As to *Yod* and *Waw*, they are, though usually termed consonants, in strictness but semi-consonants; so that the vowels *I* and *U* might possibly be derived respectively from their powers; not, however, from those powers softened, but decomposed. For, if *I* preceding any vowel different from itself, as for instance *A*, should, therewith united, be contracted in utterance into a single syllable, the resulting sound would be that of *YA*; and, consequently, *YA* could in turn be resolved by diæresis into the vowels *I* and *A*: and through a similar process *WA* could be decomposed into *U* and *A*. From what source the vocal uses of the *matres lectionis* were actually derived, it



would be premature as yet to inquire; since I am here treating of them in accordance with, or at least without questioning, the at present received opinion, that they are, in such application of them, coeval with the other elements of the sacred text, and that the Hebrew alphabet was from the first composition of that text employed as a system of consonants and vowel-letters. With respect to the phonetic values of *Yod* and *Waw* consonants, the former was at first denoted in English transcriptions of Hebrew names by *I*, and afterwards, for the sake of distinguishing between the consonant and vowel, by *J*; but since the time that *J* has been corrupted among us into an equivalent of soft *G*, it has become requisite still further to change the representative character into *Y*. On the other hand, the latter value has (probably on account of the difficulty of pronouncing *W* immediately after some vowels, more especially after *I*) had its English indicator very generally altered from *W* to *V*; but still it is useful to bear in mind the older power, for the preservation, as far as it is within our reach, of the correct sounds of ancient proper names, as well as to enable the reader to perceive the connexion between the vocal and consonantal values of the Hebrew letter referred to.

Wherever in an unpointed edition of the Hebrew Scriptures the *Haleph*, *Yod*, and *Waw* are known with certainty to be used as vowel-signs, and should, according to a just application of the Masoretic theory, be treated as quiescents, they are, in the quotations in this work of the words they occur in, printed in an open type, *℥*, *ʾ*, *ʾ*, to distinguish them from the same letters when employed as consonants,—a distinction which is sufficiently indicated in correctly pointed writing without the aid of this contrivance,—but where there is the least room for doubting in which way they are used, they are exhibited in black lines, *℥*, *ʾ*, *ʾ*, like the other elements of the Hebrew text. Great mischief has resulted from the employment hitherto of the latter set of characters with two such very different uses; and even the Masorets, though complete mas-

ters of the language, will be shown in the ensuing investigation to have, in the case of rare and foreign names, committed numerous mistakes in pointing these letters, where they should, according to their own theory, have been left quiescent, and again in failing to point them, where they ought to have been dealt with as sounded consonants. Such readers as agree with me in the inference I have, in the course of my observations on the aspirates, drawn from the divine origin of the Hebrew alphabet, with respect to the original powers of its elements, will perceive in the evils thus resulting from the extreme diaphonism of the above three letters<sup>a</sup> good reason for suspecting their genuineness when employed as vowel-signs. I do not, however, wish to dwell on this first indication of the spurious nature of the *matres lectionis*; as abundance of stronger and more direct grounds for rejecting them as original ingredients of the sacred text will be given in subsequent chapters; besides that my present object is to treat of the vowel-sounds occasionally attached to the characters in question, without yet entering into the inquiry, whether they can, when invested with this secondary set of phonetic values, be included among the series of letters actually employed by the inspired penmen.

3. Although the six letters technically called *Begad-kephath*, ב, ג, ד, כ, פ, ת, are at present invested with the double powers denoted respectively by B, G, D, K, P, T, and by the same letters aspirated, the last two are known to a certainty to have had in former times but single phonetic values; and, therefore, the probability is that none of the rest originally had more. This argument, however, from analogy for the primitive singleness of the powers of the first four letters of the class, is put forward only in the absence of all ancient testimony on either

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<sup>a</sup> Y is used with the ambiguity of a *mater lectionis* in English orthography; but no evil consequence thence arises, as its position sufficiently indicates its phonetic value, it being always employed in that orthography as a consonant in the beginning of a syllable, and as a vowel-letter in the middle or end of one.

side of the question, and cannot, I admit, be relied on with any degree of confidence. But, with regard to פ and ת, the evidence is perfectly clear. Thus, פלג, Gen. x. 25, and תמז, Ezek. viii. 14, read by the Masorets PeLeG and TaMmUZ, have been transcribed in the Septuagint φαλεγ or φαλεκ, and Θαμμουζ; and פ and ת were confined to their original powers of Ph and Th as late at all events as the age of Jerome, who expressly tells us in his commentary on Isaiah, that there was no letter of P power in the Hebrew system,<sup>a</sup> and states when commenting on Ezekiel, in reference to the second example, that the Hebrew pronunciation of its initial character was Th.<sup>b</sup> In the transcription, therefore, of Hebrew names, I employ solely Ph<sup>c</sup> and Th as the respective equivalents of those two letters; and, on the point which is uncertain with regard to the other four ingredients of the class, ב, ג, ד, כ, availing myself of the latitude of selection which fairly arises from that uncertainty, I assign to them also but single powers, namely, the unaspirated values which are, in English pronunciation, attached to their respective derivatives, B, G, D, K. But, in reference to the use of the same letters in the general text of the Hebrew Scriptures in which the Masoretic pointing could not be now altered without great trouble, I do not—provided it be borne in mind that the application of the double powers is, certainly in the instance of two of those letters, and very possibly in

<sup>a</sup> “— P litteram sermo Hebraicus non habet; sed pro ea Phi Græco utitur.”—*Opera Hieronymi*, Ed<sup>o</sup>. Benedict., tom. iii., col. 24.

<sup>b</sup> “— quem nos Adonidem interpretati sumus, et Hebræus et Syrus sermo Thamuz vocat.”—*Opera Hieronymi*, Ed<sup>o</sup>. Benedict., tom. iii., col. 750.

<sup>c</sup> The ancient and modern powers of the combination Ph are different: the former probably approached near to that of פ, which is the aspirate of פ (p) in the Sanscrit system; while the latter value of the same combination is identical with that of F, and, therefore, would be more correctly represented by Vh than Ph; as F is the aspirate, not of P, but of V. I do not, however, make this observation with any desire of getting the ancient power of Ph restored, which would be a vain attempt; but merely with a view to justify the classification made by the Hebrew grammarians of the letter ב as a labial when used with either of the powers they assign to it.

that of all of them, an innovation on the ancient mode of reading—see any objection to retaining this distinction ; as it relates only to niceties of pronunciation which have no bearing whatever on the sense of Scripture ; and as the diaphonism it introduces, extending no farther than the exchange of powers closely connected, is not calculated to produce any confusion of sounds. Neither do I object to the modern exponents of the aspirated consonantal values of the six letters, except to that of the first of them, which was till of late years represented by *Bh*, but at present is by *V*,—a letter whose modern power is totally different from that of *B*,<sup>a</sup> and such as no aspiration of *B* could possibly produce. The attaching to ׀ so gross a diaphonism leads to the double evil of confounding its power frequently with that of ׀, and breaking off the connexion that subsists in phonetic value between it and *B* : for, no matter what efforts we may make, we can articulate the latter character only with a certain power, or, at any rate, with but a very slight variation of that power ; and, consequently, if the former character be uttered with quite a different articulation, it must cease to be viewed, even in thought, as the prototype of the Roman letter. A modern Greek, indeed, who attaches to the second letter of his alphabet the same power that we do to *V*, can very consistently pronounce ׀ with the modern consonantal value of *V* : so one person may correctly read the Hebrew letter in question as *B*, and another as *V* ; but neither party has a right to pronounce it in both ways, and thus throw upon the Hebrew alphabet the discredit of a gross fault which cannot be justly imputed to that system of letters. Of course it would be requisite, for the purpose of holding personal intercourse with the Jews, to make ourselves

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<sup>a</sup> The consonants ׀ and ׀ are ranked by Hebrew grammarians in the same class, namely that of *labials* : and they certainly are to this extent connected, as long as the latter of them is used with its *W* value, or the ancient power of *V* : but when ׀ is employed, as it now is in general, with the modern value of *V*, it is no longer a pure labial, but chiefly a *dental*, and becomes wholly unconnected in power with ׀.

acquainted with the present corrupt Rabbinical mode of speaking Hebrew, just as it is necessary to learn the peculiarities of Romaic pronunciation in order to be able to converse with the modern Greeks. But, as no classical scholar would allow himself to be guided by the latter authority in his mode of reading ancient Grecian authors, so neither should the Hebraist be directed by the former, in his pronunciation of Scriptural Hebrew. In the case of the letter *Hayin*, the pronunciation of the Rabbins has been very generally and very justly abandoned; surely, then, we are at least equally warranted, in that of *Beth*, to avoid an innovation introduced at a still later period by the same party, and attended with more injurious effects.

4. The Hebrew sibilants, *י*, *ז*, *ש*, *שׂ*,<sup>a</sup> are, in my representation of the sounds of ancient names, transcribed respectively *Z*, *S*, *Sh*, *Sh*. The power of the third is usually written *TS*; and very possibly some approach to it may be made by uttering the letters *T* and *S* together, in like manner as the simple articulation of *Z* is in some measure similar to that produced by pronouncing *D* in connexion with and immediately before *S*. But the Jews do not, except in the case of the aspirates *ת* and *שׁ*, appear to have made use of any complex articulations: even *BR*, whose power is as easily articulated as any other composite one, is uttered by them with an intervening *Shewa*, whereby is indicated their severance of the compound into its simple phonetic elements. As, then, *DS* would be an inaccurate exponent of the power of the first Hebrew sibilant, because of its implying some composition therein, so for like reason *TS* is not a correct representative of that of the third. The English alphabet supplies the letter *Z* to express the former simple consonantal value, but none to denote the latter;

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<sup>a</sup> The sibilants, or consonants whose phonetic values are modifications of *S* power, are called by the Hebrew grammarians *Dentals*. But this is a wrong designation of them, as it includes too much. For instance, the letter *י*, when used with its modern consonantal power, is chiefly, or at least partly a dental, though it has no connexion whatever with the class of letters here referred to.

and, therefore, I venture to write it *Ṡ*. At the same time I admit that, in works intended for popular use, wherein the employment of peculiar signs is not allowable, it would be better, in accordance with the practice of the framers of our Authorized Version of the Bible, to transcribe the third Hebrew sibilant indifferently either *S* or *Z*, as it appears to be intermediate in power between those two letters. The simple power of the fourth Hebrew sibilant I represent by the combination of letters *Sh*, in like manner as I denote the ancient consonantal values, though simple, of ש and ט by *Ph* and *Th*; because the eye of the English reader is accustomed to these combinations as the exponents of certain simple powers. But the second of the combined letters is, in each instance, uniformly printed in the ordinary Roman type, for the same reason that, in the case of a Hebrew character being *dageshed*, or marked for double utterance, the second sign of its power is likewise, according to my plan of notation, exhibited in this form; namely, in order to keep the number of capitals identical with that of the elements of the original group. The Seventy Jews, in their transcriptions of Hebrew names, have represented the fourth sibilant by the Greek letter of *S* power; but upon this point the original is evidently entitled to greater attention than even its very best version; more especially as the discrepance here noticed can be easily accounted for by a defect of the alphabet with which that version is written. When, however, a name containing the Hebrew sibilant in question is transcribed in the Greek Testament, I feel myself warranted by the inspired authority of that portion of the original Scriptures to exhibit it, as far as regards this sibilant, in the way most familiar to the English reader. Thus, for instance, though I am compelled by my method to give *YeRUShaLeM* as the immediate transcription of the Hebrew group ירושלים, yet I would drop the *h* in the ordinary expression of this name, and write it *Yerusalem*.

The letter ש was diaphonous as long ago as the time of the Masorets, and has remained so ever since, being at present

treated as equivalent, not only to *Sh*, but also to *S*, which is the proper power of a different Hebrew letter; but it was at first invested solely with the former consonantal value, and did not acquire the latter, that of *Samek*, till at any rate after the Book of Judges was written, as is clearly shown by the passage xii. 6, of that book. For the groups שבלת (ʃiBboLeTh) and סבלת (sBboLeTh) are therein represented as quite distinct in sound, though they differ only by the two letters in question; and, consequently, those letters could not then, as now, have been sometimes employed to denote the very same articulation. This singleness of the power of ש must have continued at all events down to the age of Jerome, who declares in his commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, that while Latin and Greek in common possessed but one letter of *S* power, there were in Hebrew no less than three, representing modifications of this power which are different from each other, namely *Samech*, *Sade*, and *Sin*.<sup>a</sup> It is obvious that he could not have represented in so unqualified a manner the powers of ש and ס as different, if those powers were in his time, as at present, occasionally identical. Besides, it may be remarked, *Shin* in Syriac writing continues to this day restricted to the original power of the letter; a power which neither Greek nor Latin orthography enabled Jerome to express, but which is appropriately denoted by the English combination *Sh*, or the German one *Sch*; and it is further to be noticed that, where *Shin* is now uttered in a Hebrew group with the articulation of *S*, and the sound of the word in which it occurs is the same in Syriac, in such cases the letter *Samek* is employed instead of it, in the derivative writing. Thus, for instance, the proper names, *Sarah*, *Esau*, and *Israel*, are pronounced in Hebrew, as well as in Syriac, with the power of *S* (not with that of *Sh*); but while that articulation is now denoted in the three Hebrew

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<sup>a</sup> “ — nos et Græci unam tantum litteram *S* habemus, illi verò tres *Samech*, *Sade*, et *Sin*; quæ diversos sonos possident.” — *Hieronymi Opera*, Ed°. Benedict., tom. iv., col. 437.

groups by *Shin*, it is expressed by *Samek* in the corresponding Syriac ones.<sup>a</sup> Hence it is most likely that the Hebrew copyists, in times very remote but subsequent to the period when the Syriac version was written, substituted inadvertently *Shin* for *Samek* in some instances,<sup>b</sup> in like manner as they are well known to have occasionally interchanged other cognate letters; and that afterwards, in the case of the two under consideration, they extended this accidental substitution, so as to render the spelling of the words it had partly affected, uniform throughout. Now, although the changes of pronunciation, previously noticed, may be acquiesced in, as relating solely to phonetic distinctions that have no bearing on the sense of Scripture, yet we would not, I submit, be warranted in so dealing with the one here brought under consideration, which seriously alters the meaning of passages; besides that it produces unnecessary confusion in the unpointed text, while even

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<sup>a</sup> The above observation may be verified by appellative words as well as by proper names, and extends in a great measure to the Chaldee as well as the Syriac dialect. Thus שֵׁב, the Hebrew for a gray-headed or old man, is read SaB, instead of ShaB, while this same word is written in Syriac ܫܒ, and in Chaldee סב, or emphatically ססב.—Again, שבע, ‘was satiated,’ is pronounced as a Hebrew verb SaBaH instead of ShaBaH; but it is written, in accordance with this pronunciation, in Syriac ܫܒܥ, and in Chaldee סבע.—Again, שגה (or שגה) ‘was increased,’ is pronounced in Hebrew SaGaH instead of ShaGaH; but it is written in Syriac ܫܓܐ, and in Chaldee either סגא or שגא.—Again, שֵׁךְ, ‘a branch,’ is pronounced in Hebrew SOK instead of ShOK; but it is written in Syriac ܫܟܠ, and in Chaldee סך, or emphatically either סכא or שוכא.—This rule holds *always* in Syriac, and for the most part in Chaldee; as is admitted in the Manual Lexicon of Gesenius in the following sentence, which occurs in his initial observations upon the letter in question:—“Pro Hebræo ש Chaldæi plerumque, Syri (utpote littera *Sim* carentes) semper substituunt ס.”

<sup>b</sup> When the reader comes to examine what is stated in the next chapter respecting the designation of Sarah, the wife of the great progenitor of the Jews, he may perhaps be led to suspect that the substitution above discussed was intentional rather than accidental, and had its origin in the desire to conceal the circumstance that the first form of her name signified ‘an emigrant,’ and that it was only the second form of it which denoted ‘a princess.’



in the case of pointed books the Masorets have not, with all their skill and carefulness, been able to remedy the entire of the evils thence resulting. To illustrate some of those evils a single Hebrew word will suffice, though I must, for the sake of brevity, confine myself to but a few instances of the misinterpretation of it which have been thus occasioned. The acknowledged significations of the root סר, when vocalized with a *Waw* between its elements, and pronounced SUR, are, *to depart from, to turn aside* (that is, depart from the high way); or, if followed by the particle אל, *to turn aside into some habitation, or unto some person to receive from him the services of hospitality*; or, if written without the intervening vowel-letter, and pronounced SaR, *contumacious, degenerate*; all which meanings are more or less connected with each other. But besides these significations, the context, corroborated by ancient testimony, sometimes requires others including the idea of *command* or *power*; which, notwithstanding, are rejected by the Rabbins, with the view of upholding the perfect correctness of the Hebrew text in various places in which the word of this sound is, for the latter class of significations, now written with *Shin* instead of *Samek* as its initial element. Let us try, then, whether they have not, by such rejection, actually corrupted the sense of Scripture, in some passages in which the substitution in question happens to have been overlooked, and this root has been suffered to remain still commencing with a *Samek*.

1. When Agag was brought before Samuel for instant execution,—1 Sam. xv. 32,—and approached him ‘delicately,’ as is stated in the authorized English version, or ‘trembling,’ according to the Septuagint and Vulgate, the terrified culprit, in the presence of the indignant prophet ready with a drawn sword to hew him in pieces, uttered an exclamation in which the word under discussion occurs, and which our translators have, in compliance with received opinion, construed “Surely the bitterness of death is PAST;”—a speech of defiance utterly inconsistent with the position in which Agag stood. But if

סר be here rendered, "IS OVERPOWERING," the expression of his feelings will be quite in keeping with the rest of the narrative. But, however imperatively this correction may be demanded by the context, I still should not venture to bring it forward, if it had not the support of ancient testimony. This support, I admit, is not as powerful as I usually adduce, in consequence of some mutilation of the evidence of my principal witnesses; yet still it is, I submit, entitled to considerable weight. But to enable the reader to form his own judgment on this point, I here place before him the original exclamation and its oldest Greek, Syriac, and Chaldee renderings, as they at present stand, with the literal meaning of each subjoined to it.

*Original text*<sup>a</sup>

אכן סר מר המות

Surely, predominating [or has predominated] the bitterness of death.

*Septuagint*

Εἰ [potius Αἰ<sup>b</sup>] οὕτω πικρὸς ὁ θάνατος.

If [or, rather, alas!] thus bitter is death.

*Peshitah*

פִּי־נָא מֵרַע מוֹתָא

Surely, bitter is death.

*Targum of Jonathan*

בבען רבני, מריר מותא

With entreaty, my Lord,—oh the bitterness of death.

When the reader examines the meaning of the first two ad-duced translations of this passage, he will see that סר was omitted in the Hebrew copies consulted by the framers of the Septuagint and Peshitah—an omission that may possibly have been occasioned by the similarity of this and the short word

<sup>a</sup> The above extract, I may here by anticipation observe, is in the strictest sense a part of the original text; for there is not a single vowel-letter in the entire exclamation, and it is in this respect written in the very way in which, as I hope to satisfy the reader in subsequent chapters, the whole of the sacred text was originally composed.

<sup>b</sup> The above correction of the Greek passage has been suggested to me by comparing it with the original Hebrew, by which means it may be perceived that, in former times, when the words of the sacred text were not separated from each other, as now, by intervening vacancies, the Seventy Jews mistook the last two letters of אכן for a word which is by itself equivalent to the

next following. The Greek and Syriac renderings, therefore, of the clause have no direct bearing on the question at issue, nor even an indirect one, except inasmuch as they give a doleful rather than a triumphant turn to the exclamation of the captive king. But the Chaldee translation of the same passage affords strong evidence in favour of my view of the subject: it is looser, indeed, than the preceding ones, and partakes more of the nature of a paraphrase, in which the disjointed state of the ingredients of the sentence serves to portray in a very striking light the agitation of Agag's feelings; but still we are bound to attend to its substance, though not attaching much importance to its form. Now here the original word in question is rendered by an expression (רבוני, my Lord) which clearly includes in its meaning the idea of mastery or dominion; and as סר admits of being used not only as a noun, but also as a verb or participle, its Chaldee translation may be put in either of the latter forms of construction, and then fully bears out the sense I have assigned to it in this place. We thus find that the exclusion of this word from any meaning connected with the ideas of rank or power, in order to justify the denoting of its sound for such meanings by the group שר, is a rabbinical conceit that it did not arise till after the first part of the Targum of Jonathan had been written.

2. Let us look to the excuse of Ahimelech to Saul for having given the shew-bread and a sword to David,—

ומי בכל עבדיך כדוד, נאמן, וחתן המלך.  
וסר אל משמעתך, ונכבד בביתך?

which is rendered in our Authorized Version: "And who *is* so

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Greek adverb οὕτω; and that, consequently, they must have looked on its first letter Σ, Ηα, as also constituting a complete word. But what that word could have been, except the interjection expressive of violent emotion which is common to most languages, and is written Αἰ in Greek and Ah! in English, I am unable to conceive. I admit, however, that no such interjection has been noticed and recorded by the Hebrew grammarians; and I propose my Greek emendation only as a conjectural one, which may perhaps be interesting in itself to some scholars, but on which I lay no stress in relation to my argument.

faithful among all thy servants as David, which is the king's son-in-law, and goeth at thy bidding, and is honourable in thine house?"—1 Sam. xxii. 14. If שׁ be confined in this passage to the class of its acknowledged meanings, the clause wherein it occurs, and in which it is followed by the particle וְ, should be literally translated, "and turneth in to reside (not with thee or in thy house, but) in thy bidding,"—words of which it would be very difficult to make any sense. Our English translators, therefore, as they followed the received notions on the subject, were compelled to adopt a very loose rendering of this clause—"and goeth at thy bidding;" in taking which liberty, however, with the original, they were, I admit, countenanced by the framers of the Peshitah, who with still greater looseness have construed the same expression וְשׁוֹבֵת, 'and observing thy commands.' But if שׁ be here translated 'a prince,' the propriety and force of Ahimelech's defence will be at once made conspicuous, by the gradual ascent, in point of dignity, of the attributes with which he invests the character of David; and the meaning of the whole passage can thereby, without any necessity for paraphrase, be given strictly as follows:—"And who among all thy servants *is* as David, faithful, and a son-in-law of the king, and a prince at thy command, and *one* to be honoured in thy house?"—a rendering which agrees word for word with that transmitted to us in the Septuagint: *Καὶ τίς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δούλοις σου ὡς Δαυὶδ, πιστὸς, καὶ γαμβρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἄρχων παντὸς παραγγέλματός σου, καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου;* After the complete vindication thus afforded by the Seventy Jews of my interpretation of שׁ in the original passage, it is scarcely requisite to add that in the Targum of Jonathan this word is here rendered כִּבִּי, which usually means 'a preceptor,' but may also signify 'a master,' or 'Lord,' a more appropriate title to enter into the description of David;—and so we find here likewise supplied the attestation of the author of this ancient paraphrase, that the Hebrew term before us, though not made to commence with a *Shin*, must still be understood to

have a reference to authority or rank, whenever the context requires the application to it of any such meaning.

3. Having so far illustrated my position, I select Hos. iv. 17, 18, as a third example, not only for a further confirmation of what I have already laid down upon the subject, but also with a view to try to extricate from extreme obscurity a sentence which, I will venture to assert, has been misunderstood by every modern expositor. If I succeed in this effort, I trust I shall be enabled by the aid of my discovery to clear up, in a subsequent chapter, the remaining difficulties, and remove the apparent incoherencies of a much longer passage comprehending the one now under consideration, and so to exhibit the whole in a clear, intelligible light, without a single alteration of the original Hebrew text, except that of supplying a letter which can be clearly proved to have dropped thence, both by the context and the united evidence of the Septuagint and the Peshitah. In the shorter sentence above specified, and of which only a part is at present to be examined, the prophet upbraids the Israelites with their vices, speaking of them figuratively in the singular number, under the designation and character of an individual, the progenitor of their principal tribe. This much is rendered in the Authorized English version as follows:—"Ephraim is joined to idols; let him alone: their drink is sour; — " or, according to the marginal note, "their drink is gone." The original words of the last clause are סֵר סִבְאִים, of which the second may be read and construed, 1st, סֵר סִבְאִים, 'their drink,' or their 'drinking;' 2ndly, סֵר סִבְאִים, 'drinkers,' or 'drunkards;' 3rdly, סֵר סִבְאִים, 'Sabeans,' whether by this be meant the inhabitants of a certain district, or the adherents of a certain false religion. Our translators have followed the first reading, which in the abstract, indeed, admits of two constructions, but in the place before us only of one, namely, 'their drinking;' as Hosea is here speaking not of the possessions of Ephraim, but solely of his actions. Now while we retain this sense of one ingredient of the clause, the other, surely, cannot be construed 'is gone,'

but should rather have its interpretation taken from the second class of meanings of the root, and be rendered ‘predominates,’ or ‘has gained the ascendancy;’ since the prophet’s declaration is obviously intended, not for praise, but for censure. The drift of סר סבאם thus comes out, ‘their drunkenness has got dominion *over them*;’—a reproach cast upon the Israelites by our author less obscurely in another place,—“the children of Israel, who look to other gods, and love flagons of wine.”—Hos. iii. 1. This construction, however, produces an incoherence between the above clause and what immediately precedes it, by the abrupt enallage of number and sudden transition from an individual to the people by him represented—an objection which is obviated by the second of the cited readings of סבאם, whereby we are enabled to translate the two words under discussion, so as to have the same meaning as before, but without any obscurity thence arising, “*he is* prince [or chief] of drunkards.”

It remains to be inquired whether this interpretation derives any support from antiquity. Now, I admit that the bearing of the ancient versions on this point is neither unanimous nor by itself convincing; but when it is combined with the internal evidence of the context, they constitute a proof by no means destitute of weight. In the Peshitah, either the clause in question was from the first passed over without any attempt to interpret it, or the words made use of for the purpose have since dropped from this version. In the Septuagint, the translation is ἡρέτισε Χανααίους, ‘he has joined the sect of Canaanites;’—a rendering whose connexion with the original it is not very easy to penetrate. All that plainly follows from this Greek is that the Seventy Jews read סבאם in the third of the cited ways; so that, if in their copy of the Hebrew text the particle אל came after סר, they might have understood the literal meaning to be, ‘he has deviated *from the right path*, to associate with the Sabeans,’ with which construction their interpretation can be brought in some measure to agree in sense. But the forcedness of that interpretation, joined to the

circumstance of its requiring an alteration of the original text, deprives the Septuagint in this place of the authority to which it is in general entitled,<sup>a</sup> and compels me to resort to a record of far inferior weight, which is called the second part of the Targum of Jonathan, but must evidently, from the greater corruptness of its language, have been written many ages later than the first part, and consequently by quite a different author. In this work the clause referred to is loosely rendered as follows:—שִׁלְטָנֵיהֶן אִסְגִּיאוֹ שִׁירוֹן מִן הָאֵם, ‘their princes have multiplied feasts *supplied* from plunder;’—a paraphrase which, if we look only to its substance, fully warrants me, as far as the authority of this Targum in the absence of older testimony goes, in translating the first word of the original clause ‘a prince,’ and in representing its two united ingredients to convey a reproach against the descendants of Ephraim for excessive drinking—a vice which is evidently included under the more general description of excessive feasting. Some further corroboration of my construction of this very difficult clause will, I am in hopes, be obtained by means of the light which the different parts of the longer passage alluded to will be found to reflect on each other, when a new translation of the whole of it comes to be submitted to the reader in one of the ensuing chapters.

Mistakes, it thus appears, have arisen even from the mere incompleteness of the substitution of ש for ד, and of course may be expected to have been produced with still more injurious consequences by the actual substitution itself. Of the latter class I here subjoin, furnished from the same word סר, a curious example, although its explanation compels me to

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<sup>a</sup> Supposing the Greek construction of the clause in question to be correct, this circumstance would not in the slightest degree bear against the general view of the subject which has been advocated in the preceding paragraphs; its only effect would be to withdraw this particular clause from the class of examples illustrative of the point under discussion, namely, that סר is sometimes used in the Hebrew Bible with a different set of meanings from that at present conceded to it.

avail myself, by anticipation, of the discovery unfolded in the subsequent chapters. When David attacked the fortress of the Jebusites situated upon Zion, and which afterwards became the citadel or more elevated portion of Jerusalem, he promised that whoever first entered the place and slew a Jebusite “should become head of the whole army, and governor of the city,”<sup>a</sup> or, as it is written in the original, **יְהִי לְרֹאשׁ וְלִשָּׁר**—1 Chron. xi. 6. Now, the first part of this promise was immediately carried out, as is recorded to the following effect:—“So Joab, the son of Zeruiah, got up first, AND BECAME HEAD of the whole army”<sup>b</sup>—**וַיְהִי לְרֹאשׁ**—while the fulfilment of the second part was deferred till the new city was built around the citadel, in the manner described in the beginning of the eighth verse; just after which we find at the conclusion of the same verse, through the alteration of only a single letter of the original to one of very nearly the same shape, the ensuing statement to be made: “AND JOAB BECAME THE GOVERNOR OF THE CITY”—**וַיִּשָּׂא בִיהִּי אֶת שְׂאֵר הָעִיר**. By means of this sole change of ה into ה in the verb **יְהִי**, the accomplishment of each part of David’s promise comes out recorded in the very identical words in which it had been previously announced, with the exception that, in the case of the latter portion of the promise,

<sup>a</sup> The terms **רֹאשׁ**, ‘head,’ and **שָׂר**, ‘chief,’ may each of them denote in the abstract one presiding in any department, whether military or civil; but it is immaterial to the argument above used, in what sense precisely either was intended to be understood in the portion of Scripture referred to. The supplement by which I have distinguished the first of them is drawn from the description given by Josephus of David’s promise: τῷ . . . ἐπὶ τῇν ἄκραν ἀναβάντι καὶ ταύτην ἐλόντι στρατηγίαν ἅπαντος τοῦ λαοῦ δῶσειν ἐπηγείλατο (*Antiq. Jud. lib. vii. cap. iii. sec. 1*); where the historian, for the sake of brevity, mentions only the first, or principal part of that promise. The supplement subjoined to my translation of the second term is taken from the meaning of the word by which that term is accompanied on its second occurrence; where, indeed, it is written (**שָׂר**) fuller than at first, but is shown by the context to be meant for the very same designation.

<sup>b</sup> Joab was previously general of the soldiers of the tribe of Judah; but on the above occasion he was promoted to the post of commander-in-chief of—*ἅπαντος τοῦ λαοῦ*—the united armies of Judah and Israel.



an additional term is subjoined to וָשׁ, to indicate what kind of chief or prince was thereby intended. This identity is perfectly obvious in reference to the first pair of corresponding parts of promise and fulfilment, but is obscured with regard to the second pair by the capricious conduct of the interpolators of the *matres lectionis*, the first vocalizers of the sacred text, in placing an *Haleph* between the letters of וָשׁ, to express the vowel *A*, in one place of the occurrence of this title, and not in the other—an inconsistency which appears to have arisen from the great precipitation with which they executed their work. But in consequence of the rarity of the use of *Haleph* as a *mater lectionis* in the Hebrew text, it came in the course of time to be, in the group here referred to, mistaken for a consonant, whereby this word was misread SheHāR, ‘a remainder,’ instead of SAR, ‘a prince, or governor;’—an error which of necessity brought with it a second, as וְיָהָיָה, ‘became,’<sup>a</sup> makes no sense in the final part of the eighth verse when connected with וָשׁ understood to signify ‘a residue;’ whence the verb was conceived to be וְיָהָיָה, ‘vivified,’ through the change of only a single letter, and the substitution for it of one with which, from similarity of shape, it might easily be confounded. Yet, even with this alteration, the clause, as it stands at present, cannot be at all reconciled with the context: for, if it be translated, ‘and Joab spared (or saved alive) the remnant of the garrison,’ the statement will be found quite at variance with the sanguinary character of the man and the circumstances of the case, more especially with the conditions on which David founded his promise, and his mode of expressing them in the parallel passage,—“Whosoever . . . smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame and the blind, *that are* hated of David’s soul”—2 Sam. v. 8; and if, on the other hand, we look to the rendering of it in our Authorized Version,—“And Joab repaired the rest of the city”—here, independently of the very

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<sup>a</sup> The *Waw* converseive of the future, as it is called, is in the above instance prefixed, not to וְיָהָיָה, but to the noun governing that verb.

forced construction put upon the verb יָרִיחַ, to make it signify 'repaired,' it is utterly inconsistent with the narrative to say that Joab repaired a city which had been only just built, and to talk of 'the rest of the city,' where it was previously spoken of as a whole, and no one part of it separately specified. Most of these objections against the only plausible renderings of the original clause in its present state have been already urged with much ability by Dr. Kennicott in his first Dissertation, pp. 53-4; though he considerably weakened the force of his argument against the first of those renderings, by admitting, as I conceive, erroneously, that it is supported by the Syriac version. He, however, advanced a great way in the true exposition of the matter; but it is evident that the direct grounds for the correct reading and interpretation of the above clause could not be arrived at, without the aid of the discovery which has now been applied to the investigation.

The Septuagint in this instance affords us no assistance, as the translation of the clause in question has totally disappeared from the Vatican copy; and that in the Alexandrian copy—*καὶ ἐπολέμησεν καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν πόλιν*—is obviously corrupted, as having no relation to the original sentence. The Peshitah has also undergone some corruption in this place, as it presents to us two interpretations of the clause under discussion quite at variance with each other, one of which, consequently, must be spurious; but when that one is detected, as it can be by means of the discovery above brought to bear upon the internal evidence of the case,<sup>a</sup> the explanation I have submitted

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<sup>a</sup> The word ܡܝܬܐ, 'a master,' in the Syriac interpretation of the clause in question first quoted in my text, shows that the Hebrew group to which it refers, must, when that translation of the clause was made, have been read *sar*, 'a chief,' and that, whenever a *Haleph* made its appearance in that group, it must have been therein used as a mater lectionis to denote the vowel *A*. On the other hand, the word ܡܝܬܐ, 'a remainder,' by which the same Hebrew term is interpreted in the second quoted translation, shows that it must, at the time of that translation being introduced, have been read *shehar*, 'a remainder,' with a *Haleph* so long inserted therein, that its use in that place

to the reader's judgment will be found clearly supported by the other interpretation which is included in the sixth verse of the same chapter. This verse runs to the following effect: "Then said David, whosoever first slays a Jebusitish man, HE SHALL BE THE HEAD *of the whole army* AND MASTER OF POWER — וְהָיָה רֹאשׁ צְבָא וְיָדָהּ כָּל יְבוּסִי —: and Joab, son of Shuriah, got up first; so King David appointed him THE HEAD *of the whole army* AND MASTER OF POWER" — וְהָיָה יוֹאָב רֹאשׁ צְבָא וְיָדָהּ כָּל יְבוּסִי —. Here we may perceive that the narrative of the fulfilment of the second part of David's promise is shifted from the end of the eighth to the end of the sixth verse, in order that the two parts of the fulfilment may, like the two parts of the promise, be recorded together; while, in the second instance, just as in the first, the promotion conferred is related in precisely the terms in which it was antecedently promised; — a circumstance which powerfully sustains the view I have put forward. The vacuum, indeed, occasioned by the dislocation just described, is at present filled up by another very different rendering of the same clause, which is as follows:

וְהָיָה יוֹאָב יָדָהּ כָּל יְבוּסִי וְהָיָה רֹאשׁ צְבָא

"And David gave the right hand to the rest of the sons of men that were in the city." But this very loose paraphrase, which attributes to David an act of clemency that is, according to

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was forgotten, and that it came to be there mistaken for a consonant. The second, therefore, of the quoted Syriac translations of the original clause could not have been framed till long after the insertion of the *matres lectionis* in the sacred text, and, consequently, not till a still longer period after the composition of the Peshitah, which can be clearly proved to have been written before the introduction of vowel-letters into the Hebrew Bible. The great probability is that, after *shehar* came to be generally adopted as the reading of שְׁחַר in the original clause, some Syriac scribe, finding no term of like meaning in or near the corresponding part of the Peshitah, and moreover missing the translation of this clause in its proper place, rashly took it for granted that either it was overlooked by the translators, or that their rendering of it was subsequently lost, and in consequence interpolated the very inaccurate paraphrase of it which now appears in the final part of the eighth verse.

the present reading of the original, ascribed in another form to Joab, is proved in the last note to be an interpolation of a date long subsequent to that of the Peshitah; and, consequently, it does not in the least weaken the force of the evidence which the genuine part of this version supplies upon the same subject. To come now to the point for the illustration of which this example has been selected, it is evident that, if the initial element of the group ס had not been changed into ש, there would have been no room for the primary mistake here committed (or, consequently, for the secondary one thereon depending); as there is not in the Hebrew language any dissyllabic word written סאר, with which the monosyllable סא could have been confounded.

It would detain me too long to enter into a more general illustration of this subject; and I shall here only add that the Samaritans, though for the most part agreeing with the Jews in the changing of ס into ש in the case of certain words, have not been quite as guarded and vigilant in carrying out this alteration.<sup>a</sup> Thus, for instance, the Hebrew noun read *Sar* in Gen. xl. 9, where it signifies 'the chief,' and is now written שר in the Jewish edition of the Pentateuch, still preserves a *Samek* as its initial element in the Samaritan edition; and, in like manner, the Hebrew compound group read *saqqo* 'his sack,' which in every place of its occurrence in the former edition is now written שקו, has been left to commence with a *Samek* in the verse, Gen. xlii. 25, of the latter. Independently of the more serious evils that have resulted from the corruption just exposed, the inconvenience it produces in an unpointed copy of the sacred text is particularly obvious; as a reader who is not perfect master of the language cannot always be certain with what power the character ש is therein

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<sup>a</sup> If the corruption in question originated, as it very possibly did, in the design of concealing the circumstance that Sarah's name in its primary form denoted 'a wanderer,' or 'an emigrant,' there would be nothing surprising in the agreement of the Samaritans with the Jews in its perpetration, as they too claimed the credit of descent from Abraham and Sarah.

used, whether with that of *Sh* or that simply of *S*. Where this character, then, is in such copies employed with the latter power, I would venture to recommend a little circle—the Masoretic sign of something wrong or at least questionable—to be placed over it, and a *Samek* to be inserted in the opposite part of the margin. But this correction is rendered unnecessary in pointed Hebrew Bibles, by the care with which the Masorets have, through the varied position of a diacritical point, indicated with which of the two powers the character is in each instance to be articulated ; and all that is requisite is to bear in mind that, where it is to be read with the power of *Samek*, it should be called *Samek*, and considered as a secondary form of that letter. Thus would be removed from the system of pointed writing, not only the letter *Sin*, which is on all sides admitted to be of comparatively modern date, but also much of the evil consequent upon its introduction ; and we should in this way return to the sole use of the two letters *Samek* and *Shin* to which the Hebrew alphabet was originally confined for the expression of *S* and *Sh* powers, through the mere precaution of treating ם, as well as ך, as a form belonging to the first of those letters. Some advance towards this step was made by Gesenius ; as he separated from each other in his Dictionary the words commencing with ם and ם respectively, and placed them under distinct heads ; but, to complete the improvement, he should not only have detached ם from ם, but also have united it with ך, and classed the words commencing with ם and ך under one and the same common head.

The mediæval character of the combined system of Hebrew accents and vowel-points is indicated by the degree of connexion that subsists between them. In this system the open vowels are not shortened by the absence of an accent, as in modern writing ; and, on the other hand, the close vowels are sometimes lengthened, or exchanged for open ones, in consequence of the presence of an accent,—an effect that was never thus produced in the kinds of ancient writing which we have

means for examining in reference to this subject. The increased influence that accents have in the course of time acquired over the length of syllables cannot, I apprehend, be accounted for, otherwise than by an alteration which has gradually taken place in their nature. Formerly, indeed, as well as at present, the circumflex accent was essentially associated with a lengthened pronunciation; but the acute and grave accents appear to have at first denoted solely, one of them a raising, and the other a lowering or non-raising of the voice; at least, neither of them had then any connexion whatever with the quantity, as it is technically called, of the syllables to which they were attached; as may be clearly perceived in the case of ancient Greek that is accented, in which those accents are continually seen placed over short vowels. But in modern kinds of writing the application of the acute accent, which is that in most general use, is entirely altered; and what it now chiefly denotes is a stress of the voice laid on the syllable marked with it, by which that syllable is of necessity lengthened; so that in Romaic even the vowels  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  may become short; as, for instance, the middle syllable of *ἀνθρωπος*, if I have been rightly informed, is pronounced short by the modern Greeks. But, while the degree of influence exerted by the accents on the vowels of the Hebrew system agrees not exactly with either ancient or modern usage, it in some measure approximates to the latter;—a circumstance which squares with the limit to the age of the older portion of this combined system already arrived at through external evidence; by means of which it has been shown that the Masoretic plan of vocalization was not completed, at the very earliest, before the middle of the twelfth century, and the Rabbins could hardly have thought of applying signs to any modulation of vowels, till they had first made up their collection of signs for the vowels themselves. Be this, however, as it may, the Hebrew accents, as they are termed, are far too numerous to have been intended solely for the purpose of accentuation. They were applied, indeed, to this purpose, as also to that of indicating the various

pauses to be made between the different parts of sentences; but these are shown to have been quite subordinate uses of them, from the very imperfect manner in which they answer each end. They were principally employed as musical notes to regulate the chanting of the parts of Scripture recited during divine service in the Synagogues;—a view of the matter now very generally assented to, and which is strongly corroborated by the close analogy of these marks to others introduced somewhat earlier, for a similar purpose, first into Greek, and soon after into Latin rituals. Montfaucon, in his treatise on Grecian Palæography, gives specimens of accented Greek manuscripts as far back as the seventh or eighth century, in the earliest of which the secondary marks attached to the words scarcely differ in shape or use from the signs of aspiration and accentuation which are inserted in modern editions of Greek books. But in the specimens of subsequent centuries those marks are found gradually increasing in variety and number according as the system of musical notation improved, till, in one exhibited at the bottom of the 357th page of the learned work referred to, and taken from a manuscript of the eleventh century containing the services of the Greek Church for the entire round of the year, they may be seen almost as diversified in form and as numerous as those of the corresponding collection superadded to the Masoretic vowels in pointed Hebrew writing. No doubt, the Jews in their flight from Babylonia to Spain brought with them a full recollection of the modulations and inflexions of voice with which they used to read out the text of their Bible in the East, where the custom is still very prevalent of chanting sacred writings or uttering them in a species of recitative; and when once they got the notion of representing the elements of those modulations by written signs, the little figures selected by them for the purpose were, in all likelihood, of their own invention. Still they would appear to have taken the hint for the formation of their system from one of the older cognate kinds to which it displays so striking a correspondence; but whether it

was the Greek or Latin branch of the art that they made this use of, must have depended on the circumstance, which of those kinds of musical notation first came under their observation.

What sounds in music the Hebrew notes in question were originally intended to convey is now utterly unknown, as is evident from the total disagreement in this respect between the Hebraists who lay claim to any knowledge of the subject. Such, for instance, of the Polish and the German Jews as pretend to have preserved the original musical values of those notes do not chant even a single series of them in the same manner. It is also to be remarked that these same notes often fail to point out the accented part of a word ; as no less than seven of them are fixed in their respective sites without any reference to the place of the tone syllable : and not only do they afford but slight assistance to a reader as signs of pauses or stops,—from the numerous and scarcely consistent rules to which he must attend for the purpose of enabling him to apply them to this service,—but also, when thus applied, they frequently mislead him, by actually separating parts of sentences in direct opposition to their grammatical connexion and the bearing of the context. As, then, their principal use is irrecoverably lost, and the two subordinate applications of them are either productive of scarcely any benefit, or positively injurious, I would venture to recommend the disembarassing the pointed text of this cumbrous addition to the Masoretic collection of vowel-signs, and the retention of but one accentual mark, to be employed solely in the less usual instances of the accent falling on the penultimate, instead of on the last syllable of words ; while the requisite stops might be far better expressed by means of the ordinary modern points, with merely the tails of the commas and semicolons turned, to suit the direction of the Hebrew writing. A vast deal of useless trouble would be thus avoided, and the reading of the sacred text be greatly facilitated ; while, at the same



time, no liberty, not even the slightest, would be taken with any of its original elements.

Up to a recent period the vowels of the Masoretic system were distinguished from each other by the epithets of *long*, *short*, and *very short*. But it having been noticed by the later grammarians that some of those which come under the head of the second epithet are occasionally long, it becomes necessary to alter this series of names for the three classes ; and I would, in consequence, venture to recommend calling them, taken in the same order as before, *open*, *close*, and *imperfect* ; —a classification which is arrived at, by first dividing the whole number into perfect and imperfect, and then subdividing the former class into open and close. By imperfect vowels I mean such as differ from the perfect ones not absolutely, but only in reference to the mode of utterance applied to them. The *O*, for instance, of *ivory*, is imperfect ; as it is so indistinctly pronounced that an illiterate person, who had never seen this word written, and was only acquainted with its sound, might be easily conceived to employ any one of the five Roman vowel-letters for the expression of its second vowel. The open *A*, of which there are two kinds, and the close one, are exemplified by the vocal part of the sounds of *all*, *art*, and *hat*, respectively. The open and close *E* may be compared in the words *they* and *then* ; the open and close *I*, in *machine* and *chin* ; the open and close *O*, in *mope* and *mop* ; the open and close *U* in *rule* and *run*. A reader accustomed to the use of the Roman alphabet might, perhaps, be induced, at first view of the matter, to think the vocal elements of each set of words here compared the same, because denoted by the same character ; but they are to be found in other systems represented respectively by different letters or marks ; and a little consideration will serve to show that in each instance, if not absolutely different vowels, they are at least quite different modifications of the same vowel. The distribution I propose of the perfect vowels into open and close, is analogous to that formerly made by

the Greeks, whose judgment on the subject is entitled to some weight; since they were, as will be shown in the course of this Essay, the original inventors of vowel-signs. In the case of the vowels whose names, in the alphabet of this people, are partly formed of epithets, the distinction thereby drawn between them indicates an opposition, not of *μακρον* to *βραχυ*, or of *long* to *short*, but that of *μεγα* to *μικρον* or *ψιλον*, that is, of *great, broad, or open*, to *small, narrow, or close*; and although the open vowels, *η* and *ω*, were in ancient pronunciation uniformly long, yet it is quite a mistake to distinguish from them the corresponding close ones, *ε* and *ο*, as constantly or essentially short. Thus, for example, in the line of Homer in which Æneas is describing the swiftness of his horses to Pandarus,—

Κραιπνὰ μάλ' ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα διωκέμεν ἥδὲ φέβεσθαι. *Il.* v. 223—

the *ε* of *ἐνθα* is just as long as the *η* of *ἥδε*; and it is not by their quantity, but by their sound, that these vowels are here to be distinguished. Again, in a line of the same poem, that follows soon after—

Τὸν δ' ἄρ', ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν, προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης. *Il.* v. 251—

the *ο* is but twice short, and is three times long, and then just as long as the *ω* in *ἰδων*. In Latin orthography the like remark holds good. For instance, in the verb *habere*, the first *E* is open, and the second close; but the second is just as long as the first: and in the term *fortiores*, the first *O*, which is close, is as long as the second, which is open. In each of the latter examples, the vowels, though denoted by a common character, are as different modifications of the same vowel as in each of the former ones, and are to be distinguished by their sound, not by their quantity or length. In fact, if we look to the general nature of vowel-sounds, we shall find that every one of the five principal perfect vowels admits of both an open and close modification, and may be uttered either long or short in each of those states. This variety of length, indeed, was in ancient times confined to perfect vowels in the

second state, but in modern systems it extended equally to those in the first. To return now to the Masoretic system,—it shows an improvement on the Greek one, in supplying distinct signs for all the vowels of the first or open class, instead of for only two of them ; but, on the other hand, it is itself defective in confining the variations of quantity to only three of those belonging to the second class, and shifting the remaining two, viz., the *I* and *O*, to the first class as soon as they are made long. That this restriction is merely an arbitrary one, and which has no foundation in the nature of vocal sound, may be rendered obvious to an English reader by an example or two selected from his own language. Thus, the first vowel of *incline* is close and short ; but the same vowel is long in the word *intimate*, yet does not, in consequence, cease to be close ; and, in like manner, the initial vowel of *oppose* and *opposite*, which is both close and short in the former word, continues close in the latter also, although it therein becomes long. The Masoretic vowels of the third class are denoted by one simple and three compound signs, of which the latter three are redundant ; as their office might be performed with more clearness by the sole aid of the first, namely, the *Shewa* simple. There is also a redundancy in the use of this *Shewa*, which is frequently inserted when it is not to be pronounced. Latterly, however, this vowel-mark has been judiciously left out for the most part at the end of words ; and the improvement would be still greater, if it were to be always omitted in such positions, as also in every other site in which it is quiescent.

In Syriac writing are employed the same three *matres lectionis* as in Hebrew, but only five vowel-marks, whether consisting of one or two points variously placed, or of little figures similar to five of the Greek vowel-letters. The age of the former set of marks is now unknown ; but that of the latter set has been found to reach somewhat farther back than the end of the eighth century.\* No signs for the imperfect vowels are

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\* Asseman, in his introductory description of a Syriac manuscript of the ninth century, containing the annotations of Ephraim the Syrian on the books

given in this writing even where in other respects pointed ; but it is left to the judgment of the reader to supply their sounds in accordance with the analogies of the language. Since the introduction of five signs for the perfect vowels, the values of the older three have been greatly corrupted. The misuse, however, of the first of the *matres lectionis* is confined to the Syriac Christians of the western part of Asia, namely, the Maronites and Jacobites, who call this letter *Holaph* instead of *Haleph*, and attach immediately thereto, or associate therewith when it is not itself employed as a *mater lectionis*, the phonetic value of *O*, instead of that of *A* ; while the correct sound of it, or of the vowel therewith associated, is still preserved by the Nestorians, or Syriac Christians of the more eastern regions. Thus in the command addressed by our Lord to a dead child, 'Maid, arise,' which has been transcribed by St. Mark, Ταλιθα κοῦμι, the first word is pronounced TaLiThO by the western, and TaLiThA by the eastern Syrians. In this mode of representing the two pronunciations the final *Haleph* is treated as a *mater lectionis* ; a view of its employment which, perhaps, is warranted by the consideration that it does not here serve to give an emphatic signification to the group to which it is annexed. But we should arrive at a like result,

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of the Old Testament, gives the following information on the point above referred to:—"In scriptura hujus codicis maximè notandæ sunt quinque vocalium Syriacarum figuræ ad similitudinem Græcarum efformatæ, quæ punctorum loco vocibus lectu difficilioribus apponuntur. Harum inventor fuisse perhibetur Theophilus Edessenus, Maronita, qui decessit anno Hegiræ 169, id est, circa annum Christi 791, feste Gregorio Barhebræo, lib. 9. Chronicorum, apud Abr. Echellensem, Not. in Catalogum Hebedjesu, p. 180. Nam quum ille Homeri versus è Græco Syriacos faceret, ambiguas voces vocalibus Græcis notavit . . . . quod punctandi genus omnes deinde Syri, Nestorianis exceptis, amplexi sunt . . . . Atqui codex noster, ut suprâ vidimus, scriptus fuit Edessæ anno Christi 861, nimirum, anno ab obitu Theophili septuagesimo ; puncta verò ista ab eodem codicis scriptore apposita sunt, ut inspicienti ea liquet."—*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. i. p. 64. It may be added that, although the use of the five vowel-marks here described has been confined to the western Syrians, yet that of the older set, consisting of the same number, was extended to all Syriac writers in common.

if this letter were to be dealt with as a consonant, whereby the two readings of the Syriac group would come out TaLiThoH and TaLiThaH; while, according to the latter, as well as the former method, the western pronunciation of this word is proved corrupt, and the eastern one vindicated, by the inspired testimony of St. Mark. The same charge of corruption can be brought home to the western mode of pronouncing groups which do not exhibit an *Haleph*, but still are read as if they had been vocalized with this letter. Thus the name ܕܢ, 'Dan,' is sounded DoN by the western, but DaN by the eastern Syrians; and the incorrectness of the former pronunciation is established through the authority of the Seventy, who have constantly transcribed the Hebrew prototype of this name Δαν. The superiority, indeed, of eastern enunciation in reference to the first mater lectionis is admitted by the learned Asseman, though himself a Maronite;<sup>a</sup> but the vicious mode of reading this letter, being that which first made its way to Europe, has been since retained here through the force of habit. With regard to the other two vowel letters, their misuse pervades the modern pronunciation of the eastern as well as the western Syriac Christians. That the Syriac, like the Hebrew *Yod*, formerly served to denote an *E* as well as an *I*, may be shown by the example of the name ܐܥܘܫ, 'Esau,' which is now read HIsaW, though the transcription of its Hebrew origin by the Seventy, Hσav, clearly proves that it must in ancient times have been pronounced HESaW; and

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<sup>a</sup> Upon the above point Asseman expresses himself very candidly as follows:—"Verum pro Orientalibus tota antiquitas clamat, eosque priscum legendi Syriacè morem retinere suadent tùm voces, quæ apud veteres scriptores Græcè et Latinè è Syriaco sermone expressæ leguntur, ut *Abba, Talitha, Phadana, Haceldama*; tùm urbium pagorumque nomina in Assyria, Mesopotamia, et Phœnicia, quæ Orientalium more usque in præsentem diem pronunciantur, ut ܕܢܐܘܪܐ, *Caphar-Aura*, ܕܢܐܬܐ, *Caphar-Hata*; et cætera hujusmodi, quæ à Syris Maronitis atque Jacobitis secundum propriam illorum dialectum aliter proferri deberent."—*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. iii. pars ii. pp. 379-80.

in like manner that the Syriac *Waw* was not at first, any more than the Hebrew one, confined, as it now is, to expressing the sound *U*, but occasionally represented that of *O*, may be exemplified by the name **ܥܢܘܚ**, 'Enoch,' which is read by modern Syrians **HaNUK**, or **HeNUK**, but is proved by the corresponding Greek transcription in the Septuagint, **Ενωχ**, to have been formerly uttered **HeNOK**. The modern pronunciation, indeed, of either or both classes of Syrians, in the instance of the three names here adduced as samples, is so obviously corrupted that, although Gabriel Sionita has pointed them for respectively the sounds *Don*, *Hisu*, and *H'nuk*, yet has he in his own Latin version transcribed them *Dan*, *Esau*, and *Henock*. For my own part, I follow as far as I can the older pronunciation of Syriac, not only as the more correct one, but also as that which more strikingly exhibits the close analogy that subsists between the Hebrew and Syriac tongues. In fine, I take this opportunity of stating why I deviate from the commonly received pronunciation of the name of the first Syriac version, **ܬܫܝܬܐ**, 'the pure,' which is usually transcribed **PeShITO**, in accordance with the western mode of reading, and as if the *Haleph* at the end of the word was a mater lectionis. But this letter is evidently here employed as a consonant (to give the epithet an emphatic signification); for which reason, as well as on account of the preference to be conceded to the eastern pronunciation, I read the same group **PeShITaH**. Although the consonant *Haleph* is unsounded in modern utterance, yet surely, where it serves to convey so important a part of the meaning of the title, a sign for it should not be omitted in the transcription of this name.

I have now to offer a few remarks on the peculiarities of the English mode of pronouncing some of the vowels. I am aware that, in venturing to touch upon this subject, I run the risk of appearing presumptuous, and of giving offence where I should be very sorry to do so: yet, surely, useful improvements may at times occur to individuals who are neither the most likely in point of talent to hit upon them, nor placed in

the most favourable circumstances for their discovery; and an inquiry should not be considered as hostile, upon which I by no means enter with a view to disparage the English tongue, but solely for the purpose of contributing, as far as very limited powers enable me, to the removal of what I conceive to be a great blemish in this noble language, and a great impediment to its more general diffusion.

Besides the two principal phonetic values attached to each of the five Roman vowel-letters, according as it is used to denote an open or close sound, there are a great many subordinate ones, arising from various causes, and prevailing in different countries, which render, indeed, the niceties of pronunciation in each language very difficult of attainment to foreigners, but still produce no confusion as long as the powers of different vowel-letters are not interchanged, by the occasional assignment to any one of them of a sound which falls under the general class of those belonging to another. Thus, for example, there can be no objection to the open sound attached by the English to *I*, as it is never given by them except to this vowel-letter, nor by other nations using the Roman character to any single letter. The English use, therefore, of this vowel-sign may, indeed, strike foreigners as a peculiarity, but causes them no embarrassment: it prevails still more than with us among the Anglo-Americans, who employ it in many words which we utter with the close *I*, as, for instance, in the word *genuine*. The sound in question, however, is not a simple vowel; and the Germans and Greeks, in whose language it occurs as well as in ours, are quite justified in representing it as a diphthong. The complex nature of this sound can, as I have already observed in the present chapter, be clearly evinced by prolonging its utterance, through which means it is stripped of its other ingredients, and reduced to a pure open *I*, or that which is, in English orthography, expressed by the combination *EE*; whereas a vowel really simple does not by any prolongation of its sound undergo the least alteration of its phonetic value. I have here only to add respecting the

English open *I*, that its employment does no harm in the pronunciation of Latin, but is injurious in reading out Greek ; as an important distinction in the utterance of the latter language, namely, that between the sounds of *ei* and *ι*, is thereby annulled. A similar exposition vindicates with still more force the use of *U* in England, where, indeed, the open sound given to the character is, for the most part, diphthongal ; but so, likewise, is it in other countries, different nations blending with the pure vowel different ingredients in the formation of the open complex sounds they respectively denote by this letter. Moreover, the irregularity of varying, to a certain extent, the open power of this character is not confined to England, analogous liberties being taken with it elsewhere. In English orthography, the pure open sound of *U* is usually expressed by *OO*, as in the words *boot*, *cool*, *root*, but is also represented in some instances by the character itself, as in *brute*, *flute* ; while the open value in general annexed to this vowel-letter is compounded of the pure ones belonging to it and to *I*, as may be perceived by comparing the words *mute* and *pure* with, respectively, *moot* and *poor*. But the English betray no direct inconsistency in their pronunciation of *U*, and never transfer to any other letter the designation of either of the open sounds they attach to it ; so that the inaccuracies they can be charged with, respecting its employment, are not greater than those committed by other nations who make use of the Roman character.

But what can be pleaded in defence of their practice with regard to *A* and *E*, to the first of which they give, not only both of its own proper open sounds, but also the single one of the second ; and again, to the second for the most part, that of the third Roman vowel-letter ? The shifting of those letters to the designation of sounds expressed quite differently by all the other nations, without exception, that make use of the Roman character, causes the greatest perplexity to foreigners, and throws unnecessary difficulties in the way of learning to read,



even in the case of natives. Thus, for instance, how embarrassing must it not be to a child to be taught to call the first letter of his alphabet by the open sound of *E*, and yet to be made frequently to pronounce it with one or other of two open powers of a totally different kind ! If it be said that the English have a right to intermix and interchange the sounds of their vowel-letters in any manner they please, no matter what inconveniencies may thence result to themselves or to others, I do not dispute such right,—I only question the policy of exercising it. Surely, it is not the part of a great and enlightened people to endeavour to insulate their language, and prevent the spread of it beyond their own country. The nations, indeed, of Eastern Asia think it becoming their dignity, as I have elsewhere shown, to have each of them an alphabet quite different, at least in the shape of its elements, from that employed by any of the rest ; in consequence of which the number of derivatives from the Sanscrit collection of letters is almost endless. What an obstruction this multiplicity of alphabetic systems opposes to mutual intercourse, to the progress of civilization, and to the diffusion of knowledge in that quarter of the world, I need not insist on ; as the evils it necessarily produces must be obvious upon the slightest consideration. But it is evident that the adoption of a new set of characters cannot be more detrimental, in any respect, than an arbitrary and inconsistent use of an old set. Here it should, however, be noted that the English are not more irregular in their designation of the open vowels, than the French are in that of the close ones. In the case of vowels of the latter sort, or rather, perhaps, in the latter state, a Frenchman attaches to *E* the sound of *O*, and to *I* that of *A* ; as, for instance, *en fin* is pronounced by him *on fang*. Strange, that the greatest two nations in the world, which have done more for the advancement of learning than all the rest besides, should yet, through faulty and capricious alterations of vowel sounds, have rendered their respective systems of orthography, compared with

existing modes of pronunciation, the very worst of all those in which the Roman character is employed !<sup>a</sup>

The English misuse of *A* and *E* is not of very old standing, and was not fully established till some time after our present Authorized Version of the Bible was framed ; in the early editions of which many traces are preserved of an older pronunciation of those letters. Thus the pronouns *he*, *she*, *we*, *me*, and the verb *be*, which, we may be certain from their shortness and continual use, were all along pronounced just as they are at present, are found occasionally printed in the editions referred to, *hee*, *shee*, *wee*, *mee*, and *bee*, in like manner as *thee* is still written to distinguish its sound from that of the article *the*. But when they were uniformly so written in every instance, as was the case not long before the age in which our translators lived, the sound of the single *E* must have been different from that of *EE* ; since, otherwise, writers would not

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<sup>a</sup> The most obvious methods, as far as they are practicable, of remedying the evil above complained of would be, either to return to the older pronunciation of words suited to their orthography, or to alter this orthography in accommodation to existing pronunciation. But those modes of proceeding are frequently not within our reach ; and, even when they are, it is very difficult to determine how far each of them should be resorted to. There is, however, a third remedy more under human control, and yet of considerable efficacy, which consists in a uniform adherence to whatever system of vocalization may be adopted, and a constant representation of the same articulate sounds, wherever they may occur, by respectively the same combinations of letters. It is chiefly through the observance of this last plan that the Italians have got the credit of employing a better system of spelling than any other nation which makes use of the Roman alphabet. But they appear to have carried too far their application of the second of the methods just enumerated, more especially in the alterations they have introduced into their written designations of scriptural names. With regard to the pushing of that method to its utmost extent, as is recommended by some modern advocates of what is termed ‘the phonetic system,’ it would—besides tending to withdraw all traces of the etymology of words—render them as variable and fluctuating in their written, as in their spoken forms ; and so remove the check to the continual variation of language which alphabetic writing, in the case of every system of orthography not thus tampered with, more or less supplies.

have taken the trouble of constantly adding the second *E* in the designation of those monosyllables : and, as long as they were sometimes spelled in the one way, and sometimes in the other, the process of change was going forward and the mode of pronouncing this vowel-letter was in a state of transition. Hence it may be concluded that, in England, *E* did not quite lose its old open sound, and become identified in open power, as it now is, with *EE*, 'till those editions of our Authorized Version came out in which the second *E* was entirely dropped, in the spelling of the words in question : but, according as the single letter was deprived of the open phonetic value formerly attached to it, this value was transferred to the class of sounds denoted by *A*. In Ireland—at least in the country parts of it in which I passed the earlier portion of my life—the old pronunciation of *A* and *E* held its ground, even among persons of education, till a later period, and was not altogether abandoned to the humbler classes much before the end of the last century ; all changes making their way more slowly in the remote provinces of a great empire than in its central districts. At present, the modern abuse of the above letters, particularly of the first, is not only very generally adopted by my countrymen, but also appears to be, from their disposition to run into extremes, carried farther by many of them than by its original introducers ; *A* being not unfrequently pronounced by them as *E*, in words in which it still retains its proper sound in English utterance.

But as fashions, when pushed to extremes, have a tendency to correct themselves, it is to be hoped that the natural good sense of the English people will bring back the practice under consideration to a fitter and juster state. Should they return to a use of their vowel signs more in accordance with the general practice of European nations, the change will probably commence in foreign proper names ; and in these some improvement has already taken place ; as, for instance, *Athens* and *Acre* are now pronounced correctly by well-educated Englishmen, and no longer uttered by them with sounds that

would have been expressed two hundred years ago in England by writing those words *Ethens* and *Ecre*. The universities and greater classical schools might contribute much to the forwarding of a more extensive improvement in this respect, by obliging their students to read *A* and *E* in Latin, and the corresponding letters in Greek, with the phonetic values formerly attached to them in England; and, surely, even were the correcting of the modern pronunciation of Latin the only object in view, a barbarism that confounds in speech such words as *musâ* and *musæ*, and thereby abolishes an important distinction in that language, ought to be put an end to. This barbarism has not yet reached the English pronunciation of Hebrew; and, therefore, it might, I apprehend, be easily removed from the enunciation of Scriptural proper names. The majority of our clergymen are, I believe, in some degree, acquainted with the Old Testament in the tongue in which it was originally written, while a considerable number of them are well versed in that tongue, and familiar with the Hebrew Bible. When, therefore, they read in the Church service such words, for instance, as *Satan*, *Sabaoth*, and *Abraham*, with sounds which, if unchanged since former times, would indicate that they were written (as in point of fact they never were) in the earlier editions of our Bible and Prayer-book, *Setan*, *Sabeoth*, and *E-braham*, it is only necessary to remind them how they themselves pronounce the very same words in the sacred language. The present mode of uttering in English the last-mentioned word is peculiarly offensive to a Hebrew scholar. For the name is a composite term of which the parts are separately significant in the original writing; but, in order to shift the initial *A* from a close to an open state, and so leave room for the favourite transmutation of it into an open *E*, the next letter *B* is severed from the first ingredient of the compound, and, in consequence, united to the second, whereby both ingredients are rendered wholly unmeaning; while, at the same time, the *B* and *R* that are by this contrivance brought together, being uttered without any intervening vowel, form a

complex articulation which has no place in Hebrew speech. Surely, a capricious practice which leads to so gross a violation of both the sense and sound of an important name, ought to be discontinued, even if no other instance could be adduced of its injurious effects.

As *J* and *V*, in the times when they were respectively used with the powers that are now assigned to *Y* and *W*, had a close connexion with vowels, I shall here offer a few remarks on each pair of corresponding letters, in addition to those I have already made on their Hebrew prototypes *Yod* and *Waw*. The character *J* was originally introduced into European writing to serve the purpose of contraction, and subsequently, after a long interval of disuse, was reverted to for that of caligraphy, it being found substituted, in ancient Latin inscriptions, for *II*, and in modern writing and print of, however, not very recent date, for the second element of that combination, merely to vary its shape without effecting any alteration of its sound. The first use of this character as a single letter different from *I* commenced as soon as it came to be substituted for that sign, where placed immediately before another vowel-letter in the same syllable;—an innovation adopted for the convenience of getting distinct signs for the semiconsonantal and vocal values of *I*, which thenceforward was confined to the latter value. Thus, for instance, the proper names, *Jacob*, *Jehu*, *Jidlah*, *Joseph*, *Judah*, and the pronoun *ejus*, were, previously to this change, written *Iacob*, *Iehu*, *Iidlah*, *Ioseph*, *Iudah*, and *eius*; and as the words of the latter series were obviously of the same length in utterance as the corresponding ones of the former, their ingredients *Ia*, *Ie*, *Iid*, *Io*, *Iu*, and *i*us, must have been pronounced as single syllables, and consequently their common initial must have been articulated with the power which is now expressed by *Y*. But when *J* was substituted for *I*, so placed, it must evidently have been employed with the same power as was just before attached to that *I*; and, therefore, *J* too must have then been equivalent to our present *Y*,—a result, indeed, which might be more directly arrived at,

with regard to the proper names, by an immediate comparison of them, as now written, with the sounds of their Hebrew originals. In order to make some approach to the time of the above described change, I shall here notice a few works published at dates not far asunder, which yet are at different sides of that under inquiry. On the one side, I submit to the reader's inspection a passage of the Vulgate, exactly as it is exhibited both in a Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Bible, printed at Heidelberg in the year 1616, and likewise (with the sole exception of its being given, as a quotation, in Italics) in a commentary on the Old Testament by *Fabritius Paulutius*, edited at Rome, in the year 1625. The following is a reprint of the verse referred to :—"Et ingressus est Noe & filij eius, vxor eius & vxores filiorum eius cum eo in arcam, propter aquas diluuij."—Gen. vii. 7. Here we have ocular proof of the older uses of *I* and *J* having been retained as late as the year 1625 ; while, on the other side, I find those uses of the two characters discontinued, and each of them employed, as it ever since has been, as a letter quite distinct from the other, in an edition of the Authorized English Version of the Bible printed at Cambridge in 1629. This alteration in European typography may very possibly be traced to a prior date, though certainly not to one a great deal earlier ; as the improvement could scarcely have made its way to Rome till after the commentary of Fabritius Paulutius had been printed, and it is not at all likely to have commenced in any other part of Europe much sooner than in that city. *J* still continues equivalent to our semiconsonant *Y* in German and Italian writing ; but its phonetic value has degenerated into modifications of that of *G* soft, or *Gh* in French,<sup>a</sup> English, Portuguese, and Spanish ; while the pronunciation of it somewhat varies in the first three of those written languages compared with each other, and more prominently differs in

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<sup>a</sup> The French corruption of the original power of *J* may, perhaps, be better represented by *Zh* than by *Gh* ; but even so, it still appears to be connected with the other corruptions of *J* power with which it is above compared.

each of them from what it is in the fourth, in which it has nearly lost the guttural, and retains scarcely more than the aspirate part of the composite power. These curious adulterations of the value which was attached to *J* on its first introduction into alphabets of the Roman class, have so much in common as to show that they are mutually connected, and the probability is that the French corruption is the parent of the rest; as the people of France have for a great length of time past taken a prominent lead in regulating matters of taste and fancy, the changes thus introduced by them being very generally adopted with more or less modification by the surrounding nations. But as only about two centuries and a quarter have elapsed since the origin of the *Y* power of *J*, the corruptions of that power in different countries must have occurred still later,<sup>a</sup> and be referred to dates which, however unknown they may be in other respects, at all events fall within the specified interval.

As the letter *B* had in remote times the power now assigned to *V*, so likewise *V* had formerly that which we now attach to *W*. For instance, the ancient power of *B* in the Latin verb *habere* is preserved in *avere* and *avoir*, its Italian and French derivatives, respectively; while that of *V* in the Latin noun *vinum* may be detected in its English derivative *wine* and (though perhaps not so clearly) in its Greek original *ôivos*.<sup>b</sup> Both changes, however, are too well known to require

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<sup>a</sup> The change of the power of *J* among the French—the people by whom this corruption appears to have been introduced—did not commence till after the year 1665; as may be plainly collected from a French version of the Bible published that year at Geneva, in which the pronoun of the first person singular is printed as often *ie* as *je*. For, when this pronoun was written indifferently in either way, it is evident that *ie* and *je* must have expressed the very same sound, and that a monosyllabic one in the case of the former, as well as of the latter combination. But the initial element of *ie*, read as a monosyllable, can be uttered with no other power than that attached to *y* in English orthography; and, consequently, the initial element of *je* must also have been used with that power at the date referred to.

<sup>b</sup> Although it is possible that the sound of the Greek diphthong *oi* formerly bore some resemblance to that of a syllable commencing with *W*, yet from

any lengthened illustration or proof in this place. The old power of *B* still maintains its ground in Greek, and did so likewise till a recent period in Spanish;<sup>a</sup> but the case is very different with respect to the old power of *V*, which, though of such frequent occurrence in the ancient Latin, has no direct representative in the alphabet of any of the modern languages thence descended, and is itself entirely banished from all those languages, as now spoken, except the French. In a few words of the last-mentioned tongue this *W* power is to be met with, as, for example, in *oui* and *aujourd'hui*, and the ease with which a native of France can articulate it is well evinced by the rapidity with which he utters such words: a whole volley of *oui*'s may be heard issuing from his mouth in the time that an Englishman would take to pronounce one solitary 'yes.' And yet, should he have occasion to utter a foreign word, whose written expression he knows to contain a *W*, he is very apt either to substitute for the articulation thereby denoted the modern one belonging to *V*, or, like the ancient Greeks, to resolve the syllable which includes it into simpler elements both in writing and in speech.<sup>b</sup> This striking inconsistency is,

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our ignorance of the ancient pronunciation of Greek, this resemblance cannot be insisted on with much confidence. In general the Greek writers of old appear to have decomposed by diæresis into simpler elements the powers of *W* and *Y*, when occurring in foreign words, whose sounds they had occasion to express. Thus, the Hebrew names דוד (*DaWiD*) and יפת (*YaPheTh*) were transcribed by the Seventy *Da-víd* and *I-áphēθ*;—transcriptions which we now can, indeed, by the contraction in each instance of two syllables into one, get to convey the *W* and *Y* articulations respectively; but it is not at all likely that, in the use of the ancient Greek, this recomposition was ever actually made. The probability rather seems to be, that persons who had separated the powers in question into distinct parts in the writing of this language, did always adhere to a corresponding separation in its pronunciation.

<sup>a</sup> Thus *Badajos*, a name rendered familiar to the English public by the events of the war conducted by Wellington in Spain, was, at the time when our troops took the place by storm, very generally pronounced by the Spaniards *Vadahose* instead of *Badahose*.

<sup>b</sup> As, for instance, *Edward* is written in French *Edouard*, and lengthened in pronunciation into a word of three syllables.



perhaps, to be accounted for by the circumstance of his not being habituated to the use of the letter *W*; for although of late years introduced into learned French works to facilitate the representation of sounds occurring in some Oriental languages, it has hardly yet become naturalized in the French alphabet. An Italian, in like manner, but not with the same inconsistency, either substitutes for the *W* articulation that of a different consonant, or decomposes it, in his pronunciation of foreign names; while, in transcribing those names, he changes the *W* into *V*, in the former case, and into *U* in the latter. The Spaniards and Portuguese, on the other hand, in imitating the sounds of foreign words, endeavour to form the *W* articulation, although as utterly unconnected with their dialects as it is with Italian, and represent it in their respective systems of writing by combinations of vowels, principally by *U*, and more rarely by *O*, before other vowels. The power which a Spaniard at present attaches to *J*, together with his mode of denoting that of *W*, may be illustrated to an English reader by the following examples. To convey the sounds of *what*, *where*, *when*, *which*, through the medium of Spanish orthography, these words should be written respectively, *joat*, *joér*, *joen*, *juich*. Thus, it turns out that, while *V* has lost its original power in every modern alphabet without exception of which it constitutes an element, that power itself has been completely excluded from all the principal modern dialects of Latin but one, and the letter now serving to denote it is also banished from their respective alphabets; whence it seems desirable to inquire into the commencement, and trace, as far as we can, the progress of this change. Now this object may be effected with, I conceive, some approach to exactness, by means of coins still extant in great numbers, which the Roman emperors of the first four centuries of our era had got stamped with Greek legends, for the accommodation of their eastern subjects. Thus, in the ample stock of them of which engravings are supplied in the *Thesaurus Rei Antiquariæ* of Galtzius, *Vitellius* is constantly represented in Greek, by the group

Ουιτελλιος; *Vespasianus*, by Ουεσπασιανος; *Vespasianus*, the surname of Titus, by Ουεσπασιανος or Υεσπασιανος; *Nerva*, by Νερovas; *Nerva*, the surname of Trajan, by Νεpovas; *Verus*, the surname of L. Aurelius, by Ουηρος; and *Helvius*, the prænomen of Pertinax, Ηλouιος. Hence it would appear that the Roman letter *V* was always used with its ancient *W* power, till the end of the second century. No vestige of the modern power of this letter is presented to us in the above-mentioned collection, in any older name than that of *Severus*, who was the first emperor of the third century; wherein, as might be expected at the beginning of the change, it is found but very sparingly used, the pronunciation of the word being expressed by Σεουηρος in fifteen of the legends referred to, and only in three of them by Σεβηρος. The same mode of investigation will enable a reader to see that the ancient power of *V* continued to predominate at all events as late as the commencement of the fourth century. Galtzius gives three Greek legends from coins of *Flavius Valerius Severus*, who held part of the Roman empire for a short time, just before Constantine mounted the throne:—namely, Φλα. Ουαλεp. Σεουηρος Καισαρ, Φλ. Βαλ. Σεβηρος. Kais., Αυγ. Κ. Φλ. Σεουηρος;—in two of which the sounds of the Latin words are expressed according to the ancient mode of articulating the letter in question. The separation, afterwards, of the Roman dominions into two empires, which put an end to the practice of issuing Roman coins with Greek legends, deprives us of any positive proof derived from that source, of the subsequent employment of *V* with its original power; but the great probability is, both from the general nature of habit, and the particular rate of alteration here depicted, that this power of the letter continued its principal one for some time longer, and then remained in partial use for many centuries after. Direct evidence, indeed, to this effect might be drawn from a comparison of names of no great antiquity (such as ‘Edward,’ for instance) with their Latin representatives. But I have no motive for conducting the inquiry lower down than the time when the Vulgate was

written. As late, at any rate, as that date, *V*, it has been above shown probable, was chiefly used with *W* power; and, therefore, in all likelihood was so employed in Jerome's Latin transcriptions of Hebrew names.

It is a curious circumstance that the Hebrew ו and the Latin *V* underwent, quite independently of each other, the very same change of power. If we compare  $\Delta a-vi\delta$  (contracted in pronunciation into a dissyllable), the Greek transcription of the name of the Royal Psalmist made by the framers of the Septuagint, with that given of it by the authors of the New Testament,  $\Delta a\beta i\delta$ , we shall find that the central letter of the original designation, וו, was shifted from the ancient to the modern power of *V*, in the interval between the ages in which the two sets of writers lived. This alteration, however, of the power of *Waw* did not take place till after Hebrew had lost its purity, and degenerated into the corrupt dialect spoken by the Jews in the time of the Evangelists.

As long as *J* retained its original affinity to *I*, it was perfectly justifiable to rank under the same head in dictionaries the words which commenced with those letters; but the total change of power which the former character has undergone in the writing of, I believe, every language but Italian and German, in which it is employed, renders the continuation of the practice very absurd, except in the dictionaries of those two languages. In any others, the words having *G* and *I*, or *H* and *I*, for their respective initials, might just as rationally be now classed together. The same observation applies to the present arrangement in dictionaries of vocables commencing with *V* and *U* under the same head; which, indeed, was quite warranted when *V* was equivalent to *W*, but is now just as unmeaning as would be the placing of words beginning with *B* and *U* in the same class. The latter mistake is of wider extent than the former; since it is to be seen as well in Italian and German dictionaries, as in all others written with systems of letters derived from the Roman alphabet. Here, I may, in addition, notice an anomaly with regard to the two letters in

question which is confined to the English system of writing. The *W* and *Y* of this system are not denominated, like its other elements, from their powers ; but the first is called from its shape, and that too, by a distinctive appellation which, since the interchange of the characters *V* and *U*, is no longer applicable to it, as it should obviously from its present figure be termed, not *double-u*, but *double-vee* ; and, moreover, the name which it ought by analogy to have from its power, is strangely transferred to the second letter, which thus comes to be called after a power different from its own, *Wi* instead of *Yi*.

The earliest date to which we can trace back the power of the Hebrew װ, through external evidence, is the time when the Septuagint was written ; and its phonetic value at that period (or the initial part of this value, supposing the character to have been then used as a syllabic sign) is exactly represented by our *W*. This circumstance gives a great advantage to the English system of orthography over others, in recording the sounds of Scriptural names : for in most of the modern European alphabets the letter *W* is entirely wanting ; and, although it is to be found in the German collection of letters, it no longer therein retains its original value, but is employed with a power more nearly approaching that which is at present attached to *V*. On the other hand, the German and Italian systems are better adapted for the above purpose than any of the other derivatives of the old Latin alphabet, in the circumstance that they preserve uncorrupted, the power assigned to *J* when first it was introduced into modern writing as a letter distinct from *I* ;—a power exactly agreeing with that which has invariably been, as far back as we have means of tracing it, the semi-consonantal value of װ (or the initial part of that value when the Hebrew letter was a syllabic sign, supposing it to have been ever so employed). This advantage, however, the Italians have, in a great measure, forfeited, by the strange liberties they take with Hebrew names whose originals commence with װ ; such, for instance, as *Jacob*, *Joseph*, *Jerusalem*, which, de-

viating from their older practice,<sup>a</sup> they now transcribe *Giacobbe, Giuseppe, Gerusalemme*. This unwarrantable alteration of the initial part of the sounds of Hebrew denominations is obviously of foreign origin, as it could not have been derived from their previous transcriptions of those names consistently with their own system of orthography, and was most probably borrowed by them from the practice of the French, with whom they have had more intercourse than with any of the other nations who have fallen into the like corruption. It may be further observed, that the extent to which they indulge in this corruption depends upon the degree of familiarity they have with the transcribed names. Thus, the initial part of the three above specified is always changed by them ; but *Jericho*, which is not of such frequent occurrence in Scripture, they write only in some passages *Gerico*, and in others more correctly *Jerico* ; while they never tamper with *Jebus*,<sup>b</sup>—a name very seldom mentioned in the Bible,—but suffer it to remain, wherever it occurs, with the initial *J* unchanged. From combining these considerations it would, I think, appear, that the Italians de-

<sup>a</sup> In an edition of Diodati's Italian version of the Bible printed at Geneva in the year 1641, the above names are written *Iacob, Iosef, Ierusalem*. Nor is the alteration of Italian orthography, thus shown to have taken place, confined to Scriptural names. For instance, the Pagan name Jupiter or Jove, which is printed in the same edition of 1641, *Ioue*, is in more modern Italian books transformed into *Giove*.

<sup>b</sup> In the present state of the sacred text, the Hebrew group for the above name (omitting its prefixes) is written in Josh. xviii. 28, יְבוּסִי (YEBUSI); of which the final element can be clearly shown to be spurious by the concurring independent testimonies of the Septuagint and Peshitah; it being transcribed here, as well as in every other place of its occurrence, as the name of a town, without any letter to correspond to that element, Ιεβούς in the former version, and יְבוּס (YEBUS) in the latter. But, indeed, the interpolation of the *Yod* at the end of the word in question in this verse is also proved by the clearest internal evidence; both by the circumstance of the group being written without it, wherever else it is intended to designate a place (as, for instance, twice in the eleventh chapter of the First Book of Chronicles), and also by the analogies of the Hebrew tongue, according to which יְבוּסִי is an inhabitant of יְבוּס, i. e., a 'Jebusite,' and is so rendered elsewhere

siring to imitate a French mispronunciation with which they had become familiar in the case of certain names commencing with *J*, and unable to make this letter of their alphabet accommodate itself to the change, were induced to substitute for it a soft *G* (equivalent to our *Gh*) in transcribing those names. Whether the corruption in question be thus sufficiently accounted for or not, its existence in the Italian writing of the present day is, at all events, unquestionable.

The English corruption of the sounds of Scriptural names whose originals begin with *Yod* cannot be proved of foreign descent in the same manner as the Italian one: and yet it is most probably derived from the same external source; as different nations could hardly have adopted a very arbitrary and

in our Authorized Version; but the specified verse expressly relates to towns, and not to their inhabitants. Certainly, the inserters of the *matres lectionis* in the Hebrew text have betrayed great precipitation in the case before us, in which they acted so contrary to their own practice with regard to the same group in other passages of Scripture, while they, at the same time, grossly violated, either the grammar of their language, or the demands of the context; and, although the interpolation of those letters is a subject not yet regularly entered upon, yet, meeting incidentally with so glaring an instance of it, I could hardly pass it over without notice. Unaided by the discovery which is unfolded in the ensuing volume, the framers of our Authorized Version were reduced to a state of great perplexity in the passage referred to. They could not render יבוס here, as they correctly have in other passages, 'Jebusite' (what would according to the present powers of the English letters be written 'Yebusite'), because such rendering would have violated sense in this place: nor could they, on the other hand, transcribe it 'Jebus,' as they would thus have abandoned their favourite maxim of the 'Hebrew verity' (and, in truth, the *Yod* at the end of the above group in Josh. xviii. 28, could not fairly be laid to the fault of transcribers, as there is not a single known copy without it in this passage; at least not one among the vast number examined by Kennicott and De Rossi: the former author, indeed, specifies several copies in which the *Waw* is omitted in this group, but none in which the second *Yod* is wanting). Under these circumstances our translators in this instance entered into rather a strange compromise between right and wrong, and transcribed the group, neither *Jebus* nor *Jebusite*, but *Jebusi*,—a word which they have not ventured to make use of anywhere else through the entire range of their version.

capricious change of the power of *J* quite independently of each other ; and, for a reason already stated, the English are far more likely to have taken it from the French, than the French from the English. But, however this may be, the fact is undeniable that, in English orthography, the power of the letter in question has been altered, and its original value transferred to *Y*. To correct, therefore, the injurious effect of this alteration upon the pronunciation of Scriptural words, it becomes necessary to substitute the latter character for the former in the English transcriptions of Hebrew names.<sup>a</sup> Changes fully as great, if not greater, have already been made in our Authorized Version of the Bible ; as may at once be perceived upon consulting the Oxford reprint in 1833 of the first edition of it, or that which was published in 1611. Let us, for instance, compare the following extract from this edition with the same passage of Scripture, as it is printed in the Bibles of the present day :—“ O Hierusalem, Hierusalem, which killest the Prophets, and stonest them that are sent vnto thee : how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a henne doeth gather<sup>b</sup> her brood vnder her wings, & ye would not? Behold, your house is left vnto you desolate. And verely I say vnto you, ye shall not see me, vntill the time come when yee shall say, Blessed is hee that commeth in the Name of the Lord.”—Luke, xiii. 34–5. As all the words of this and the corresponding extract from any modern edition are either

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<sup>a</sup> The change above recommended has already been made in the Hebrew expression transcribed into Roman letters *Hallelujah*, which is now more usually, as well as more correctly, presented to us in English hymn-books *Halleluyah* (“praise ye Yah”); although the name of the Deity herein employed is still suffered to remain in our Bible written *Jah* instead of *Yah*.

<sup>b</sup> The words of the above extract from the first edition, *doeth gather*, *her* before ‘wings,’ and *the time*, are not printed in Italics, as they are in modern editions, though such words (namely, that are introduced to render the sense complete, without having any to correspond to them in the original text) are occasionally so pointed out in the same edition ;—a circumstance which shows that this valuable improvement upon older versions was not all at once accomplished, but was gradually brought to its present state.

exactly or virtually the same (though many of them are differently spelled, and some even differently pronounced<sup>a</sup>), those extracts are justly considered as parts of the same version ; nor is this identity affected by even the changes of the proper name, though so much greater than those undergone by any of the other ingredients of the compared extracts. In the first place, the *H* was very properly dropped, as soon as a reference to the original Hebrew designation of the name showed that the accentuators were mistaken in prefixing the *spiritus asper* to its Greek transcription ; and, secondly, the *I*, which thus became the initial element of the word, was with equal propriety changed to *J*, as soon as the semiconsonantal part of the phonetic value of the former character was transferred to the latter. But if two alterations of this name could be made without disturbing the identity of the version, surely a third may, which rests now upon the very same ground as the second did at the time of its introduction, and which, moreover, does away with the corruption that followed that second alteration, and brings us back again to the previously correct pronunciation of the initial syllable. Here it may, perhaps, be objected that *Jerusalem* is not only an ancient name, but also a modern one in general use, which it would be mere affectation to deviate from the received mode of writing or pronouncing ; and I admit this remark to be just, in reference to the mode of dealing with such words in ordinary books or in ordinary conversation. But in the transcription of ancient names in our Bible, and in the solemn recitation of them when therein occurring, we are, as I conceive, bound to pay more attention to ancient pronunciation, and to approach, as nearly as we can, to their original sounds : besides which, it is to be observed, that the great majority of names of men and places in Scripture are such that the objection cannot in any way

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<sup>a</sup> For instance, 'doeth,' though above used as an auxiliary verb, is given in a dissyllabic form ; but in modern writing and speech it is always, when so used, reduced to a monosyllable.



reach them, seeing that they are to be met with only in the works of very ancient authors, and a large proportion of them in the Bible alone.

To place the foregoing observations in a stronger light, I will venture to apply them to a name which is, indeed, in modern and frequent, but not in familiar use, and which never should be written or uttered but with feelings of the utmost veneration,—I mean, *Jesus*, the appropriate designation of our Lord, given to him, before the time of his birth, by an angel. We surely have no right to tamper with the pronunciation of this sacred name, or to vary it with the varying fashion of the day; and the present spelling of it in our Authorized Bible and Prayer-book, which misleads the public as to its ancient sound, ought to be corrected. The original sound, indeed, of this word both in Hebrew and in Syriac (which approaches nearer than pure Hebrew to the vernacular dialect of the Jews in the age when our Saviour dwelt in human form upon earth), viz., that denoted by *Yeshuh* or *Yeshuāh*, was changed into one which *I-e-soos* expresses, by the authors of the New Testament, to suit its pronunciation to the genius of the Greek language, as well as to meet the deficiencies of the Greek alphabet, which contains no consonants equivalent to *Y*, *Sh*, or *H*. But those authors were inspired men, and, therefore, Christians of subsequent ages were fully justified in adopting the whole or any part of the alteration thus introduced. Accordingly, the fathers of the Western Church, not having the use of the combination *Sh* in the system of writing employed by them, followed the Greek termination of the name in question; but, as the Latin *I* was capable of being used with *Y* power,<sup>a</sup> they adhered to the original sound of the

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<sup>a</sup> “Ab Jove principium generis, Jove Dardana pubes  
Gaudet avo.”

*Æn.* vii. 219–20.

This extract from Virgil is quite sufficient to show that, in the ancient language of the Romans, *Jove*, or rather *Iove* (according to the older mode of writing the word), was dissyllabic, and, consequently, that the first two letters of this group, as constituting but a single syllable, must have been equivalent

initial syllable, and so came to write this name *Iesus* ;—a form of the word which was thence communicated to all the modern languages written with derivatives of the Roman alphabet,<sup>a</sup> and retained therein till the introduction by the printers of *J* as a letter distinct from *I*. Now, though the Greek transcription of the first part of the above name does not express the true sound of its initial syllable, it still enables us to ascertain that sound ; because, when we undo the diæresis into which the Evangelists were driven by the defects of Grecian orthography, and recompound the two syllables *I* and *η* into one, we shall find their combination to yield the sound, not of *Ghe*, but of *Ye* ; so that the inspired Greek Testament confirms the testimony of its Syriac version, as to the modern corruption of the initial syllable of this name. The final part of the word, I admit, is changed, but it is so on the authority of inspired writers ; while, on the other hand, the modern change of its commencement rests on no ground whatever but that of French caprice. As long as this name was written *Iesus* or *Iesu*, there could be no material alteration of the initial part of its sound, as there is but one consonantal power that has any affinity with the vowel *I* ; but when *J* was substituted for *I* as its initial letter, it then became liable to change according as the power of *J* was changed. Where people have been thus led to an altered pronunciation of the name, they may have been unconscious of its corruption, the spelling of it remaining unvaried ; but no such excuse can be pleaded for the Italians, who must have been perfectly aware of its alteration of sound, when they changed the initial letter from *J* to *G*, that is, to one which, in their system of orthography, is of an entirely

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in sound to the modern English combination *Yo*. The ancient pronunciation of the entire word would, according to the present use of the elements of our alphabet, be expressed by the series of letters *Yo-we*.

<sup>a</sup> In Italian the above Latin name was at first transcribed *Iesu*, which came as near to the Syriac sound of the original expressed by *Yeshuh* as the Italians could reach to ; as their orthography does not admit of the combination of letters *sh*, nor of the occurrence of *h* at the end of a word.

different power. If, however, we should still adhere to our present mode of pronouncing this name after having become sensible of its incorrectness, I confess I do not see how our treatment of the word could be considered more excusable than theirs ; for, on this supposition, the case would stand as follows. The Italians intentionally altered the first letter of the name for the express purpose of introducing a French corruption of its sound ; while the English, on the other hand, retain that letter in its place, although they thereby continue the same French corruption, into which, indeed, they had at first glided unconsciously, but now wittingly persevere in it. I can hardly bring myself to think that in English practice this course will be much longer adhered to. At present, however, the Germans are the only people who avoid corrupting the sound of this holy name ; as they have neither followed the French in the alteration of the power of *J*, nor the Italians in the substitution for it of *G* soft ;—a circumstance which gives a great advantage to the books written by them on religious subjects. But why should our version of the Bible, or our formularies of devotion, be suffered to remain, in this respect, inferior to those of the Germans, or of any other nation upon earth ? The removal of this blemish falls in a great measure within the province of our clergy. If they should, in the performance of divine service, deem it right to pronounce the name *Jesus* in the same manner as if it were written *Yesoos*,—which, I conceive, they are fully warranted in doing, by the example of the entire German nation, as well as by the original English power of the initial letter,—that letter would soon come to be changed, both in writing and in print, so as, in accordance with the present powers of the elements of the English alphabet, to accommodate the spelling of this word to its corrected pronunciation.

I take this opportunity of submitting a few observations on the *Waw conversive*, as it is termed, to the judgment of my reader, with the hope of contributing somewhat to the elucidation of points involved in the subject, which, I believe, have

not as yet been sufficiently considered or explained. The general nature of this *Waw* is already well understood; namely, that coming between two verbs in different tenses it communicates that of the preceding to the following verb, so as to make the tense of the latter verb a compound one, of which its own separate tense constitutes only a subordinate part. Thus, when the preceding verb is in a past tense, the *Waw* prefixed to the following one in a future form is called *Waw conversive of the future*; because it turns that future into a tense that bears chiefly on the past, its original reference to the future being preserved merely so far as to indicate, that the narrated event took place after that just previously mentioned. This compound tense cannot be translated literally into our language; because the combination of auxiliaries in the expression, 'and did shall (or will) perform,' does not make sense in English. But if the same compound be paraphrased, 'and did next (or subsequently) perform,' it becomes perfectly intelligible to an English reader, and might be termed a *continuative preterite*, from its serving expressly to denote a continuation of the narrative. The framers of our authorized translation of the Bible have not placed outside their text the literal construction of this, as they have of other idiomatic forms of expression; since the continuative tense is of such frequent occurrence that the requisite repetition of the idiom would have quite overloaded the margin; neither have they, in the body of their version, distinguished it from a simple preterite; as, in modern composition, the order of narration sufficiently indicates the order of occurrence, except when it is expressly stated that no such arrangement is adhered to. Where, then, is the use of the continuative preterite in the original Bible? To answer this query, I must observe that the indication of the commencement of a new subject which is afforded by the non-employment or discontinuance of the tense in question, though it would be quite superfluous in an English version, was by no means so in the Hebrew text, when written, as it formerly was, without any

separation of the words from each other, or marks of pauses at the end of sentences. Nay, even since the introduction into that text of stops and blank spaces of greater length after passages closing subjects, the aid of this tense is still wanted to obviate the ill effects of the ambiguity of the Hebrew conjunction *Waw*, which considered by itself has the force of either a continuative or inceptive particle ; and it is yet more required for the purpose of supplying us with authoritative ground for the due correction of erroneous divisions, from whatever cause they may have arisen, but which are not so likely to have been made by the immediate translators of the sacred record, as by subsequent copyists of their versions.

Thus, the continuative style which, in the original, pervades the first chapter of Genesis, does not commence till the third verse of that chapter, and is carried on without interruption to the end of the third verse of the next chapter. We have, therefore, the inspired authority of Moses himself for making this chapter begin at what is at present its second verse, and include the first three verses of the following chapter. Had the author intended to connect the second verse with the preceding one, he would have employed in it a continuative tense, instead of the simple preterite which he has actually made use of. He, consequently, meant to keep the first verse quite distinct by itself, as an introduction to his record ; and it well deserves this prominent and conspicuous site, from the very important truth it reveals, the production of this earth and all the great bodies of the universe out of nothing by the mighty power of God ;—a truth discovered by none of the Pagan philosophers of antiquity, who universally held that nothing can be produced out of nothing, in accordance with the Latin maxim, *ex nihilo nihil fit*. The *Waw*, then, at the beginning of the second verse of the first chapter is not employed as a continuative, but an inceptive particle ; exactly as it is at the beginning of the first verse of the third chapter, where, indicating the commencement of a new subject, it is correctly rendered ‘ now,’ instead of ‘ and,’ by our translators ;

and it ought, precisely for the same reason, to have been construed likewise 'now' in the former of the two places just compared. Thus, again, the third chapter of Genesis commences one verse earlier in the Septuagint than in our Authorized Version : but a reference to the original of the second chapter, in which the continuative style is kept up to the end of that verse, decides the point here at issue between the two versions in favour of the English division, and against the Greek one. The verse in question describes the state of innocence in which Adam and Eve lived, before they yielded to temptation : and, supposing the scribes who arranged the Septuagint in the manner in which it is at present distributed into chapters, to have confined their attention solely to the substance of the narrative, they may have been induced to insert this verse at the head of the third chapter, for the purpose of bringing into more immediate contrast the states in which the first human pair were placed before and after their fall. But the very form of expression here used by the inspired author of the Pentateuch forbids this mode of dividing the subject.

My limits preclude me from dwelling at present any longer on the use of the *Waw conversive of the future* ; and I proceed to the consideration of the *Waw conversive of the preterite*, which, coming after a future or an imperative (reckoned by Hebrew grammarians as a species of future), has the effect of changing the preterite tense of the verb to which it is prefixed, into a future combined with a subordinate reference to the past. In the instance of the former compound tense, the meaning is perfectly understood, though the form of expression cannot be rendered literally in correct English ; but, on the other hand, in the instance of one species of the latter compound, the form is strictly conveyed by the English combination 'shall (or will) have done,' while in that of both species of it the meaning has, I suspect, come to be forgotten through disuse, and is not at present known. With a view, then, of making some effort to recover this meaning, I proceed to inquire whether modern translators are warranted in the

practice universally observed by them of drawing no distinction in their respective versions between the compound future and the simple future (or compound imperative and simple imperative) of the Hebrew tongue, in like manner as I admit they are in not distinguishing, as to the mere relations of time, between the compound preterite and simple preterite of that language. To assist the English reader in forming his own judgment on this point, I lay before him rather a long extract from our Bible, selected simply for the circumstance of its containing several of the futures or imperatives under consideration; and in which I deviate from the English translation solely in giving a more literal rendering of those compound forms, with the single exception of restoring one of them that has been overlooked by the framers of our version, the ground of which correction is given in a note upon the place.

“Haste ye, and go up to my father, AND YE SHALL HAVE SAID unto him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord of all Egypt; come down unto me, tarry not; AND THOU SHALT HAVE DWELT in the land of Goshen, AND THOU SHALT HAVE BEEN near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children’s children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast; AND there WILL I HAVE NOURISHED thee, . . . . . AND YE SHALL HAVE TOLD my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye have seen; AND YE SHALL HAVE MADE HASTE, AND SHALL HAVE BROUGHT DOWN my father hither . . . . . And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye; lead your beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan; and take your father and your households, and come unto me; and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land: AND THOU SHALT HAVE COMMANDED *them*, This do ye;” take

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<sup>a</sup> The above sentence is rendered in our version, “Now thou art commanded, this do ye,” between the parts of which translation there is no connexion, and from which I have found myself compelled to deviate, not only in form, but also in substance. The room for diversity of construction, in

you waggons out of the land of Egypt for your little ones, and for your wives; AND YE SHALL HAVE BROUGHT your father, AND SHALL HAVE COME.”—Gen. xlv. 9–11, 13, 17–19.

Now I request my reader to consider this extract with attention,—and there are multitudes of passages in the Bible of a similar nature,—in which such repeated use is made of a very idiomatic form of expression, intermixed with another in some measure corresponding, but still quite free from all idiom; and I then beg him to ask himself whether the originals of those forms can be wholly equivalent (as they are represented to be, not only in, I believe, every modern European translation, but also, for the most part, in the Latin Vulgate), or if they be really so, what could possibly have been the motive of the inspired historian in resorting, and more especially in resorting so often, to the, under this supposition, unnatural, and, at any rate, more complicated form? To my mind, I confess, it has long appeared almost certain, that there must be some difference of meaning between the two forms, though by no means so clear in what that difference consists. As I was reflecting on this difficulty a few years past, a phrase came to my recollection which I had frequently heard in the days of my boyhood in a remote part of the country, where the common people were not at that time as familiarly ac-

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this instance, has arisen from an ambiguity in the first clause of the original, ואתה צויתָה. For, according as the second word, which is a verb, is read in an active voice שִׁVvIThāH, ‘thou hast commanded,’ or in the corresponding passive one שָׁVvEThāH, ‘thou hast been commanded,’ this clause admits of being rendered either, “and thou shalt have commanded,” or “Now thou hast been commanded.” The Masorets have pointed the verb in question for the latter reading, the insurmountable objection to which is, that it makes the whole sentence incoherent, and destroys all connexion between the two constituent clauses. Yet our translators, misguided by the authority of those critics, adopted this reading; which is proved erroneous, not only by the context, but also by the very superior authority of the Jewish framers of the Septuagint, as well as by that, likewise entitled to more weight, of Onkelos, who in their respective renderings of the verb in this place have assigned to it an active signification.



quainted with English as they now are, and were in the habit of thinking in Irish and afterwards mentally translating the expressions so formed into what was then to them a foreign language. Under these circumstances, when a gentleman has called out to one of them to carry a message, or do some other piece of service for him quickly, I have constantly heard the answer given, "Please your worship," or "Please your reverence," as the case might be, "*I'll be after doing it* for your honour;" by which he was understood to convey the assurance, that he would execute the commission intrusted to him with such expedition, that his employer might look upon it in the same light as if it was already fulfilled. I have since inquired from competent Irish scholars, and find there is no such *paulò post futurum* tense in Irish; nor does any such exist in English; and yet certainly, this one appears to have resulted from the combination of the two languages in the manner I have stated. But in whatever way this Anglo-Hibernian phrase came into existence, every reader must, I think, be struck with the close resemblance it bears to the Hebrew compound tense under examination, in that they both of them unite a reference to the future with a subordinate one to the past. It, therefore, very naturally occurred to me to try, whether, thus corresponding in form, they might not also agree in meaning; and, after numerous trials, I can safely affirm, that I never found the signification, so attributed to the Hebrew idiom, at variance with the context; while, on the other hand, it frequently tended to increase the force and expressiveness of the style. To illustrate this point I revert to the extract from our English Bible already given, from which I deviate, as before, only in the case of the compound tense under inquiry. But instead of substituting a stricter rendering of the Hebrew form of this tense, I now introduce, in each place of its occurrence, the meaning for it which has been suggested to me by the corresponding Anglo-Irish expression.

"Haste ye, and go up to my father, and instantly say unto him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord of all

Egypt ; come down unto me, tarry not : and thou shalt instantly dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt instantly be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast : and there will I instantly nourish thee, . . . . . And ye shall instantly tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye have seen ; and ye shall instantly haste, and instantly bring down my father hither. . . . . And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye ; lade your beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan ; and take your father and your households, and come unto me ; and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land. And instantly command *them*, This do ye ; take your waggons out of the land of Egypt for your little ones, and for your wives, and instantly bring your father, and instantly come."

Excepting the correction of the short sentence already noticed as a mistranslation, the extract from our Authorized Version here referred to is altered, in this quotation of it, solely by the insertion of a supplementary adverb before each of the verbs whose originals are written in the compound tense under discussion, which additional word is printed in Roman characters instead of Italics ; because, though not expressed by the verbs themselves, it is, I conceive, by the peculiar form in which they are exhibited. The frequent repetition of this adverb *may*, perhaps, offend the taste of modern readers ; but they are requested to bear in mind, that a very idiomatic form of expression is just as often repeated, and lies fully as open to the charge of tautology in the original Hebrew ; while, on the other hand, the marked repetition of this very supplement serves to place in a more prominent and conspicuous point of view the filial piety of Joseph and the gratitude of Pharaoh. Upon the eagerness of the former to see a beloved, long-lost parent, and upon his delight at the thoughts of instantly pressing to his breast that parent, who was ever after to live near him,—of instantly rescuing from

famine, and thenceforward sustaining with abundance of food that venerated object of his affection,—upon these and other like feelings of the son, which, by means of the peculiar form of construction here brought under observation, are so artlessly and yet so graphically described, it is unnecessary that I should dwell. But in the picture similarly drawn of the second character, there is a trait to which I must beg to direct attention, as it is wholly lost in the Authorized English Version, in consequence of the error therein committed which has been above alluded to. In the latter part, then, of the extract in the altered state in which it has just been presented to view, we may perceive displayed the anxiety of Pharaoh to anticipate the wishes of an able minister of state to whom he and the country at large were deeply indebted, not merely by desiring that officer to say to his brothers, ‘This do ye,’ after which follow some special directions which it must have been most gratifying to Joseph to communicate, but also by repeating the injunction in a still more urgent manner, and requiring him instantly and without loss of time to command his brothers, ‘This do ye,’—the very words with which he was before desired to begin his address to them, followed by orders closely connected with those previously specified, and which he must have been equally delighted to convey. I may add that the gratification, here depicted, as intended for him, is considerably heightened, not only by the speed with which he was directed to issue those orders, but also by the speed he was required to enjoin upon his brothers in their execution,—‘instantly bring your father and instantly come.’ As far, then, as this example goes, my conjecture is, I submit, clearly borne out, that the compared compound tenses, which have so striking a correspondence in form, would be found to agree also in sense. But to prosecute the investigation farther on the same plan would require more time and space than I can devote to it; and I must, therefore, leave the learned to satisfy themselves upon this point by further trials of the same kind and of their own selection.

The Jews, after the corruption of their language produced by the Babylonian captivity, appear to have gradually dropt and at length wholly abandoned the compound tense which has been just examined. This remarkable change commenced among them at any rate before they framed the Septuagint, in which the sense in question is frequently interpreted, not as a compound, but as a simple one ; and it was completed before the times when they composed the Targums, which, written in the dialect then spoken by them, do not exhibit any vestige whatever of this tense. Hence we need not be surprised that this people should now, in reading the Hebrew Bible, make no distinction between the above tense and a simple imperative or simple future, considering that they have so long since lost the use of it in their national dialect. But, surely, we are bound, as far as lies in our power, to look to the sense in which this tense was employed by the original authors of the inspired text, rather than to that in which it has come to be more loosely interpreted, and confounded with other tenses, by modern Jews. The restored distinction is not, I admit, essentially necessary to our understanding the general bearing of Scripture ; but it is, to our recovering a nicety in the structure of the ancient language which, as I conceive, is well entitled to attention.

When the Seventy Interpreters exhibit the meaning of the tense before us in a future form, they represent it as one quite simple and uncompounded ; but when they translate it in the form of an imperative, they for the most part employ for the purpose one or other of the Greek indeterminate tenses called aorists, whereby a compound tense is produced, in which the futurity essentially connected with the imperative mood is combined with one or other of two kinds of indefinite reference to time which is chiefly the past. Thus,—to confine myself to the case in which imperatives are used in the Greek translation of the Hebrew tense in question in the places of its occurrence in the original passage of Genesis above referred to,—the injunctions which, in my first modification of the rendering given

of this passage in the Authorized English Version, are construed as follows:—1. “And ye shall have said unto him”—2. “and ye shall have told my father”—3. “and thou shalt have commanded”<sup>a</sup>—have their bearing represented in the Septuagint through, respectively, the clauses, 1. *Καὶ εἶπατε αὐτῷ*, —2. *ἀπαγγείλατε οὖν τῷ πατρί μου*—3. *Σὺ δὲ ἐντείλαι*. But when two clauses containing verbs in such forms come immediately together, the first of those verbs is in general denoted in the Greek version by a participle belonging to one of the aorists, which gets included in its meaning partly the sense of a future by means of its immediate connexion with the subsequent imperative: as, for instance, the originals of the sentences in my first rendering of the same passage—4. “and ye shall have made haste, and shall have brought down my father hither”—5. “and ye shall have brought your father, and shall have come”—are construed respectively in the Septuagint—4. *καὶ ταχύναντες, καταγάγετε τὸν πατέρα μου ὧδε*—5. *καὶ ἀναλόντες τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν παραγίνεσθε*. The last of the Greek verbs in these five examples is the only one exhibited in the present

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<sup>a</sup> I have been obliged to make the verbs in the above clauses compound futures, for want of compound imperatives in the English language. I could not, for instance, write the last of those clauses, “and do thou have commanded;” as the two auxiliaries thus brought together are, I conceive, at variance with each other, the first of them implying that the required act has not, and the second that it has, been already performed. The Anglo-Irish idiom alluded to, in a preceding paragraph, as often heard by me about sixty years ago, supplies the species of imperative here wanted quite free from any incoherence, “and do thou be after commanding;” while even, in the case of the Hebrew compound future, which admits of a strict English rendering, the same idiom presents the advantage of a closer approach to the original tense. For the translation, “and thou shalt have commanded,” gives the form of this tense without the meaning; while the rendering, “and thou shalt instantly command,” gives the meaning without the form; but the construction, “and thou shalt be after commanding,” yields, in the acceptance in which I have heard it employed, the meaning, at the same time, that it in a great measure agrees with the form of the Hebrew tense. But, notwithstanding this advantage of the mongrel phrase, I could not venture to adopt myself, or recommend to others, the use of such broken English.

imperative, or, as I should prefer calling it, the simple imperative form.<sup>a</sup> I must, however, add that the verb in the first example (ἐπατε), though strictly in a compound imperative form, came in the course of time to be used as a simple imperative, in consequence of the present tense of this verb having fallen into disuse. The other verbs and the participles are employed in compound tenses, one part of whose composition was indeterminate from the very first, and whose totalities are now to the apprehension of moderns particularly vague, in consequence of there being no forms of expression precisely equivalent to them in any of the modern European tongues.<sup>b</sup> As far, however, as the meaning of these compound tenses has been ascertained, it is not identical with that I have detected

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<sup>a</sup> The imperative of the second aorist, or compound imperative, παραγένεσθε, may be easily conceived to have been changed by oversight of copyists into παραγίνεσθε, differing as it does therefrom only by a single letter. I do not, however, lay much stress on the possibility of this alteration having taken place; as the likelihood of its having done so is, I admit, greatly diminished, by the circumstance of the verb being, in this site, written in the present tense, in both the Vatican and Alexandrian copies of the Septuagint.

<sup>b</sup> It is extremely hard for persons who make use of but one tense in the imperative mood to conceive how the several tenses of that mood in the ancient Greek language differed from each other. This difficulty is strongly indicated in the attempt of the learned French authors of the Port-Royal Greek Grammar to distinguish between the first aorist imperative and preterperfect imperative, by translating τύπον, *fac verberaveris*, and τέτυφε, *verberaveris*; where, in point of fact, they have made a distinction without a difference. For the word inserted before *verberaveris* in the former instance is equally wanted in the latter, to give an imperative turn to the expression; for which purpose it, or some equivalent one, as not written, must be there understood. The same difficulty may be further illustrated by the very forced explanation they have given of their rendering of τέτυφε, which is as follows, *verberaveris*, i. e. *hoc age ut postmodum verberasse dicaris*. The application of the idiom already noticed to this case would at least yield a more intelligible meaning for the two imperatives, and convey some difference of tense. Their interpretation would thus come out τύπον, 'do thou be after beating'—τέτυφε, 'do thou be after having beaten.' I do not, however, pretend to assert, these are correct renderings of the two Greek words; nor, indeed, am I able to adduce their exact equivalents.

for the Hebrew form, to the interpretation of which they have been applied. The Seventy Jews, therefore, must be considered as having, for want of a Greek inflexion exactly corresponding in sense with the Hebrew compound,<sup>a</sup> selected the Grecian tenses which approached nearest to it in form; and as they frequently introduced into their version Hebrew idioms in a corrupt Grecian dress, so, in the instances here referred to, they appear to have employed pure Greek forms in, not their native, but a foreign acceptance. Hence, although there is a Latin inflexion which somewhat answers to the specified Greek ones,—namely, the tense of the optative or subjunctive mood which is used indifferently as a preterite or a future, and is in some measure compounded of both;—yet this inflexion is not, I believe, ever employed in the Vulgate in the translation of the Hebrew tense in question. As far as my trials happen to have reached, that tense is always therein rendered by simple imperatives or simple futures (with scarcely ever any supplementary words added to remedy the simplicity of those forms); in consequence of which it came to be translated in all the modern versions of the Vulgate also in the same loose manner: and even when the German and English Reformers turned to the original Hebrew Bible, for the purpose of obtaining correcter translations of it, they did not attempt to revive the strict meaning of this tense, partly from its not having been preserved by the Jews, in whose critical knowledge of the ancient language, as originally used, they placed too implicit a reliance; and partly from their having no forms in their respective tongues exactly agreeing with the compound Hebrew imperatives.

I shall conclude this discussion with comparing the several representations of the last sentence of the examined passage of Scripture as it is exhibited in the Hebrew text, and in the principal versions that were written, either immediately by

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<sup>a</sup> The Greek *paulo post futurum* was of no use to the Seventy for the above purpose, as it is confined to the passive voice.

Jews, or under their superintendence ; placing under each representation its meaning, as closely as I can.

*Hebrew*, . . וּנְשֹׂאתֶם אֶת־אֲבִיכֶם, וּבֹאתֶם. ס

And do ye instantly bring your father, and instantly come.

*Septuagint*, . . καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν [παραγένησθε?] παραγίνεσθε.

And do ye, instantly taking up your father, [instantly?] come hither.

*Vulgate*, . . Tollite patrem vestrum, et properate quantocyùs venientes.

Do ye take up your father, and hasten as quickly as possible coming.

*Targum*, . . וְתִלְוִן יֶת־אֲבוּכֹן, וְתֵיתִין

And ye shall take up your father, and shall come.

I have here expressed the meaning of the translation given by the Seventy Jews of this sentence, not according to the Grecian use, as far as it can now be ascertained, of the compound tense employed in its first member, but according to that made of the corresponding compound in the original; and I have marked only as possible, the use of the same Greek tense in the second member. But I wish to direct the attention of the reader, in the first instance, not so much to the meaning of this tense as to the composite nature attached to it by the combination of the participle of the second aorist with the verb in the imperative mood, whether that verb be also in the second aorist or not. With regard to Jerome's translation of the sentence, it must be considered as virtually that of his Jewish instructors, on whom he was totally dependent for any knowledge he possessed of Hebrew; as he had not the advantage now afforded by the Masoretic system, which, by laying the grammar of the language open to inspection, would have enabled him to judge for himself of the bearing of each passage in the original Scriptures. It is only by taking into account the state of subserviency to the dogmatic teaching of his Hebrew masters in which he was thus placed, that I can form any



conception how a man of his great ability came, after he had once been taught the full signification of the Hebrew compound tense, to refrain, as he has done, from applying that signification wherever the context required it. Thus, for instance, to return for a moment to the whole of the quoted passage of Genesis terminating with the sentence just brought under view,—surely, Joseph must have been more eager for the arrival of Jacob in Egypt than Pharaoh could by any possibility have been ; yet, in the version now referred to, a graphic description of this eagerness is given in the latter case, while it is omitted in the former, wherein the attribution of such a feeling to the speaker would have been far more in keeping with the character of the man and the circumstances of the narrative ; and this omission, I may also remark, is made, though the very same idiomatic structure in the original warranted the translator in the use of the same description in both cases. As to the very slight attention paid to the idiom in question by the instructors of Jerome, it is, I conceive, to be accounted for by the total absence of this form of expression from both the Chaldee and Syriac, the former of which languages was identical with, and the latter had a close affinity to, that long employed only as the sacerdotal dialect of the Jews ; so that the above idiomatic tense must have been discontinued in this dialect, at all events before the date of the composition of any of the Targums, and probably before that of the Peshitah ;—a discontinuance, indeed, which, as I have already stated, seems to have commenced even before the Septuagint was written. Accordingly, we may perceive symptoms of a gradually increasing neglect of the proper bearing of this tense in their interpretations of it, on our comparing the several portions of the last example. The inspired author presents to us a verb with a *Waw conversive of the preterite* prefixed to it in each member of the Hebrew sentence : while, in their respective translations thereof, the circumstance of this combination being invested with a peculiar force is indicated, by the Seventy Jews, in reference to at least one, if not both clauses ; by

Jerome, in unquestionably the case but of one ; and by Onkelos, in that of neither clause ; from whose time onward all distinction between the tense so constructed and a simple imperative, or simple future, appears to have been overlooked or abandoned by his countrymen in their interpretation of the sacred text. In fine, with respect to the proof to be derived from ancient testimony in support of the meaning I have recovered for this tense, the evidence of the Seventy Jews, I admit, goes barely to the extent of attesting that it differs from the simpler tenses with which it is at present confounded, but conveys to us that difference only through combinations of tenses which are now but very imperfectly understood, even if we could be secure (which we are not) that they were employed by those writers in a purely Grecian acceptation. This deficiency, however, is, in some degree, made up for by the testimony of Jerome, who, in his rendering of the second clause of the original sentence, fully bears out the correctness of the assigned meaning, as must at once be seen on comparing his and my translations of that clause.

Besides the peculiar use of the Hebrew preterite investigated in the foregoing paragraphs, by which, as I have endeavoured to prove, it is converted into a species of *paulo post futurum* tense, it is also employed in the original Scriptures with a reference to the future (even when unconnected with any preceding verb in the future tense), in order to indicate that we may be as certain of the fulfilment of a prediction thus conveyed, as if the predicted event had already come to pass. It is by the prophets that the preterite is chiefly used in the latter sense, in consequence of which it may be denominated, when so applied, the *prophetic future*. The occurrence of this idiomatic species of future tense in the sacred text is now so generally admitted, that I shall not detain the reader with any proof of its actual existence therein ; but, assuming this point to have been already established, will confine myself to noticing two others relating to the same subject. In the first place, then, it would, I submit, be an improvement to our Au-

thorized Version, if a distinction were to be introduced into it between the prophetic and the simple future ; which might be clearly effected by uniformly joining to the English rendering of the former future some adverb expressive of certainty, and by steadily abstaining from any other use of that adverb. In this way, not only would the English reader be supplied with a correcter interpretation of the prophetic future than is at present afforded to him, but he would also be apprised of the places of its occurrence in the Hebrew text of which all indication has been hitherto withheld from him.

In the second place, there is an instance in which I think I can show that an employment in Scripture of the idiomatic future in question has been overlooked, not only by the framers of our Authorized Version, but also by all the modern commentators on the Hebrew text, even, as far as I can find, up to the present day. The instance to which I allude, will be found in the parallel passages which are rendered in our version as follows :—"By thy messengers thou hast reproached the Lord, and hast said, 'With the multitude of my chariots I *AM COME UP* to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon ;'"—2 Kings, xix. 23. "By thy servants hast thou reproached the Lord, and hast said, 'By the multitude of my chariots *AM I COME UP* to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon ;'"—Isaiah, xxxvii. 24. I do not here complain of these renderings being only equivalent and not identical, though their originals (with the exception of a single letter, on all sides admitted to be redundant in one of them) are exactly the same ; but, turning attention to the words of each rendering which are printed in Italics, and are the translations of one and the same expression in the original passages, אֲנִי עֹלֶתִי, I would observe that,—besides the omission in these translations of all notice of the boasting insertion in the original of the Hebrew pronoun of the first person, where not wanted to convey the sense, and which consequently ought to have been here interpreted 'I, even I,' or 'I myself,'—the tense in them assigned to the verb is compounded of the present

and the past, and terminates in a reference to a time just past, —a bearing of it which in the adduced passages is utterly inadmissible. It would obviously have been an absurd act of Sennacherib to boast of his having already driven the multitude of his chariots over the tops of Lebanon, at a period when it was notorious that he had not as yet done so ; and, accordingly, the Hebrew expression here referred to is rendered by the Seventy, in one of the passages in which it is recorded, *ἐγὼ ἀναβήσομαι*, and in the other, *ἐγὼ ἀνέβην* ; where, I admit, the second rendering affords no evidence on the point in question ; as the aorist might be employed to convey an indeterminate reference to either a past or future time ; but the first rendering unequivocally attests the inflexion under examination to have in this situation the force of a future tense ; and this attestation is powerfully sustained by the Syriac rendering of the whole expression in both places of its occurrence, it being therein translated in each place by the words ܐܢܝ ܐܝܬܝܠܥܠ, ‘I myself [or I, even I] will ascend.’ The reference therefore of the verb in the above Hebrew expression to a future time is fully established by the internal evidence of the case, combined with the joint and independent testimonies of the Septuagint and Peshitah. But this reference could not have been produced by a WAW CONVERSIVE OF THE PRETERITE understood, though not written, before the verb ; because, although the liberty of thus attaching the force of a future tense to a preterite inflexion is occasionally taken in the poetry and prophecies of the Hebrew Bible, in which the connexion of the sentences is not as fully indicated as in other parts of the sacred text, yet it could not by any possibility have been here resorted to, as the essential requisite to such a conversion is wanting ; there is no preceding verb in the future tense to which the one in question could be referred. It only remains, therefore, that this Hebrew verb should be construed in the same prophetic tense as the learned have already ascertained that absolute preterites ought to be construed, when they are similarly situated with regard to the

relations of time in other sentences of Scripture. I would, therefore, recommend the entire original passage to be translated in exactly the same words in each place of its occurrence, as follows :—"By thy messengers thou hast reproached the LORD, and hast said, 'With the multitude of my chariots I myself will certainly ascend to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon ;'"—without the adverb 'certainly' being exhibited in Italics ; because, though not directly expressed by any separate word in the Hebrew passages referred to, it still is so, by the peculiar inflexion therein employed with the force of a future tense. By this change in the rendering of those passages, one of the most striking marks of the impious audacity of the speaker,—in arrogating to himself a style of expression appropriated in Scripture to the Almighty, or to the prophets speaking in the name of the Almighty,—which has been hitherto concealed from the English reader, would be laid prominently open to his view. I shall here only add, that a considerable part of the difficulty of the very obscure remainder of this verse, as written in each of the specified places, can be removed by the aid of the discovery unfolded in the course of the ensuing investigation. But this is a subject into the discussion of which it would be premature here to enter.

The remainder of this chapter shall be devoted to pointing out some features of the Authorized English Version, in respect to which it appears to require correction : for, although it is, I believe, the very best that has yet been published in any modern language, and constitutes an admirable work for the age in which it was composed (when as yet no collation of Hebrew MSS. had been made, nor had either the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch or the Syriac Version of the Old Testament been printed ; and when the knowledge of Hebrew and the cognate dialects was not by any means as far advanced among Christians as it is at present), still, in the interval that has since elapsed, amounting to nearly two centuries and a half, many errors and inaccuracies have been detected in it

from time to time, and their number, I apprehend, will be found, through the aid of the discovery unfolded in this Essay, so vastly increased, that a revision of the entire translation can hardly be deferred much longer. Beside the faults of nomenclature I have already noticed in this version, as occasioned by causes over which the translators had no control,—to wit, the changes of power which certain letters of the English alphabet have undergone since their time,—there are others, the blame of which must, at least in part, be laid upon themselves; such, for instance, as inconsistent and defective transcriptions of names.

1. In the next chapter some very striking examples will be produced of names of rare occurrence, which, even while unvaried respectively in their personal application, are differently transcribed in different parts of our Authorized Version. A less violent liberty, which however, not being supported by ancient testimony of any weight, is quite unwarranted, may be seen taken in the same version with a Hebrew group of very frequent occurrence, which is therein transcribed ‘Isaiah,’ when applied to the son of Amoz, but ‘Jeshaiah,’ when referred to another person in 1 Chron. xxv. 3 and 15, or to a third one in 1 Chron. xxvi. 25. In a species of writing, indeed, in which so sparing a use is made of letters for the expression of words, it is just possible that the same group should, in its application to the designation of different individuals, be employed to stand for different spoken names: and it must be further conceded that the particular group, or Hebrew-written name, here alluded to, is, in the present state of the Septuagint, actually transcribed therein differently for its different personal applications. But the evidence thus afforded by the Greek version refutes itself, as it presents to us different transcriptions of the above group in the two places of its occurrence in 1 Chron. xxv., where it is employed to denote one and the same individual. Moreover, the second of those transcriptions is different in the Vatican and Alexandrian manuscripts; so that the two principal copies of this version here

contradict each other, besides each of them, separately considered, contradicting itself. The testimony, then, of the Septuagint on the point before us has evidently undergone corruption, and is entitled to no attention. It may be added, *ex abundanti*, that the evidence of the Syriac Bible on the same point is to the opposite effect, and is perfectly clear and consistent, as far as it goes. The latter part, indeed, of the twenty-sixth chapter of first book of Chronicles, in which the third person referred to is mentioned, is lost from the Peshitah; but in, I believe, every other place where the Hebrew group in question occurs, whether applied to the prophet or the second person thereby designated, it is uniformly represented in this version by the same Syriac transcription. Another instance of unwarrantable liberty taken with Scriptural names, of continual occurrence, and one indeed of direct inconsistency in their treatment, is supplied by comparing the three transcriptions in our Authorized Version, 'Isaiah,' 'Jeremiah,' and 'Ezekiel,' with each other and with their respective originals. Those originals in the Hebrew text actually commence, all of them, with the very same letter—a circumstance which clearly shows that the initial syllables of two of the English-written names must be wrong; and, as it happens, those of all three are so at present. The correct expression in English writing of the sound with which the three Hebrew spoken names in common begin, was, at the time when our version came out, the syllable *Ie*; it afterwards, from a change of English orthography, became *Je*, and now is *Ye*. It is unnecessary to dwell longer on the several points here touched upon, as they will be more fully discussed in the next chapter.

2. A vast number of proper names are exhibited in the present Authorized Version, without substitutes for the aspirate, or, as they are more usually called, the guttural elements of the original groups, even when occurring at the commencement of syllables. Such omissions, at the end of syllables in the transcribed words, is in a great degree warranted by the analogous treatment, occasionally to be met with, of one of the

gutturals themselves, *He*, in Hebrew writing. But the leaving *Haleph* in every site of it unrepresented in those transcripts, cannot with equal force be defended on the ground put forward for the purpose, that the letter itself is always (except, indeed, when used as a mater lectionis,—a case which is not here taken into consideration) passed over without any perceptible modification of sound, in the modern way of reading Hebrew. This circumstance affords no reason for omitting a substitute for the letter just referred to, but merely one for not pronouncing such substitute: *H* is frequently retained in English orthography, where it, notwithstanding, is left absolutely mute; as, for instance, in the words *honour* and *honesty*, in which it is kept on account of its employment in their Latin originals. But, surely, we ought not to be less attentive to etymology in the case of Hebrew, than in that of Latin derivatives; or to think the correct spelling of Scriptural names a matter of less consequence than that of terms of Pagan origin. Besides, it may be further urged in support of this view of the subject, that the omission of an equivalent for any of the Hebrew gutturals (not excepting even *Haleph*) at the beginning of syllables, in the transcripts in question, is injurious in two ways; first, it leads an English reader into the notion that some of the Hebrew groups denoting names commence with vowels, when in reality there is not a single instance of a name so written in Hebrew orthography; and, secondly, it tends to deceive him as to the number of syllables in such names. Thus, for example, *Seir*, in Gen. xiv. 6, is, I believe, very commonly read as a monosyllable;<sup>a</sup>—a mistake which could

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<sup>a</sup> It may be worth noticing here, that *Cain* is also incorrectly read as a monosyllable (as a reference to the original name, קַיִן, QaYiN, will clearly show); although the error does not belong to exactly the same class as the one above considered, and is to be removed by the insertion between the word's two vowels, not of *H*, but of *Y*. This name was correctly transcribed *Cayin* in the, I believe, oldest translation of the Bible into English, viz., that made by Wycliffe.



not occur if the name were written *Sehir*, and a letter thus inserted in it to correspond with the *Hayin* of the original group.

The defect above described in the mode of representing the sounds of Hebrew names was, from the nature of the Greek alphabet, unavoidable in the Septuagint; from which it made its way into an immediate translation thereof, the old Italic version, and thence into the Vulgate; again, from this, which was Jerome's version, it got into the first English one, Wycliffe's, subsequently into Tindal's, and still later, in a greater or less degree, into all the English translations that were afterwards successively formed. For, although in those last-mentioned translations, as well as in the Vulgate, many of the errors of the respectively preceding versions were corrected through a direct reference to the original Hebrew, yet great numbers of inaccurate transcriptions previously introduced were retained in them, from a reluctance, on the part of their respective framers, to alter the spelling of names with which the public had already become familiar. This excuse, however, cannot be pleaded for several of the faulty transcripts of Hebrew names in our present Authorized Version. Thus, for instance, the names *הוּוּה* (*HeWaH*), *הַבֵּל* (*HaBeL*), and *הֶנֶךְ* (*HeNOK*), which are transcribed *Heva*, *Habel*, and *Henock*, in Parker's Bible, that was used in churches for the forty years immediately preceding the time when King James's Bible came out,—*Hevah*, *Habel*, and *Henoch*, in the Geneva Bible, which was generally read in the houses of private families for the fifty years before the same epoch,—and *Heva*, *Habel*, and *Henoch*, in Cranmer's Bible, which was the Authorized English Version for thirty years before Parker's,—may be seen in our present English Bible changed respectively into *Eve*, *Abel*, and *Enoch*. It is true that the three earlier versions, just specified, exhibit, each of them, in the New Testament, the foremost of those names in the mutilated form, *Eve*; and that Miles Coverdale's Version—the first printed English translation of the entire Bible—

betrays the very same inconsistency as they do, of presenting to us the name in question transcribed *Heva*<sup>a</sup> in the Old Testament, and *Eve* in the New. But, surely, if the framers of King James's Bible wished to confine their transcripts of this name to the same form in both Testaments, and one already in use, they ought, for such purpose, to have immeasurably preferred *Heva* to *Eve*, as approaching so much nearer to the sound of the original word. That sound the Seventy Jews and the inspired authors of the Greek Testament concurred in representing by *Eva*—a trisyllable which, by the combination of its two latter elements into one syllable, would become equivalent to *Ewa*, and thus denote, as far as it goes, the correct pronunciation of the name, falling short of the full expression thereof only through the want of aspirates, that is, through the want of letters which the Grecian alphabet does not furnish. But *Ewa* would in Jerome's time have been written *Eva*; and he, by prefixing *H* to this latter group, remedied the defect of the Grecian transcript quite as much as was requisite in a practical point of view; since the addition of a second *H* at the termination of the same group would not have sensibly altered the pronunciation of the word, and its non-insertion in that site was warranted by the frequent dropping of the corresponding Hebrew aspirate at the end of syllables in the original writing. The framers, therefore, of the earlier English versions above enumerated were perfectly justified in borrowing the Latin transcript *Heva* from the Vulgate; and they only erred in not changing its *V* to *W* (to make it convey the very same sound as it did in the days of Jerome), and in not extending the use of it, so modified, to their respective translations of the New Testament. In fine, the composers of our present Authorized Version can be still further shown to have misrepresented the sounds of all the

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<sup>a</sup> Strictly speaking, only two of the earlier versions referred to give the name of the first woman *Heva* in the Old Testament; the third, for extreme accuracy, exhibits it therein printed *Hevah*. But *Hevah* and *Heva* are virtually the same; as there is no perceptible difference between them in sound.

three examined names in the body of their translation, by means of evidence which they have themselves supplied in the margin with respect to those sounds;—evidence, indeed, which is very inaccurate in itself, in consequence of their having preferred the guidance of the Masorets to the far older and more valuable testimony of the Seventy Jews upon this subject; but which still deserves attention as furnishing virtually their own admission, that they ought to have commenced with an aspirate their transcript of each name.

3. The two classes of faults as yet exemplified, being confined to the subject of nomenclature, affect the form rather than the substance of our version; so that there may be some difference of opinion on the point, how far they really come under the head of inaccuracies requiring correction. But those of the class next to be noticed are of a nature more decidedly objectionable, as having arisen from an effort to conceal blemishes in the existing condition of the Hebrew text—an effort which led the translators not only to a partial suppression of the truth, in the cases referred to, but still further to, at times, its positive misrepresentation. It would seem, indeed, from this conduct that, notwithstanding their aversion to Popery, they were not quite emancipated from all its errors, but still adhered, in some degree at least, to the very dangerous and beguiling one, that ‘the end justifies the means,’—a principle which, put in this undisguised form, they probably would have rejected with indignation, but by which they yet appear to have been, perhaps unconsciously, influenced in practice. They were, no doubt, actuated by the best motives in the instances to which I allude; but no motives could justify the *reserve* therein practised by them; nor should they have been deterred by any consideration of consequences from communicating to the public the whole of what they knew with regard to the inspired volume.<sup>a</sup> That book has far greater safeguards to

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<sup>a</sup> The above observations, respecting the propriety of notifying chasms in the Hebrew Bible, are of course applied to only such as cause some alteration

shield it than any that could be supplied by mere maxims of worldly prudence; and is visibly under the all-powerful protection of God, who has graciously condescended to let his providential interference in its defence come in various ways within reach of human observation.

An example of the kind of fault I am now complaining of, occurs in a very early part of our version;—"And Cain talked with Abel his brother; and it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and slew him."—Gen. iv. 8. Here no chasm appears; yet the context of the original passage clearly shows one, as may be perceived at once from its first clause—**וַיֹּאמֶר קַיִן אֶל הָאֵבֶל**, signifying literally, "and Cain said to Abel his brother,"—a statement which obviously implies, that some words used by Cain on this occasion originally followed in the text, which are now no longer to be found in it.<sup>a</sup> Accordingly, a vacant space is left immediately after this clause in several Hebrew MSS., above twenty of which have been specified by Kennicott; and the Masorets, to whose authority our translators elsewhere pay the greatest deference, have not only inserted here in their edition of the text a mark of something being omitted, but have also added the observation that there are twenty-eight

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of the meaning of passages, or of the sound of names in Scripture; nor, even when the loss of single letters affects the sense in a minor degree, is it requisite to apprise the English reader thereof, provided that the dropped elements be replaced within brackets in the text of the original record, and that full warrant for their restoration can be added in its margin.

"The expression, "and he talked with," is the correct rendering, not of the Hebrew words **וַיֹּאמֶר אֵל**, but of **וַיְדַבֵּר עִם**. The difference between the two verbs here adduced is well known, and thus briefly told by Gesenius in his shorter Lexicon:—"A **דִּבֶּר** *locutus est* ita differt **אָמַר** [*dixit*], ut illud absolute ponatur, hoc additis verbis quæ quis dixerit." This difference is more fully explained by an older commentator, as follows:—"אָמַר significat actum *dicendi*; ideoque semper sequitur declaratio et expressio dictionis, ubi illa non potest subintelligi. Ut, Gen. i., dixit Deus, nempe, fiat lux; item, fiat firmamentum, colligantur aquæ, germinet terra, fiant luminaria, &c. At **דִּבֶּר** est *loqui*, et ponitur sine subjunctione rei dictæ."—*Avenarius*.

such blanks in the middle of verses in the sacred record. The framers, therefore, of our version could not have been ignorant of the existence of a chasm in this place, no more than they could of the true signification of the verb in the first clause, וַיֹּאמֶר, —a word of the most ordinary and familiar occurrence in the acceptation to which it is there confined by the context;<sup>a</sup> —and the circumstance of their mistranslating that ingredient of the clause could have arisen solely from a desire to conceal the above chasm. This piece of contrivance on their part, I am sorry to be obliged to state, appears to me very reprehensible. The Hebrew text is, no doubt, in a wonderful state of preservation, considering the great age of the whole of it, and that its earlier portions constitute by far the oldest book in the world. But what right had they, in consequence, to represent that text to the public as more perfect than it really is? and why should they not rather have candidly acknowledged the present defect of the original in the passage in question, and availed themselves of the means which Providence had placed within their reach for remedying in their version this blemish? The purport of the omitted words of Cain is recorded in the Septuagint, without any variation between its Vatican and Alexandrian copies, Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, *let us pass into the plain*, and also in the Peshitah, נִכְנֵן לַפְּסִיטָה, *let us go into the plain*; while the original expression itself is preserved in the Samaritan edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, נִלְכְּהוּ הַשָּׂדֶה [ס]שְׂדֵה, *let us go into the field (or plain<sup>b</sup>)*. Here are

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<sup>a</sup> The expression אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ, ‘he said within his heart,’ or ‘he said within himself,’ is used in the simple language of the Bible to signify ‘he meditated;’ and sometimes אָמַר (varied of course in its inflexion according to the circumstances of the case) is therein employed in this sense without the addition of the second part of the phrase, but not when it is followed, as in the above clause, by the particle אֶל, ‘to’: Cain could not be represented as meditating to Abel.

<sup>b</sup> I was at first disposed to suspect that the preposition אֶל had dropped out between the two words above quoted from the Samaritan text; but on consideration it will, I think, be found that the incomplete expression, as it stands, is much more consonant to the violent agitation of mind under which Cain must have laboured at the time when he uttered it.

three testimonies perfectly independent of each other, yet fully agreeing as to the substance of the meaning of the words dropped from the verse under examination in the Jewish edition of the sacred text : in addition to which I do not lay much stress on a fourth from the Vulgate, ‘egrediamur foras,’ *let us go out* ; because a note of the author, elsewhere made, shows this evidence not to be an independent attestation, but given by him only on the authority of the Samaritan record and the old Italic translation of the Septuagint ; and consequently that the chasm had got into the Jewish text before the period when he wrote.<sup>a</sup>

The disingenuous practice exemplified in the foregoing paragraph did not, I grant, originate with the composers of the present authorized translation of the Old Testament : on the contrary, its working can be traced more or less through

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<sup>a</sup> Jerome, in his *Liber Questionum Hebraicarum in Genesim*, makes the following observation :—“*Et dixit Cain ad Abel fratrem suum. Subauditur, ea quæ locutus est Dominus. Superfluum ergo est quod in Samaritanorum et nostro volumine reperitur, transeamus in campum.*”—*Hieron. Opera*, Ed<sup>o</sup>. Benedict., tom. ii., col. 511. The unsoundness of the view of the subject offered in this note will at once be perceived, by giving an equivalent English translation at full length, with a supplement agreeing with the words here stated to be understood, and printed, after the modern fashion, in Italics. The meaning of the clause in question would in this way be exhibited as follows :—“And Cain repeated to Abel his brother *the words which the LORD had said to himself, as stated in the preceding verses.*” Not only is the forced and arbitrary nature of this construction of the passage quite obvious, but also its inconsistency with the rest of the narrative may be easily shown. There does not appear any ground whatever for assuming that the words of the LORD were not pronounced in the hearing of both brothers ; but, even supposing them heard by the elder alone, surely it would be utterly at variance with the state of angry feeling in which Cain must have been at that period, to imagine that he then would have volunteered to give Abel any information, and more especially information that included a censure of his own conduct. From the extreme subserviency, however, of Jerome’s mind to the prejudices of his Jewish instructors, which is indicated by the circumstance of his yielding assent even for a moment to such a view of the case, he eventually in this instance freed himself ; as may be clearly inferred from the translation of the above passage which he finally adopted in his version.

nearly all the English versions that preceded theirs.<sup>a</sup> I further admit that the evidence of all the records above referred to was not presented to them, nor *à fortiori* to their predecessors, in as clear a form as it now is to us; but still the light thence reflected was such as would, if duly attended to, have been sufficient to guard them from the sort of faults here canvassed. Of the Peshitah, indeed, only the New Testament had in their time been as yet printed; but manuscript copies of the Old Testament in that version were then in the hands of the learned; so were, or at any rate might have been, consulted by the translators in question: and, although Samaritan copies of the Hebrew Pentateuch were not, after a disappearance of above a thousand years, brought back to Europe till a period shortly subsequent to the publication of the first edition of their version,<sup>b</sup> yet notices are preserved in the writings of the

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<sup>a</sup> Wycliffe is entirely free from the above charge (of which, indeed, he could not have been guilty, as he was ignorant of Hebrew, and translated solely from the Vulgate); and the individuals who under the superintendence of Archbishop Cranmer wrote the English Bible called after his name, are also to be exempted from it in some instances, as they had the honesty and candour to mark by a difference of type the words of their version which they translated from the Vulgate when there were no corresponding ones in the Hebrew text. Thus, for example, in the case of the examined verse of Genesis they are just as clear of the imputation as the earlier writer. Wycliffe's rendering of this verse, as exhibited in a MS. copy of his work, classed A. 1. 9, in the Library of Trinity College (after substituting Roman letters for those he used, excepting his character of *th* power, somewhat like his *y*, in place of which I here employ the Greek *Theta* for want of an equivalent Roman letter), stands thus:—"And Cayin seyde to abel his bro<sup>θ</sup>, Goo we oute, whan *θ*ei weren i *θ*e feeld, aros *θ*erwi<sup>θ</sup> cayin ageynst his bro<sup>θ</sup> abel, & slewe h<sup>y</sup>." And the translation of the same verse in the edition of Cranmer's Bible printed in 1540 (after substituting the Roman for the old English black letter) is as follows:—"and Cain spake unto Habell hys brother (*let us go forth*). And it fortunend when they were in the feld Cain rose up agaynst Habel hys brother, & slue hym."

<sup>b</sup> The copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch which first reached Europe in modern times appears to have been that purchased from the Samaritans by Pietro della Valle for M. de Sancy, French ambassador at Constantinople, by whom it was sent to Paris in 1616, just five years after the first edition of the

fathers of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries of several of the more striking differences between these and the Jewish copies of the same work. Of such notices an instance is afforded in the case of the very passage just examined ; and Jerome's evidence incidentally given of the virtual agreement in this instance between the Samaritan and Greek records is fully borne out by inspection of the Samaritan text. At present, however, it is not so material to inquire how far our last set of authorized translators were answerable for the faults of commission and omission included in the particular case above brought forward, as to consider in what way those faults may best be removed. Their rendering, then, of the verse, Gen. iv. 8, I would venture to recommend being corrected as follows :—" And Cayin said to Habel his brother, *let us go into the field* ; and it came to pass, while they were in the field, that Cayin rose up against his brother Habel, and slew him." But the alterations here suggested are not, without some further change, sufficient to effect the object in view : as, according to the use made of Italics in our version, the words therein so printed indicate, not only that there are no corresponding ones in the Jewish edition of the Hebrew text, but also that they are necessarily implied by the context ; of which positions the latter is, in the instance before us, untrue. The context, indeed, shows very plainly that some words are wanted in the original passage, but does not (though it excludes any inconsistent with itself) positively determine what are those words ; and to justify the supplement here given, the authorities should be specified on which it has been adopted. There should, then, besides, be placed in the margin, as a note upon this supplement, the words 'Samaritan text and Septuagint and Peshitah versions,' or more briefly, 'Samar., Sept., and Pesh.'

The insertion in translations of words in a different cha-

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present Authorized English Version had been published. It is not, however, quite certain whether some of the copies procured by Archbishop Ussher from the East did not reach him at a somewhat earlier date.



racter from that employed in the main body of each of them, for the purpose of denoting those necessarily implied by the context, but to which there are none to correspond in the respective originals,<sup>a</sup> commenced, as far as I can find, with the authors of the Geneva Bible,<sup>b</sup> and constitutes evidently a vast improvement on the previous mode of exhibiting such works ; as it enables translators of ancient writings, and more especially of those composing the several parts of the inspired volume, to give their renderings in a fuller and freer style, and one more accordant to the peculiarities of modern languages, without, at the same time, deviating from a strict representation of the state of the originals respectively undertaken to be interpreted. This improvement has been followed in each of the authorized English versions that were framed since the date of its introduction ; though less accurately in the earlier one, or that called ‘Parker’s Bible’ ; but both its introducers and the two subsequent sets of translators referred to were precluded by their prejudices from the very important extension of its use that has just been pointed out. Now, at length, however, surely sufficient time has been afforded for the subsiding of the party zeal which gave birth to the prejudices in question, and for allowing the obviously sound principle to come into operation without any abatement or alloy, that, in everything relating to the Bible, the public have a right to be told “the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.” I shall here only add that in reference to the Hebrew text, I

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<sup>a</sup> Italics were not introduced for the above purpose, till after some editions of the present Authorized Version were printed, at the period when the Roman character came to be substituted in that version for the old English black letter.

<sup>b</sup> The English version that was authorized next before Parker’s Bible, that is, Cranmer’s Bible, is older than the Geneva Bible, and yet has some words printed in a different character from that generally used in it ; but these are not at all words implied by the context, but constitute the translation of Latin expressions in the Vulgate which have none to correspond with them in the Hebrew text as it stands at present.

would insert in the chasm occurring in the examined place the words I have quoted from the Samaritan record, including them, however, between brackets, and putting in the margin, as a note upon them, the words *Codex Samar.* Prejudices, surely, that interfere in any way with a just representation of the subject should not be deferred to, in the case of Jews any more than in that of Christians.

For a second example of the same class of faults and also of the value of the proposed additional use of Italics, I would request attention to the translation in the present Authorized Version of the Bible of the last verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of Deuteronomy, as exhibited in the reprint, published at Oxford in 1833, of the first edition, where it runs thus :—“Cursed *be* hee that confirmeth not all the words of this Law to doe them : and al the people shal say, Amen.” The Hebrew for ‘all,’ on which the whole drift of St. Paul’s argument rests, in the place (Gal. iii. 10) where he quotes the meaning of the first clause of this verse, does not appear in the original text in its present state ; and this English word cannot be admitted to be implied by the context, as the clause yields very intelligible sense without it, and that too quite a different sense from the one produced by its insertion. Yet, while the verb ‘be,’—which is so far from being here essentially requisite that it might be erased without either altering the meaning of the passage or rendering it unmeaning,—is carefully marked out as having no corresponding word in the Hebrew text, not the slightest intimation is given of the omission of infinitely more importance in the same passage of that text which causes the original, as it stands at present, and its version to have quite different bearings in this place ; and the Hebrew clause is likewise treated as if there was no such omission in it, by all the earlier English translators, excepting the first of them, Wycliffe.<sup>a</sup> This misrepresentation of the existing state of

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Wycliffe’s translation of the verse including the above clause, when the characters used by him are changed in the manner described in a preceding note, stands thus :—“Corsed *ð* dwelli*ð* not i *ðe* wordis of *ðis* lawe, ne hē i

the original record is, however, more pointed in the English versions that have been written since the method was introduced of distinguishing by a difference of character between the words in them that have, and those that have not, corresponding vocables in the Hebrew text; and it was continued in its more deceptive form in our present Authorized Version, at any rate, as late as the edition which issued from the University Press of Cambridge in the year 1629. How soon after the word ‘all’ came to be printed in Italics in the place under discussion, I cannot state; but it has been so exhibited in every edition that has been published for a great length of time past. This correction, however, is not of itself sufficient to remedy the evil of the fallacy previously imposed on the public, and give an adequate view of the subject. It is further necessary, not only to guard the reader from an error into which he might be very apt to be inadvertently drawn by the ordinary use of Italics in our version, that, I mean, of assuming that the supplementary word in the examined place must, from the manner in which it is printed, be implied by the context; but also to inform him, since its introduction into the English translation of the clause is not warranted, either by the existing state of the original text, or by the demands of the context, on what grounds it is there inserted. Both objects would be answered by the marginal reference, ‘Samaritan text and Sep-

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dede fulfillið, and all the peple schal sey amen.” This is a strictly literal rendering of Jerome’s translation in the Vulgate of the same passage (“*Maledictus qui non permanet in sermonibus legis hujus, nec eos opere perficit. Et dicet omnis populus, Amen*”);—so much so, indeed, that if the reader should be at a loss for the meaning of any of the old English words, he can ascertain it by means of the corresponding words in the Latin verse: as, for instance, ‘ne hē’ is the exact translation of ‘nec eos,’ ‘hem’ being the old English for ‘them.’ Here I have further to observe, that the word, ‘hee’ or ‘he,’ in the translation given of the same passage in the present Authorized Version, has none exactly corresponding to it in the Hebrew, any more than it has in the Latin verse; so that in order to the observance of perfect accuracy, this pronoun, just as well as the verb ‘be,’ ought to be printed in Italics.

tuagint,' each of which records clearly, and, quite independently of the other, attests, that the sacred text originally contained the Hebrew for 'all' in the place in question, by actually now exhibiting, the former record, the word itself, כָּל, and the latter, its Greek translation, in that site. Here I may add, as a general remark, that such references would serve the twofold end of distinguishing the new use of Italics here recommended from that to which they have hitherto been applied, and of communicating to the public the defects in the existing state of the Hebrew text, together with the means which a gracious Providence has supplied for their removal.

In the instance of the particular passage under discussion, the force of the independent, yet perfectly concordant, testimonies of the Samaritan text and oldest Greek version is confirmed in the most convincing manner by the inspired authority of St. Paul, who read and translated this passage in exactly the same manner as did the framers of the latter record. It is in vain here to object that this Apostle quoted but loosely from the Hebrew Scriptures. The objection can be shown, by means of the discovery unfolded in the ensuing investigation, quite erroneous in a vast majority of the passages adduced in its support; but even supposing his practice to have been of this description in other cases, it cannot for a moment be allowed to have been such in that before us. For, if the word כָּל did not exist in his time in the specified site, his quotation in Greek of the meaning of the clause in question would be not merely loose, but absolutely false, and the argument of vital importance in which he makes use of that quotation would have been grounded by him on a falsehood,—a view of the matter which is utterly inadmissible. But all-powerful as is the bearing of his quotation on the subject, it still is not by itself sufficient to prove the existence of a chasm in the above site to every one, as, for instance, to a modern Jew strongly prepossessed with the notion of the perfect preservation of the Hebrew text. A Christian, indeed, might argue, that St. Paul was inspired, therefore his evidence on the point must be

true, and therefore the word כַּל must have originally stood in the place alluded to; but the Jew would, on the other hand, insist on the actual absence of כַּל from that place, and thence infer the falsehood of the adduced evidence. For the latter of these disputants, then, further proof of the point in question is obviously requisite; and, though not wanted for the former, still, even to him it may be gratifying to find additional authorities *ex abundanti* supplied for the missing word.<sup>a</sup>

Before quitting this example, it may be worth while to consider the manner in which Jerome dealt with it, as affording an additional illustration of the benefit of the proposed extension of the use of Italics. Although this author's judgment was greatly fettered by the prejudices of those to whom he was forced to resort for instruction in the mode of reading and interpreting the Hebrew text, yet he at least dimly perceived the very grounds above stated for the chasm I have brought under notice, as well as another of minor importance in the same passage, which I had no occasion for my present object to advert to; and he further was led to suspect those chasms, more especially the principal one, to have been made designedly by Jews of former times for the purpose of fraudulently defeating the argument founded on this passage by St. Paul.<sup>b</sup> Still, when he came to translate the verse in question, he abandoned this view of the subject, in order that he might

<sup>a</sup> In the example above discussed, the marginal note, Gal. iii. 10, not only points out a parallel passage of Scripture, but also serves to show how a chasm, which it proves to exist in the original of the verse it is annexed to, ought to be filled. When Scriptural references answer this twofold use, it would perhaps be expedient, for the sake of distinctness, to have them printed in Italics.

<sup>b</sup> The observations of Jerome above alluded to are conveyed by him in the following terms: "— incertum habemus utrum Septuaginta Interpretes addiderint, *omnis homo*, et, *in omnibus*; an in veteri Hebraico ita fuerit, et postea à Judæis deletum sit. In hanc me autem suspicionem illa res stimulat; quod verbum, *omnis*, et, *in omnibus*, quasi sensui suo necessarium, ad probandum illud, quod quicumque ex operibus Legis sunt, sub maledicto sint, Apostolus, vir Hebrææ peritiæ et in Lege doctissimus, nunquam protulisset, nisi in He-

rigidly adhere to what he, upon the whole, notwithstanding his doubts thereon, was eventually persuaded to think the genuine original state of the sentence in the Hebrew text. Hence he was in the end induced to render this verse as follows :—" Maledictus qui non permanet in sermonibus hujus legis, nec eos opere perficit. Et dicet omnis populus, Amen." But had any mode occurred to him, analogous to that just recommended, of distinguishing supplementary words from the rest of his version—had he, for instance, inserted the word 'omnibus,' between brackets immediately before 'sermonibus,' with a note on it referring to authorities for its insertion which are supplied in his own observations upon the passage ;—he might then have avoided a fatal defect in his translation, and done justice to the fairness of St. Paul's argument, consistently with giving at the same time a strictly correct representation of the Hebrew verse in the then existing state of the original text, which was exactly the same as that in which it is exhibited at this day.

4. The last class I shall notice of faults in our Authorized Version—which, indeed, is common to all the translations framed in modern times immediately from the Hebrew Scriptures—comprises those occasioned by a strict adherence to the sacred text, as it stands at present, in cases where the readings to which it is now confined by the *matres lectionis*, make

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bræis voluminibus haberetur. Quam ab causam Samaritanorum Hebræa volumina relegens, inveni chol, quod interpretatur *omnis*, sive *omnibus*, scriptum esse; et cum Septuaginta Interpretibus concordare. Frustra igitur illud tulerunt Judæi; ne viderentur esse sub maledicto, si non possent omnia complere quæ scripta sunt; quum antiquiores alterius quoque gentis litteræ id positum fuisse testentur."—*S. Hieronymi Opera*, Ed<sup>o</sup>. Benedict., tom. iv., col. 257. Here is a very striking admission from one so strongly impressed as this writer was by his teachers with the notion of the 'Hebrew verity,' or perfect preservation of the Hebrew text. It may, by the way, be worth here noticing, the attestation given at the end of this extract to the greater antiquity of the Samaritan, than of the Jewish shapes of the Hebrew letters ;—a fact which has, since Jerome's time, been fully confirmed by the evidence of coins dug out of the ruins of parts of Jerusalem.

it convey senses inconsistent in themselves, as well as at variance with the interpretations given of the same passages in the oldest and best versions. In a few instances, indeed, the erroneously inserted vowel-letters have been branded by the Masorets, or later set of vocalizers, with a little circle, their mark of censure, and left unpointed by them ; in consequence of which those letters have been equally neglected by modern critics, and the words containing them are correctly read and translated, as if quite free from such interpolations. But in the vast majority of cases the discrepancies and inconsistencies produced in this manner have been passed over unnoticed and uncorrected both by the Masorets, and, after their example, by the composers of the modern versions referred to. On this account, however, no blame is to be imputed to either party: for, as long as the disturbing letters were looked upon as genuine elements of the original text, the respect felt for the sacred Word of God must have prevented men from examining with freedom the bearing of passages supposed to be preserved exactly the same as they were written by their inspired authors. But when the three letters in question are shown to have constituted, in their capacity of vowel-signs, no part of the writing of the Old Testament in its original state, but to have been therein subsequently inserted, we shall be entitled to treat their application to the original text as merely a human commentary, which is, indeed, respectable for its antiquity, and has proved in general of considerable benefit in facilitating the reading of the Hebrew Scriptures, but yet in some places misleads, either from oversight or through design on the part of its framers. A great part of the ensuing argument will be taken up with examples to sustain this view of the matter, which serve not only to confirm the reality of the discovery proposed for discussion, but also to illustrate its usefulness. To adduce, then, any such examples here would be superfluous as well as premature ; and I shall, therefore, without further preamble, enter at once on the direct investigation of my principal subject.

## CHAPTER II.

PROOFS OF THE SPURIOUSNESS OF THE *MATRES LECTIONIS* IN  
THE SACRED TEXT DERIVED FROM THE USES MADE OF  
THEM IN ITS NOMENCLATURE.

SPURIOUSNESS OF THOSE LETTERS PROVED UPON GENERAL GROUNDS—  
WHY THIS INVESTIGATION BEGINS WITH AN ANALYSIS OF PROPER  
NAMES—EXAMINATION OF THE HEBREW DESIGNATIONS OF DAVID,  
MIRIAM, SARAH, JOSHUA, A NAMESAKE OF JOSHUAH'S COMPANION,  
JOSHUA'S FIRST NAME, ISAIAH, JEREMIAH—ADVENTITIOUS NATURE  
OF THE *NUN PARAGOGIC* IN THE HEBREW TEXT—EXAMINATION OF  
THE HEBREW DESIGNATIONS OF JETHRO, NUN, SAMARIA, SOLOMON  
—VOWEL-LETTERS PROVED SPURIOUS MORE CLEARLY BY NAMES OF  
RARE USE—HOW FAR THE SAME WRITTEN NAME IMPLIES THE SAME  
SPOKEN ONE—AGREEMENT RESTORED BETWEEN AMOS, IX. 12, AND  
ACTS, XV. 17—OF SHAMMUAH, SHAMMUA, SHIMEAH, SHIMEA, SHAM-  
MAH, SHAMMA, SHIMMA, AND SHIMEI, TRANSCRIPTS IN OUR VER-  
SION OF ONE AND THE SAME ORIGINAL GROUP—A FEW MORE IN-  
STANCES ADDUCED OF CONTRADICTORY VOCALIZATION—OF THE  
FOREIGN NAMES TRANSCRIBED IN OUR VERSION, RESPECTIVELY, ON  
AND AVEN, POTI-PHERAH, POTIPHAR, NEBUCHADNEZZAR, CYRUS,  
DARIUS—OF THE DESIGNATION OF JERUSALEM, WHY CLASSED WITH  
FOREIGN ONES—ON THE CORRECT PRONUNCIATION OF THE FOUR-  
LETTERED NAME OF GOD.

IN the unpointed Hebrew Bible the characters of which the text is composed are not any of them appropriated exclusively to the representation of vowels ; they all serve in general to denote either consonants or syllables, according as the reader is or is not familiar with the notion of a consonantal power. If the inspired penmen used their letters in the latter way, they were not conscious of leaving any part of the sounds of their words unexpressed by signs ; but, if in the former, they must have been aware that they wrote those words in a very defective manner,—a piece of intentional neglect which can hardly be imputed to them. Three of the



characters, however, which, when looked upon as consonants, are equivalent respectively to *H*, *Y*, and *W*, appear in the present state of the text to be sometimes divested of their primary powers, whether consonantal or syllabic, and shifted to designating, the first of them an *A* or *E*; the second, an *E* or *I*; and the third, an *O* or *U*. This additional office, indeed, was denied to them by the Masorets, who maintained that they were everywhere employed as consonants, though in some places without any consonantal use, and merely with that of subserviency to the Masoretic points, either in giving length to the vowels thereby denoted, or in other ways; while they remained themselves unuttered in reading, in consequence of which they got the name of *quiescents*. But,—independently of the consideration that no such application of them is possible in the sites in which they are called *otiants*,—how could they have been anywhere intended for silent dependents upon the points in question before those signs had existence, or were ever thought of? When, therefore, the Rabbinical fable of the Scriptures having been, from the first, written with vowel-points came to be exploded, this concomitant fiction necessarily shared the same fate. In reading pointed Hebrew it is, I grant, convenient, for the purpose of avoiding the confusion that would be produced by the simultaneous use of two different sets of vowel-signs, to pass over the above-mentioned letters in certain situations without utterance; but it by no means hence follows that they were always so treated: on the contrary, it is now almost universally admitted that they preceded the Masoretic points in the office of expressing vowels, on which account they have been, when thus employed, technically denominated *matres lectionis*, or ‘mothers of reading.’ Assuming, then, their occasionally vocalic use as a matter already established,—a use, indeed, which the perusal of any single page of an unpointed copy of the Hebrew Bible is quite sufficient to force upon our conviction,—I shall proceed to inquire whether, in the places where they are applied to this secon-

dary service, they constitute an original part of the sacred text ; and, if not, how and when they came to be introduced into it.

Before entering on a detailed investigation of this subject, I have to observe, that the very nature of the twofold application, just described, of *Haleph*, *Yod*, and *Waw*, is directly at variance with the supposition of its being coeval with the first use of alphabetic writing. It is obvious that Moses either did or did not make use of the Hebrew alphabet as a syllabary. If he did, no vowel-letters could have entered the text of the Pentateuch, in the form in which the *matres lectionis* are at present found there, as signs of parts of syllables. On the other hand, if he did not, he must by some means or other have resolved his syllables into their elements of both kinds ; in which case he would of necessity have got at least as early a conception of vowels as of consonants, and consequently have as primarily and as appropriately applied letters to their designation. It is wholly reversing the natural order of things, to suppose that he would have first apprehended and given signs to the more difficult objects of thought, the consonantal powers, which are, when taken by themselves, unpronounceable ; and thence have borrowed characters to be transferred, as the *matres lectionis* are, to denoting, through a secondary application, the vowels. In neither case, therefore, of the alternative just stated, could the *matres lectionis* have made their appearance in his original writing, or, consequently, in that of any of the succeeding authors of the Old Testament, who all followed the example he set to them, and adhered exactly to the same method of employing the Hebrew letters.

With regard, however, to a question of fact, as is that before us,—whether the *matres lectionis* be spurious or genuine elements of the sacred text,—testimony is suited to make a stronger impression on the mind than any sort of abstract reasoning. Upon this point, then, evidence can be brought to bear from various sources, each of which yields a most copious and abundant supply of materials to work on. In the

first place, we have the Hebrew text itself attesting the spuriousness of the letters in question, by the numerous discrepancies and inconsistencies they attach to it,—faults which, surely, cannot be imputed to its inspired authors ; neither can they be accounted for by the carelessness of transcribers, or the injuries of time. From casual blemishes so produced, of which I may here by the way observe, there are vastly fewer in the Bible than in any other ancient book, the faults alluded to are distinguished in a very marked way, as well by a certain degree of constancy and uniformity that, in general, prevails among them in other respects, as by the circumstance of their being in every instance confined to three, and mostly to two, letters of the Hebrew alphabet. It only remains, therefore, that the elements of the text which make it betray such faults in its present state, must have been interpolated therein subsequently to the original composition of its several parts. Secondly, we find the Samaritan edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch directly attesting the spuriousness of the *matres lectionis* in innumerable places of the Jewish edition, by exhibiting the text either with no vowel-letters, or with different ones in those places. Thirdly, we obtain indirect evidence to the like effect from an endless stock of passages in the Septuagint which indicate that the Greek translators read the corresponding parts of the original with different vowels from those at present to be seen therein expressed. Fourthly, we are furnished with the very same kind of indirect testimony, and in similar abundance, by the Peshitah, or oldest of the Syriac versions. These four heads of evidence, I should add, are independent of each other,\*

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\* The Jewish vocalization, or reading, of the sacred text was not made without a knowledge of the Septuagint, but still, the two works, having been executed by adverse parties, may so far be considered as mutually independent; as also may the Samaritan and Jewish vocalizations, for the like reason and to the same extent; but the Peshitah and the Septuagint are absolutely independent of each other. These points will clearly come out on a comparison of the details of evidence drawn from the four sources of information referred to.

yet perfectly agreeing in the result to which they severally conduct. Some of the items under each head may not strike the reader as powerfully as others ; but he is to judge of the force of the argument thus sustained, not by the separate instances of attestation which shall be here produced, but by the combined bearing of them all ; and he is to recollect that the funds from which those instances are drawn may be almost said to be inexhaustible, if any further accumulation of evidence should be deemed wanting. I shall commence with analyzing proper names, because the testimony of each of the above-mentioned versions bears upon them, with regard to this subject, as directly as that of either of the editions of the original ; as also because this branch of the inquiry does not so much require a knowledge of Hebrew, and consequently may be brought under the full and immediate cognizance of a wider circle of readers than the remaining parts of the investigation.

1. The name of the royal Psalmist is constantly written דָּוִד, *DaWiD*, without any vowel-letter, in Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel ; and it is at present found as constantly written דָּוִיד, *DaWiD*, with a *Yod* inserted in its second syllable to express the vowel *I*, in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, the Song of Solomon, Hosea, Amos, and Zechariah. The difference here exposed affects not, indeed, the pronunciation of the name, but merely relates to the comparative degree of fulness with which it is written ; yet a variation of it even to this limited extent could hardly have been admitted into the Scriptures in their original state. Not only the high respect in which this name has always been held by the Jews, but also the strict uniformity of its spelling in each of the sacred compositions into which it has been introduced,<sup>a</sup> precludes the notion that the authors of those

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<sup>a</sup> The uniformity above noticed is particularly remarkable in the books of Samuel ; since the name in question is repeated in them above one hundred and seventy times, but never with the *Yod* inserted in it. On the other hand, this name does not occur more than once, I believe, in either Ruth, Ezra,

works, supposing them to have had the option, could have felt indifferent, as to which way they wrote it. Each of them would certainly have looked upon the mode adopted by himself as the right one. Can it, then, be imagined that prophets differed from prophets on this point, or that Solomon could have considered David an incompetent judge of the proper way of writing his own name? These improbabilities, however, are forced upon us, unless we reject the *Yod* with which they are essentially connected, and disallow it the rank of an original ingredient of the group in question.

Here, by the way, I beg to avail myself of my discovery, though not yet fully developed, to clear up a difficulty connected with this case. From the spelling of David's name being different in the Canticles from what it is in the Psalms, and the same as in parts of Scripture that are some hundred years less ancient than the Psalms, Dr. Kennicott inferred (*First Dissertation*, pp. 20-2), that the poem alluded to must have been written many ages after the lifetime of David; and, consequently, that it was not a work of Solomon's composition. This inference, though ingeniously supported, yet, from being at variance with the evidence expressly conveyed in the very first sentence of the poem itself, is wholly inadmissible; and would be so, even though we were unable to account for the circumstance on which it is grounded. Now, however, this difficulty will be found entirely removed; and the phenomenon in question serves to show, not that the Canticles were written long after the Psalms, and even after the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, but merely that they happened to be vocalized somewhat later, when the Jewish scribes became a little more familiar with the use of the *matres lectionis*. The same phenomenon serves also to determine,

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Hosea, or the Song of Solomon: but as I have, in my observations respecting it, laid some stress on its displaying the fuller mode of spelling in the last mentioned of these works, I should add, that it is to be found so written in the place alluded to, viz. Cant. iv. 4, in every one of the numerous copies of the Hebrew Bible consulted by Dr. Kennicott.

with respect to all the books of Scripture above enumerated, and distributed into two sets, which set was vocalized before the other.

To bring my observations on this name to a close—its ancient pronunciation was certainly *Dawid*; as is proved, with regard to its consonants, by the combined evidence of the Hebrew text and the Septuagint; and, with regard to its vowels, by the combined evidence of the Septuagint and the New Testament. The two Greek records, however, differ as to the middle articulation of this word; it being written in the former  $\Delta\alpha\upsilon\iota\delta$  (*Da-u-id*) which, contracted into two syllables, becomes *Dawid*, in conformity with its pure Hebrew pronunciation; and in the latter,  $\Delta\alpha\beta\iota\delta$  (*David*), to accord with the change of its sound that had taken place in the corrupt dialect spoken by the Jews in the time of the Evangelists. But, while the alteration to this extent in the sound of the word is sanctioned by the authority of inspired writers, and sustained by universal agreement, can the further variation, by which the English have, in opposition to the practice of every other nation, come to pronounce it just as if it were written *Devid*, be defended upon any rational ground? Surely, whatever liberties we may take with it when used as a modern Christian name, we are bound, where we meet it in Scripture, to approach, as nearly as the general usage of modern nations will allow us, to its ancient pronunciation. The reader will find, as he proceeds, frequent occasions where this observation might be renewed; but, having here introduced it in the case of a very conspicuous name, I shall not urge it any further by subsequent repetitions.

2. The name of the sister of Moses, מַרְיָם, *MaRYaM*, in every place of its occurrence in the sacred text, is, like a great many others, exhibited without any vowel-letter,\* in accordance with

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\* The above name is likewise written in the very same manner without any vowel-letter in the Samaritan text, the first Syriac version, and the Targum of Jonathan.

the view of the matter I am engaged in disclosing, that the whole of that text was originally so written. This group is transcribed in the Septuagint *Μαριαμ*, and in the “Jewish Antiquities” of Josephus, *Μαριαμμη*,<sup>a</sup> the augmentation of the latter word having been obtained by treating the final character as a double, or what in pointed Hebrew would be called a *dageshed* letter; and both transcriptions are, as far as respects the vowel sounds of the name itself, considered apart from any addition made to it, sanctioned by the authority of the New Testament, in which it is found written either *Μαριαμ*, or, more usually, *Μαρια*, with the last letter cut off, for the same reason that a syllable was added to the second representation of the word,<sup>b</sup>—to give it a termination suited to the nominative case of Greek nouns of the feminine gender. That Josephus was a priest, and well versed in the Hebrew tongue, is proved by his own attestation. For instance, near the beginning of his treatise against Apio he writes as follows:—“For, as I have already said, I have translated my history of antiquity from the sacred writings, being by descent a priest, and participating in the knowledge contained in those writings.”<sup>c</sup> And in the preface to his Antiquities he says:—“I have taken in hands the present work, thinking it would appear worthy of parti-

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<sup>a</sup> In some copies of Josephus the above name is written *Μαριαμμη*, in which transcription of the original group, the additional syllable, indeed, is accommodated to Grecian taste in a more arbitrary manner; but still we may observe in it the same agreement with the testimony of the Septuagint, as to the vowel sounds of the unaugmented Hebrew designation.

<sup>b</sup> Although the name of the mother of our Lord is more usually given in the Greek Testament *Μαρια*, in accommodation to the taste of Greek readers, yet, where a direct reference is made to her name—as for instance in the passages, “Is not his mother called Mary?”—Mat. xiii. 55; “And the virgin’s name *was* Mary”—Luke, i. 27—it is therein written *Μαριαμ*; whence it would appear that the latter was deemed by St. Matthew and St. Luke to be, even in a Grecian narrative, the more formal and regular representation of this word.

<sup>c</sup> Τὴν μὲν γὰρ Αρχαιολογίαν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμήνευκα, γεγονὼς ἱερεὺς ἐκ γένους, καὶ μετεσχηκὼς τῆς φιλοσοφίας τῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς γράμμασι.—*Flavii Josephi Opera Hudsono edita*, p. 1335.

cular attention to all that are acquainted only with Greek ; for it will contain all our ancient history and the constitution of our government, translated from the Hebrew writings.”<sup>a</sup> Hence we may conclude that he read the name before us in the same manner as the priests of his day, and the few others of his countrymen who then still retained a knowledge of the Scriptures of the Old Testament in their original language. His representation, therefore, of this name, divested of the syllable that had been added merely for the purpose of accommodating its form to Grecian taste, shows that the Jews adhered to their ancient pronunciation of it, corresponding with that preserved in the Septuagint, till, at any rate, near the close of the first century of our era ; as the work of his in which the sister of Moses is mentioned, viz. his *Antiquities*, did not come out till about A.D. 94. That, however, they subsequently changed one of the vowels in this pronunciation, is rendered evident by the Masoretic pointing of the group in question, according to which it must be read M<sup>̄</sup>RYaM ; and this change, which could not have arisen from oblivion or negligence in the case of a name so well known and belonging to a person so highly respected, is to be imputed neither to the Masorets, who have shown the strictest honesty in the mode of annexing their vowel-marks to the Hebrew text, nor to any of their successors in the charge of that text, of which those grammarians likewise have proved themselves most faithful guardians. The corruption, then, which has been just exposed, must have originated in earlier times ; and was most probably introduced by the Jews of the second century, to whom many offences of a like nature will be brought home in the course of this investigation.<sup>b</sup> But at whatever period the

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<sup>a</sup> Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἐγκεχείρισται πραγματείαν, νομίζων ἅσασιν φανεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀξίαν σπουδῆς. μέλλει γὰρ περιέχειν ἅσασιν τὴν παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀρχαιολογίαν, καὶ τὴν διάταξιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐκ τῶν Εβραϊκῶν μεθρημηνευμένην γραμμάτων.”—*Flavii Josephi Opera Hudsono edita*, pp. 1–2.

<sup>b</sup> The sister of Moses is denominated ‘Maria’ in the Vulgate, whence it would at first view appear to follow, that the Jewish corruption of her name



offending party may have lived, the motive by which they were influenced, as betrayed by the tendency of their act, was to put an end to calling the sister of their great Lawgiver by a name which had become odious to them, in consequence of its having been employed to designate the mother of the crucified Jesus : and to the success of this fraud the framers of our Authorized Version have, through too great deference to the Masoretic pointing, unconsciously contributed ; for it could hardly, on first view of the matter, be supposed that their ‘ Miriam ’ and ‘ Mary ’ were intended for the very same denomination. No further difference, surely, ought to be admitted between the two forms of the name referred to, than what arises from the different kinds of orthography and articulation connected with the languages in which they have been transmitted to us by inspired authors ; and under such limitation this name should be transcribed *Maryam* or (through a diæresis authorized by the testimony of the Septuagint) *Mariam* in our version of the Old Testament, and *Maria* in that of the New. In this way the virtual identity of the two transcriptions of the same name would be restored ;<sup>a</sup> and the minor difference still remaining between them, of the final letter removed in the application of the word to the designation of the virgin-mother of our Lord, could be accounted for

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did not take place till after the time of Jerome. This inference, however, is not conclusive ; for though Jerome in general adhered closely to the instruction of his Rabbinical teachers, he may in the instance before us have felt himself bound to attach greater weight to tradition, combined with the testimony of the Seventy Interpreters.

<sup>a</sup> The expression ‘ restored ’ is above used, because in the first English translations of the Bible the name in question was transcribed either exactly or very nearly the same way in both Testaments. A copy of Wycliffe’s version, and another of a revision thereof, completed soon after his death by some of his followers, have been edited at Oxford, 1850, in parallel columns, by the joint labours of the Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederic Madden ; in the former of which versions this name is written *Mari*, *Mary*, or *Marye* in the Old Testament, and *Marie* in the New ; while in the latter it is uniformly written *Marie* in each Testament.

by the greater familiarity of Jewish writers with Greek orthography in the latter part of the first century than three centuries before. The name in question, however, is sometimes, though but rarely, written *Μαριαμ* in the Greek Testament; and, therefore, if it be deemed right to restore the complete identity of its two representations, we have the inspired authority of two of the Evangelists for transcribing it *Mariam* in its later as well as in its earlier application. With regard to the proposed correction of the English transcription of this name in the Old Testament, there can be the less hesitation about acceding to it, since it requires not the alteration of a single element of the original group.<sup>a</sup>

3. The name of Abraham's first wife is represented in Gen. xvii. 15, according to the existing state of the Hebrew text, as having been changed from שָׂרָי, *SaRaI*, to שָׂרָה, *SaRaH*; the second of which forms of the word exhibits no vowel-letter even to this day; and that now placed at the end of the first, can be proved beyond a doubt not to have been originally there, by the testimony of the Septuagint,—by the context of the passage in which this change of name is recorded,—and by the grammatical structure of the Hebrew language. 1st, שָׂרָי, in every place of its occurrence in the sacred text, is transcribed *Σαρα* by the Seventy; which clearly shows that the *Yod* by which this group is now closed did not constitute a part of it, till after their version was written. 2ndly, according to the received interpretation of the two groups, the first means 'my princess,' and the second 'a princess;' so that, it seems, the command given to Abraham in the passage con-

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<sup>a</sup> I should here state that, however incorrect a transcription of מִרְיָם I have proved *Miriam* to be, I still feel bound to adhere to it, for the purpose of preventing confusion, as long as it continues sanctioned by the Authorized English Version of the Bible; and I observe the same rule likewise with respect to every other Scriptural name whose transcription appears to require correction;—a rule from which I never deviate, except in the case of passages containing such transcriptions which are faulty in other respects also, and of which I in consequence venture to submit corrections to the judgment of the learned in new translations of the original sentences referred to.

taining those words, was to call his wife for the future 'a princess,' instead of 'my princess.' Surely, it is not to be supposed that the Deity would have thus drawn a distinction without a difference between the two designations. 3rdly, שָׂרָי, *SaRaI*, is in the plural number and masculine gender; so that it is, in both respects, incorrectly applied to the female in question. Had the name before its change been, in accordance with the opinion which now prevails on the subject, a compound term of which the leading part was the same as the entire word after the change, then, in order to the first form of this denomination signifying 'my princess,' it should have been written, not שָׂרָי, but שָׂרָתִי, *SaRaThI*. Very strong evidence, therefore, is supplied by the Hebrew text itself, as well as by the Septuagint, in proof of the spurious nature of the *Yod* in the examined group.

So far the result of my investigation is, I submit, perfectly clear and certain: but it is much easier to prove that a mistake has been here committed, than to arrive at its due correction, as to either the meaning or form of Sarah's name in its primary state; and, in this latter branch of the inquiry, I do not lay claim to having effected more than discover a probable solution of the difficulties in which it is involved. The reader is requested to bear in mind the grounds already adduced, in support of the position that *Shin* was at some remote period substituted for *Samek*, in those words of the Hebrew text which still continue to be read as if they were written with the latter letter. Now the name before us, in each of its states, belongs to this very class of words: the written varieties of it begin respectively with *Sh*, yet have always, as far back as tradition reaches, been pronounced as if they commenced with an *S*; to which pronunciation they have been more clearly restricted by means of a diacritical point attached to their initial element since the introduction of the Masoretic system; while the Syriac transcriptions of both forms of it, in every place of their occurrence in the Peshitah, still up to the present moment begin with a *Samek*.

The root of this name is universally agreed to be a verb admitting of the different forms *Sur*, *Sarah*, or *Sarar*, which all of them commence, in pronunciation at least, with an *S*, and even yet are written, as well as their derivatives, with a *Samek*, for the significations ‘to depart,’—‘to be perverse,’—‘to wander,’—or any thence derived : but, where the context requires for them meanings connected with ‘having dominion,’ or ‘acting the part of a sovereign,’ they now begin with a *Shin*, though, as I have already shown, they for such meanings still display in some instances the former letter ;—a circumstance which fully accords with the supposition that originally they were written therewith for every acceptation, and exhibit uniformly, as their initial element, the letter with whose power they are to this day in all instances uttered. The difference between the two articulations was probably not very marked among a people who have a tendency to aspirate nearly all their letters ; so the interchange of the Hebrew characters appropriated to those articulations may have taken place in some roots through inadvertence, and have been then extended, for the sake of uniformity, to all the words connected with those roots. But, in the case before us, the substitution can be distinctly traced to national vanity. The Jewish scribes would have it—and on this point the guardians of the Samaritan text entirely agreed with them—that the wife of their great forefather, Abraham, was distinguished by a characteristic name, which, before as well as after its change, included in its meaning the notion of ‘a princess.’ This object they effected, by restricting the root of the name to significations connected with royal dominion and rank, through the expedient just described ; and by making a corresponding alteration in the orthography of the name itself in both its states. On the other hand, to clear the passage under examination from the effect of this clumsy artifice, which has rendered it very nearly unmeaning, we must restore to the root of the name all its significations ; and then, selecting that for its primary form which the context requires, we shall find that the bearing of the

command given to Abraham was to call his wife no longer by a denomination meaning 'an emigrant,' but by one denoting 'a princess;' and the commanded change will thus come out quite intelligible, and perfectly in keeping with the known history of the female in question.

But it may be asked, how could the two forms of this name be distinguished in writing, without some such alteration of one of them as that made by the insertion of a vowel-letter at the end of the first? To this I reply, that although two of the elements of those forms are the same, yet the third might be different, which would sufficiently distinguish them. Certainty, indeed, is no longer attainable, as to what was the letter of the first form whose place is now occupied by the interpolated *Yod*; but I think I can furnish a clue to its recovery, with great probability of a correct result. 1st. As *Σαπα* gives, by the testimony of the Seventy, the sound of this form, the final element of the group must have been an aspirate,—a condition which limits it to one of four Hebrew letters. 2ndly. This aspirate must constitute a termination suited to the feminine gender; which further reduces the number to two. And 3rdly. It should be different from the termination of the second form, *He*; which confines it to the single letter *Haleph*. Hence it would appear that the two original forms of Sarah's name were סָרָא, *SaRaH*, and סָרָה, *SaRaH*. But what may have been the precise difference of their pronunciation can no longer be determined; as the *Haleph* has ceased to be a sounded letter, except when used as a mater lectionis. All we know of the power of this aspirate is, that it was stronger than that of *He*; so that, very possibly, it may have drawn the emphasis with it, and have made the difference between the sounds of the two forms chiefly such as would be expressed in modern accentuation, by 'Saráh' for the first form, and 'Sárah' for the second. And this difference may be well conceived to accord with that conveyed through the Greek transcriptions of the two forms *Σαπα* and *Σαπα*; as signs of accents did not come into general use till after the Septuagint was written; and, even if they had,

the ancient acute accent, unlike the modern one, did not indicate any lengthening of, or stress on, the syllable over which it was placed. If, then, the Seventy wished to express that the emphasis was to be thrown back from the second to the first syllable, they could hardly have done it in any other way than by doubling the middle letter—an operation which in their orthography had the effect of lengthening the initial syllable. And that such was actually their object, and not the rendering close the vowel of that syllable,—the only remaining conceivable effect of the duplication in question,—is made apparent by the rough power of *Resh*, the Hebrew representative of the doubled letter, which is itself scarcely ever pronounced double, and never admits immediately before it a close vowel.

The alteration of the initial letter in the example under discussion could not be expressed by means of Grecian orthography, which supplies no letter of *Sh* power. The only clue, therefore, we have to the age of this alteration is, that it did not creep into the sacred text till after the Peshitah was written ; as it has not therein made its appearance. For the very opposite reason, the remainder of the corruption adopted in this instance must be older than the version just specified, in which the primary form of Sarah's name is constantly exhibited שָׂרָה, *SaRaI* ; although there is abundance of internal evidence to prove that version again older than the first vocalization of the original text. To account for this seeming discrepancy, I have to observe, that in case of unvocalized Hebrew words, erroneous supplements of the vowel portion of their sounds might come into use, before a reader was tied down to those mispronunciations through the instrumentality of vowel-letters ; so that there is no inconsistency in the conclusion just come to, that the vocal corruption of the final syllable of the form in question commenced among the Jews, in their mode of reading, before it did in that of their writing this form. Accordingly, we find this corruption to be not only more ancient than the Peshitah, but even of greater age than the works of Philo Judæus, which plainly indicate that it was

already prevalent in his time, or during the reign of the Roman emperor, Caligula. His statement relative to this subject, which gives a view of it not essentially different from that in later times maintained, is delivered by him in his treatise respecting the change of Scriptural names, to the following effect:—"Σαρα, indeed, is interpreted 'my authority [or rank] of princess;' but Σαππα, 'a princess.'" And the difference he endeavours to make out in this case is, that "the former [title] is the symbol of a special quality; but the latter, of a general one."<sup>a</sup> This quotation not only serves to push the origin of the specified corruption farther back than the date of the Peshitah, but also contributes to establishing another point of some importance in reference to the history of the Jews. The two forms of Sarah's name are here retained in the original writing of the author, for the purpose of more clearly showing that he took them immediately from the Septuagint. On the other hand, he must have received his interpretation of them only at second hand, and not have derived it from immediate examination of the sacred text. For, according to the signification he himself attaches to the first of these forms, it must have been pronounced in Hebrew with the vowel *I* at its termination; and, consequently, its written expression in Greek should have been closed with an *iota*. The sound, then, and the meaning he assigns to this form of the name, are directly at variance with each other; and the circumstance of his not having perceived this glaring inconsistency in his representation of the matter affords a very convincing proof, that notwithstanding his plausible pretensions to skill in Hebrew, he was in reality utterly ignorant of that language. But he was the most learned, or, at any rate, one of the most learned, among such of the Jews of his day as did not belong to the sacerdotal order. The ignorance, therefore, betrayed by him

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<sup>a</sup> ἐρμηνεύεται Σάρα μὲν, ἀρχή μου Σάρρα δὲ ἄρχουσα. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον εἰδικῆς σύμβολον ἀρετῆς ἐστί· τὸ δὲ ὕστερον, γενικῆς. *Philonis Judæi Opera*, Parisiis edita, A. D. 1640, p. 1056.

in this instance concurs powerfully with proofs derived from other sources, to show that even the very best informed of the Jewish laity must have ceased to read the Scriptures of the Old Testament in the original tongue,—and so have left room for the introduction by the priests of the misreading in question,—before the time when he flourished; that is, before the middle of the first century of our era. To turn now to the writings of Josephus,—who, though he lived in a later age than Philo, must have been perfectly aware of the nature of this corruption from his acquaintance with the original text,—his mode of dealing with it is very remarkable. He could not have written the form in question of Sarah's name *Σapai*, without giving his sanction to what he well knew was a misrepresentation of its sound; and he could not, on the other hand, make it *Σapa*, without condemning his fellow-priests for the unwarrantable liberty they had then already got into the practice of taking with it. To avoid, or rather to evade, both sides of this dilemma, he passed over this form of her name in total silence; and everywhere applied to her designation the second form *Σappa*, even in relating the parts of her history which preceded her change of name. I have here only further to add, in reference to the primary form of her name, that the circumstance of its being written in the Peshitah *ܫܪܐ*, *SaRaI*, tends to show, as far as one example goes, that the authors of the first Syriac version framed it quite independently of the Septuagint, but not independently of the mode of reading proper names in the unvocalized Hebrew text, which was in vogue among the Jewish priests and scribes who then had the charge of that text.

In fine, I would venture to propose having the two forms of the examined name written *שָׂרָה* and *שָׂרָה* in the text of the Hebrew Bible, with the insertions in the margin of *סָרָה* opposite the former, and of *ס* opposite the initial element of the latter, in each place of their respective occurrences. This mode of presenting the two forms has the advantage of keeping the recommended alterations quite distinct from the existing state of the sacred text, and of so leaving it to the dis-



cretion of the reader, whether he will adopt them or not. In our English version, the present transcription of the second form, 'Sarah,' requires no correction; but instead of the first, I would recommend 'Saráh' in the body of an amended translation, and put opposite to it in the margin, in each place of its occurrence, 'Heb. voc. *Sarai*.'<sup>a</sup> Here I must admit that the insertion of an accent in an English work intended for general use is objectionable; and I would readily abandon it, if any better mode of expressing the difference I have arrived at between the two forms could be obtained. Still further, I grant that I may possibly have misunderstood the bearing of the ancient Greek testimony on which I have chiefly grounded my correction of the first form; but the reasons adduced in support of that correction are, I submit, entitled to some weight; and it surely is preferable to adopt a new reading, which is probably, though not certainly, right, rather than persevere in adherence to an old one, which has been to a certainty proved wrong.

4. The leader of the Israelites, who is called *Joshua* in our version, has his name at present written in the Hebrew Bible יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, YəHOSHUʾăH. But, most unquestionably, this word, in the original state of the text, was יֵשׁע; and, had it been fairly vocalized, it would now appear there in the form יֵשׁע, YeShUʾăH,—the Hebrew for *Jesus*. Of this, abundant and decisive proofs can be given. In the first place, the Vatican and Alexandrian copies of the Septuagint, however they may differ with respect to several other denominations, never do so as to this one, but uniformly agree in presenting to us, as

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<sup>a</sup> When I recommend placing at the commencement of a marginal note in the English Bible, 'Heb. voc.,' or 'Heb. Cop.,' or 'Heb.,' I mean, by the first of those introductions, the old Hebrew vocalizers or interpolators of vowel-letters in the Hebrew text; by the second, the Hebrew copyists; and as to the third, which I make use of only where the original text is uncorrupted, I employ it in the same sense as it is already found applied in our Authorized Version.

its translation, in every place of its occurrence, *Ἰησους*,<sup>a</sup>—the very same word by which our Lord is designated in the original Scriptures of the New Testament. In the second place, both names are constantly and uniformly rendered in the Peshitah by one and the same group, ܝ ܝܫܘܐ (agreeing letter for letter with ܝܫܘܥ), in which, I grant, the vowel part of the first syllable is left undetermined;<sup>b</sup> but, as the Greek Testament shows us, beyond all doubt, that this Syriac group was read, not *Yoshua*, but *Yeshua*, when applied to our Saviour, it certainly must have been so read in its other application also, the same written name necessarily implying the same spoken one, where no credible evidence is expressly opposed to the application of this principle. In the third place, to the perfect agreement of the principal copies of the Septuagint with each other and with the Peshitah on this point, is to be added the testimony inadvertently given by the interpolators

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<sup>a</sup> In 1 Chron. vii. 27, Joshua's name is written *Iesoué* in the Vatican, and *Ἰησούε* in the Alexandrian copy of the Septuagint; but there is some reason to think the passage corrupted in both copies, and, at any rate, neither representation of it gives the slightest sanction to pronouncing an *O* in the first syllable of this name.

<sup>b</sup> If the secondary vocalization of the Peshitah by means of points could be relied on, I might avail myself of its support also, to prove the vowel sound in question to be *E* in the above group when applied as a name to Joshua, as well as when used to denote our Lord; but that vocalization is, I admit, quite unworthy of credit; and, accordingly, it is stigmatized by J. D. Michaelis in these terms:—"Vetere Testamento Syriaco si quis uti voluerit, hoc statim ante omnia statuatur punctorum vocalium nullam omnino esse auctoritatem."—*Grammatica Syriaca*, p. 25. Moreover, with regard to this pointing, Bishop Walton further gives us the following information:—"Cum Novo Testamento habuerunt etiam Syri et Vetus Syriacè versum, ejusdem cum Novo antiquitatis, quod, licet in privatorum quorundam bibliothecis Europæis extaret manu scriptum, typis tamen primum edidit Michael de Jay [Anno Domini 1645] in splendido suo opere Heptaglotto Parisiensi, usus præcipue, in hac re, opera clarissimi viri Gabrielis Sionitæ Maronitæ, S. T. D., qui primus illud punctavit, et Latinam ejusdem interpretationem adjunxit: antea enim MSS. omnia punctis vocalibus, vel prorsus destituta erant, vel si in una dictione punctum aliquod vocale notatum esset, in aliis erat omisum."—*Prolegomena*, p. 89.

of the text themselves: for, though they have corrupted the name of the immediate successor of Moses in every place where his history is directly recorded, they have, in spite of all their cunning, overlooked this word in Neh. viii. 17, where it is only incidentally mentioned, and have suffered it to remain there written with a fair, though indeterminate vocalization, *יֵשׁוּעַ*,—a group which, I have just shown, must be read *Yeshua*, and which is actually pointed for this pronunciation by the Masorets. I do not see how the corruption of this name by the vocalizers of the text with *matres lectionis* could be more decisively proved by means of mere human testimony: but I have now, in the fourth place, to produce the evidence of inspired writers to the same effect. Both St. Luke, in Acts, vii. 45, and St. Paul, in Heb. iv. 8, have translated the Hebrew group under examination, not *Ιωσους*, but *Ιησους*. If it be said, with respect to the former author, that, writing chiefly for persons who were acquainted with the Old Testament only through its Greek version, he quoted this name as he found it in the Septuagint, without pledging himself for its expressing, as nearly as the difference of the two languages admitted, the right pronunciation of the original word, I do not think that the force of the natural inference from his testimony can be thus got rid of. The individual whose name is rendered in our version Joshua, got that name by divine appointment: we can hardly, therefore, suppose the correct transcription of it a matter of no importance, or that St. Luke would not have been restrained, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, from conveying to us an erroneous impression of its sound. But, however this may be, the objection is at all events utterly futile, in respect to the evidence of St. Paul in the passage above specified; as he is there drawing a parallel between the Jesus who led the people of God into the land of Canaan, and our Saviour, who is to conduct us to an infinitely superior place of rest;—a parallel which depends in part upon the identity of the names of the two leaders compared together; and it is utterly inadmissible, as well as absolutely in-

credible, that an inspired author could allow into his writings any misrepresentation on a point essentially connected with his argument. The accumulation of proofs here brought together, though it does not amount to strict demonstration, yet is calculated, I submit, to produce as thorough a conviction in the human mind as any demonstration whatever. Thus,—to pass over the case in regard to other inspired writers,—the apparent contradiction between Moses and St. Paul, as to the vowel part of the initial syllable of a name recorded by both of them, is fully accounted for; and this blemish will, I trust, be removed ere long from our English Bible.

The motive of the Jewish scribes for corrupting the sacred text, in the instance just brought to light, may be easily perceived. Besides their desire to throw discredit upon the Septuagint in the passages in which it gives support to Christian views, as far as they could effect this object without incurring too much risk of detection, they had the further inducement of divesting a prominent and favourite character in their history of a name that had become hateful to them, in consequence of the extension of its use to the designation of our LORD. But they can be convicted, as may be here stated *ex abundanti*, of the fraud of which they were guilty in this particular instance, even upon the evidence of writers of their own nation. Both Philo and Josephus constantly and uniformly employ the word *Ἰησοῦς* (and never even once *Ἰωσοῦς*), to designate the successor of Moses; and although the former may have borrowed this transcription of the Hebrew name under examination from the Septuagint, yet the latter, who was educated for the priesthood, and intimately conversant with the Scriptures of the Old Testament in their original tongue, must be considered as having derived it immediately from that source. While both authors, then, concur in proving the vowel part of the sound of this name to have been, since their respective times, corrupted by the Jews, the testimony upon this point of one of them at least is independent of that previously yielded to the same effect by the Septua-

gint; and, being given very near the end of the first century, serves to put a limit to the antiquity of this corruption, closely agreeing with that which can, on other grounds, be affixed to the remoteness of the period when vowel-letters were first introduced into the sacred text.

The *matres lectionis* appear to have been interpolated somewhat later in the Samaritan than in the Hebrew edition of the Pentateuch, as they are, in a slight degree, more copiously used there; and, although the vocalizers of the two editions were deadly enemies, they participated in one common sentiment of hatred to Christianity; it is, therefore, not very surprising that the Jewish corruption of Joshua's<sup>a</sup> name should be found adopted in the Samaritan text. The two misrepresentations, however, of the subject do not entirely agree: the Samaritan evidence makes both names of the immediate successor of Moses exactly the same, and thereby obviously stultifies itself. The passage, in Num. xiii. 17, relating to the point in question, is exhibited, as follows, in the Samaritan record:—

וַיִּקְרָא מֹשֶׁה לִיהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן נֹחַן יְהוֹשֻׁעַ

“And Moses called *Yehoshua*, the son of Nun, *Yehoshua*.” That is, Moses gave this Israelite a new name, which was exactly the same as his old one. The bare inspection of this part of the Samaritan text is sufficient to show that it must have been tampered with, and that, too, in a very rash and precipitate manner; as is not unusual with those who act fraudulently and by stealth.

In fine, I would write the Hebrew group just examined יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, with the Masoretic little circle over the two letters fraudulently inserted therein; and I would transcribe this

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<sup>a</sup> Although I have proved that the Hebrew name of the individual above alluded to was, in the original state of the text, written for the pronunciation *Yeshua*, I am obliged to call him *Joshua*; according to the rule I have, as already stated, laid down, of adhering to the nomenclature of our Authorized Version, for the purpose of avoiding confusion.

group into English *Yeshua*, instead of *Joshua*, changing the first vowel on the grounds above given, and the initial letter for the same reason as that of the name *Jesus*,—on account of the altered power of *J*, which in English orthography is no longer used, as at first, for the semi-consonant connected with *I*, but has become a soft *G*.

5. One of the sons of Hezron, who was namesake of Joshua's companion, Caleb, is mentioned seven times in the second chapter of the first book of Chronicles, viz., in verses 9, 18, 19, 42, 46, 48, and 49. In the Hebrew text, as it stands at present, his name is written in the first of those verses כְּלֻבִי, *KeLUBI*, but in the remaining six, without any vocalization, כְּלֵב, *KaLeB*; while it is transcribed in the Septuagint Χαλεβ, in all the seven verses; and in the Peshitah, כְּלֵב, *KaLeB*, in all of them in which it is preserved unmutilated. But in the latter version the rendering of this name is obviously corrupted in the first of the enumerated places, being there exhibited under the form סַלְכִי, *SaLKI*; and, in the last two, it is, along with the verses that contained it, altogether lost. Upon a review of these several designations of one and the same word, there cannot, I submit, be a doubt, but that the *Waw* and *Yod*, in the first of them, are interpolations of the old vocalizers of the sacred text. The evidence to this effect of the Hebrew record, even when taken by itself, is very nearly conclusive. It cannot be rationally supposed, that an author of ordinary discretion—to say nothing of his being inspired—would change his mind, as to the proper sound of a name, while he was writing the eight verses intervening between the 9th and 18th; or that, having, by the time that he came to the latter verse, thus altered his opinion, he would overlook, and fail to correct an error committed by him so shortly before. Neither can it be allowed, that the original compiler of the Chronicles all along held *Kelubi* to be the right pronunciation of this name, but that, having written it at full length on its first occurrence, he thought it sufficient afterwards to give merely the consonants of the word. This mode

of evading the obvious inference from the discrepant Hebrew exhibitions of the name, in the existing state of the sacred text, is refuted by the whole of the Greek, and all the unmutilated part of the Syriac testimony on the subject ; and besides, the Septuagint directly attests that the specified vowel-letters were not introduced into the original group, in the first, no more than in any other of the quoted places of its occurrence, till after the time when that version was composed. This example affords a striking instance of the fallibility of the Masorets, according to whose theory the ם and ץ in כְּלוּבִי, ought to be looked upon as quiescents (the *matres lectionis* having been silenced by them to make way for vowel-signs of a different kind); and they treated accordingly the former vowel-letter, but mistook the latter for a sounded consonant, and have pointed the entire group in such a way as to make it be read *KelUBaY*. A limit to the age of this additional error can be derived from the works of Jerome, who, under the direction of the more learned Jews of his day, transcribed this group *Calubi* ; as may be seen in the Vulgate, which does not in its present state vary here from his edition of it. Our English translators, however, have adhered to the combined errors of both sets of vocalizers, with respect to the above name, by rendering it *Chelubai* in the place in question. In the Hebrew text this name should, according to the notation I have adopted, be there written כְּלוּבִי, and left unaltered in the rest of the enumerated verses ; while, in an English version, it should be transcribed *Kaleb* in all the seven places, with the marginal note annexed to it in the first of them, ‘Heb. voc. *Kelubi*.’

6. Joshua’s first name יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, HaWShez̄H, affords me an opportunity of bringing under notice an error of the Masorets, of an opposite kind to that exposed in the preceding article, in mistaking a syllabic or consonantal sign for a vowel-letter, or, according to their theory, for a quiescent attendant on a vowel. The Greek transcription of this name occurs, I believe, only twice in the Septuagint, but the Alexandrian and Vatican copies perfectly agree in exhibiting it *Αυση* in each place;

there can scarcely, therefore, be a doubt, but that the group which the framers of that version had in those places to transcribe was the same as it is now,  $\text{הוֹשֶׁעַ}$ , it having been read by them  $\text{HəWSəḤ}$ ;\* whereas the prophet's name which they rendered  $\text{Ωσηε}$  must in their time have been  $\text{הוֹשֶׁעַ}$ . After the Hebrew text was vocalized, the two groups, although still really different on account of the different powers of their ambiguous element *Waw*, became apparently the same, and the Jews most probably soon availed themselves of this ambiguity to represent  $\text{HOSheāḤ}$  as the true sound of the former name, and thereby cast a reflection on the accuracy of the Seventy Interpreters. Their actual practice, however, of this fraud I am unable to trace earlier than the age of Jerome, who has transcribed this name *Osee*, no doubt under the guidance of his Hebrew teachers, by which alone he could have been induced to neglect the very best evidence to be had upon the subject, as also to confound the name in question with that of a prophet, both being written by him exactly in the same manner. This confusion of the two names became in later times more firmly established by means of their Masoretic pointing, which indicates that they should in common be read  $\text{HOSheāḤ}$ . But the Septuagint, by being restored to its proper authority, disengages us from this error, and shows that Joshua's first name should be transcribed, in English orthography, *Hawshea*, and that of the prophet, *Hoshea*; while the corresponding difference, in the Hebrew groups, is again made visible, and their apparent identity removed, by writing them, in accordance with the notation I have adopted,  $\text{הוֹשֶׁעַ}$  and  $\text{הוֹשֶׁעַ}$ . In our Authorized Version, the former name is transcribed *Oshea*, and the latter, *Hosea*; a comparison of which with their Hebrew originals exposes, in addition to the Masoretic blunder, two inconsistencies: a letter

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\* The *Pathac furtivum* before a guttural at the end of a Hebrew word is now pronounced rapidly and indistinctly; and the sound it expresses was most probably, in like manner, short and indistinct, at the period when the Septuagint was written; as this sound is sometimes therein denoted by  $\epsilon$ , and at other times, as in the above instance, passed over without any notice.



to correspond with ך is omitted in the first transcription, but inserted in the second; while, on the other hand, the װ is represented by *Sh* in the first, but simply by *S* in the second.

7. In the Hebrew text, as it stands at present, the designation of the prophet Isaiah is constantly exhibited יִשְׁעִיָּהּ, *YeShaHYaHU*, and that of the prophet Jeremiah almost as constantly יִרְמְיָהּ, *YeReMYaHU*; while both the Septuagint and the Peshitah concur in attesting that the *Waw* now terminating each of those groups formed no part of their original composition. For, whether applied to the above prophets or other individuals, they are found always transcribed respectively, in the earlier of those versions, *Esaías* and *Iepeuias* (or *Iepeua*); and in the later, *إسحيا*, *HeShaHYaH*, and *إنحيا*, *HeReMYaH*.<sup>a</sup> In corroboration of this powerful junction of independent testimonies, it is to be observed that no subsequent version I can find—not even any of the spurious Greek ones of the second century, as far as can be known from their extant remains<sup>b</sup>—supports the present Hebrew termination of these names; so that in those two instances the first vocalizers of the sacred text completely failed, though in most others they were but too successful, in their efforts to give the translation of the LXX. an appearance of incorrectness that did not, in reality, belong to it. Here, then, the common sense of mankind has always been with me, not only as to the adventitious, but also as to the fraudulent nature of the above

<sup>a</sup> In a few passages of the Peshitah, the Syriac rendering of Jeremiah's name is different from what it is above given, but is not, in any instance, terminated by a *Waw*. In Jer. xxv. 3, this name is at present written, in this version, *إسحيا*, *HeMeRYaH*; in 1 Chron. v. 24, *إسحيا*, *HeDUMYaH*; and in Neh. xii. 1, *إسحيا*, *HeZeMaH*. The first of these variations is obviously to be attributed to an accidental transposition of two letters; and the second, to the confounding of two very similar Hebrew characters, ך and ך, combined with an erroneous vocalization of a name which had, in consequence of this mistake, become one unknown to the translators. For the third corruption I am unable to account.

<sup>b</sup> In Montfaucon's collection of extant remains of the Greek versions of the second century, or of Origen's notes upon those versions, the name of

termination : for, while the rejection of it in every version shows that it never was deemed genuine, it could not, on the other hand, have been laid to the account of casual errors of copyists, connected as it is with names of such importance and of such frequent occurrence in Scripture. And, what renders the evidence thus arrived at more cogent on my side of the question, is, that it is extorted, as well from Greek translators of the second century, who ventured as far as they could in support of the misrepresentations concocted by the Jews of their day, as from writers of later times who were strongly prejudiced in favour of the 'Hebrew verity,' as it has been termed, and who, besides, had not the remotest conception how or when the fraud virtually attested by them was committed. The difficulty of this case, which has hitherto proved insurmountable, must have sorely perplexed Jerome, and, afterwards, the several Protestant framers of versions ; since it compelled them, in rejecting the final syllable under examination, to violate their leading principle of placing the authority of the Hebrew Bible, beyond comparison above that of all its translations, even when conjointly opposed to it. Now, however, the source of their embarrassment is removed ; and the Septuagint, as well as subsequent versions, is found, in the instances under consideration, to be at variance, not at all with the original text, but only with a spurious addition to it, made by uninspired vocalizers for the dishonest purpose already stated. It cannot be urged in their defence, that they

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Isaiah, I believe, does not occur ; but that of Jeremiah is frequently to be met with, written in just the same way as in the Septuagint. Thus we find in this collection the following note on Jer. xxxii. 2:—וִירְמְיָהוּ הַנְּבִיאַת. O. καὶ Ἰερεμίας \* Π. ὁ προφήτης. The Hebrew part of this extract was supplied by Montfaucon from modern books : the rest of it was taken by him—to use his own words—"ex Manuscripto illo antiquissimo R R Patrum Jesuitarum Collegii Ludovici Magni." The latter part informs us that, while the name *Ἰερεμίας* is written in O, that is, in the Septuagint, without any translation of the word וִירְמְיָהוּ subjoined in this place (as is, indeed, confirmed by the evidence of both the Vatican and Alexandrian copies), there was added in Π, that is, in all the other Greek versions, ὁ προφήτης after *Ἰερεμίας*.

may possibly have interpolated the *Waw*, in those instances, in order to distinguish the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah from other individuals of respectively the same appellations ; since the context of itself sufficiently marks this distinction, in respect to each name, and the interpolation does not, in the case of either of them : for, as to the first, it is everywhere found with the mater lectionis in question at its termination, no matter to whom it may be applied ; and, with regard to the second, the Hebrew designation of Jeremiah the prophet is, in some places, as in Jer. xxvii. 1, and Dan. ix. 2, exhibited without the additional letter ; while, on the other hand, this appendage is retained in 2 Kings, xxiii. 31, 1 Chron. xii. 13, and Jer. xxxv. 3, where three of his namesakes are referred to, and omitted in 1 Chron. v. 24, xii. 4, xii. 10, and Neh. x. 3, where four more of them are mentioned. In short, the analysis of this subject shows clearly, that it was intended to insert the *Waw* at the end of both names, no matter to what individuals they were applied, in every place of their occurrence in the Hebrew text, for the purpose of throwing discredit on the Greek representation of their sounds in the Septuagint : and the omissions must be ascribed to the circumstance of their having been overlooked, from the hurry with which this operation was conducted through fear of detection. The clumsiness of the execution, so completely in accordance with the fraudulence of the design, can, I will venture to assert, be accounted for no otherwise, than by the explanation just given.

With regard to the initial letter of Isaiah's designation in Hebrew, the Peshitah determines nothing, as *Haleph* and *Yod* are frequently interchanged in Syriac orthography ; but the Greek transcription of this word plainly shows, that it must have commenced with a guttural, in the copies of the original text consulted by the framers of the Septuagint. Whether the variation, thus indicated, be due to the circumstance of the exchanged letters having formerly produced, in rapid utterance, no sensible difference of sound, or from whatever

other cause it may have arisen, we should not be at all warranted in its adoption ; for, although the Septuagint is our only secure guide for the vowels of Scriptural names, the Hebrew text must still, where there is no internal evidence of corruption, be referred to, as the main standard for their consonantal elements. The composers, therefore, of our authorized translation decided rightly in dealing with the group in question, as one headed by *Yod* ; but it seems very strange that they should have denoted the power of this initial by a vowel, as no Hebrew word was ever written with a mater lectionis for its first letter. In the Vulgate, indeed, the prophet's name is translated *Isaias* ; but if Jerome meant to express the syllable *Yi*, he could do so in Latin no otherwise than by the vowel *I* ; whereas English orthography affords not any excuse for a like deviation from the Hebrew in our version. Admitting that *Je* was formerly, and consequently that *Ye* is at present, the right commencement, in English writing, of the second of the names here examined, *Ye* must also be the proper commencement of the first : for, as the two begin with a common syllable in Hebrew, they ought evidently to do so in every translation likewise. I would, then, write the names in question in the Hebrew text with the Masoretic marks of rejection over the fraudulently interpolated letters, as follows, יֵשַׁעְיָהּ, and יֵרֵמְיָהּ ; and transcribe them into English *Yeshaiiah* and *Yeremiah*. Their strict transcriptions, indeed, are *Yeshahyah* and *Yeremyah* ; but *Yeshaiiah* differs not at all, in the sound it expresses, from the first of these, while *Yeremiah* differs from the second only by a diæresis that is in common use ; and the latter forms of the two words appear to be preferable, on account of their receding less from those at present employed. The translation given in the English New Testament of the first name is, of course, not affected by these observations, nor does it require any correction.

With a view to investigating interpolations of a certain class to be found in the Hebrew designations of names in the present state of the sacred text, it is necessary that I should

here premise some remarks upon the *Nun paragogic*, as it has been termed ;—a letter occasionally placed after a vocalic *Yod*, or *Waw*, at the end of Hebrew groups, to indicate a fuller utterance of their final syllable, and, through a delivery thus rendered more emphatic, to communicate greater impressiveness to their meaning ; though, from a more frequent and indiscriminate application subsequently made of it in Shemitic dialects, its use in them appears to have ceased to produce the second effect, and to have been confined to the first one of merely strengthening the pronunciation of a mater lectionis at the termination of a word. The influence of the character, in this position of it in Hebrew writing, on the sound of the vowel with which it is connected, is attested by the Masorets ; as they have made it draw the accent with it ; and accent in their system, just as in modern ones, implies emphasis.<sup>a</sup> Upon this point there is no reason to question their evidence ; and, granting it to be correct, the inference is inevitable, that the paragogic *Nun* is not an original element of the sacred text ; as it cannot be supposed to have had existence there, sooner than the vowel-letters, to the expression of whose sounds it is subservient, as far as showing when they are to be pronounced with peculiar force. This conclusion will be found strongly borne out by a comparison of the Jewish and Samaritan editions of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch ; in each of which several instances are to be seen of verbs having the letter under consideration annexed to them, though they are not so terminated in the other. Of these instances a few are subjoined ; and their number might be increased to any extent that could be desired.

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<sup>a</sup> In the systems of known antiquity, the accent was not accompanied with any stress of voice ; as it affected not the length of the syllables to which it was affixed, the accented ones being often found short. But in the Masoretic system of accentuation, just as in those of the present day, the accented vowels are always long ;—a circumstance which tends obviously to indicate the comparative modernness of this system.

Gen. xx. 9,— יַעֲשֶׂה, in the Jewish edition, is written יַעֲשֹׁן in the Samaritan.

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|-------------------------|-------------|
| 13,— תַּעֲשֶׂה          | תַּעֲשֹׁן   |
| xli. 55,— תַּעֲשֶׂה     | תַּעֲשֹׁן   |
| xlvi. 20,— תַּבִּיאֶה   | תַּבִּיאוֹן |
| תַּמּוֹתֶה              | תַּמּוֹתוֹן |
| l. 17,— תַּאֲמַרֶה      | תַּאֲמַרוֹן |
| Ex. iii. 21,— תִּלְכּוּ | תִּלְכוֹן   |
| iv. 9,— יִשְׁמַעֲנִי    | יִשְׁמַעֵי  |
| xiv. 13,— תִּסְפָּרֶה   | תִּסְפֹּרֶן |
| xv. 14,— יִרְגֹּזֶה     | יִרְגֹּזוֹן |
| xvii. 2,— תִּנְסֶה      | תִּנְסוֹן   |
| xviii. 22,— יִבְיֵאֶה   | יִבְיֵאוֹן  |
| xx. 23,— תַּעֲשֶׂה      | תַּעֲשֹׁן   |

It is unnecessary to pursue this illustration of the subject any further ; as the adduced examples are abundantly sufficient to establish the adventitious nature of the letter in question, each of them supplying the evidence of the edition of this text without this letter, against its genuineness in that which has it. There is, then, very nearly a certainty of the paragogic *Nun* being a spurious element of the Hebrew Scriptures ; and, as it is therein employed in subservience to the *matres lectionis*, the great probability is, that it was inserted in the sacred text by the same party as they were, namely by the first vocalizers of that text.

It accords with this representation of the matter, that, in proportion as Shemitic writers became more familiar with vowel-letters, they made a freer use of the paragogic *Nun*: as, for instance, it occurs oftener in the Samaritan than in the Jewish copies of the Hebrew text, and still oftener in the Peshitah and the Chaldee Targums. This letter, indeed, is so much more frequently employed in the latter records, that it is to be seen in them constantly and uniformly annexed to inflexions of verbs to which it is but occasionally appended in the former ones. Thus, the inflexions for the second and third persons masculine plural of the future tense in the several conjugations or voices of Shemitic verbs, which sometimes end in the sound

of *U* and at other times in that of *UN*, as they are to be read in the Jewish and Samaritan Bibles, always terminate in the latter sound in the Syriac and Chaldee dialects ; in consequence of which the *Nun* paragogic fails to communicate to them in those dialects the impressiveness it occasions in Hebrew ; as an addition to words made indiscriminately, whatever influence it may exert on the force of their utterance, can have no bearing on their sense. The subservience of the letter in question, in the imagination of Shemitic writers, to whatever mater lectionis it was placed after, is illustrated by the use of the *anuswara* in Sanscrit orthography ;—a point which is conceived by the Pundit to connect the articulation of *N* or *NG* with the sound of the vowel over which it is placed, without making the combination thus produced a syllable, or taking it out of the class of mere vowels. And, as the Syriac system of writing reached India, at the latest, in the fifth century through the hands of the Nestorian Christians, it is very possible that this peculiarity of the Sanscrit system may have taken its rise from the corresponding one under examination, whose use in Shemitic writing it contributes to explain. But however this may be, a clearer illustration of the nature of the paragogic *Nun*, and one supplied by a practice more directly traceable to the Syriac, and thence to the Hebrew employment of this very letter, as its origin, is presented to our observation in the mode pursued of reading pointed Arabic texts. In such documents the vowel-marks at the end of words are sometimes doubled, to intimate that the vowels so denoted are to be pronounced in a more forcible manner. But in what is their increased strength of utterance made to consist ? Simply in articulating *Nun* immediately after their respective sounds. Hence this process has been denominated *nunnation*—a name that might, perhaps, be still more appropriately given to the operation here investigated ; in which the expression of the *Nun* is not, as in the case just cited, confined chiefly to its pronunciation, but is also made directly to appear in the writing. I shall now adduce three

examples of this nunnation,—one of them from the Peshitah; another, from the Peshitah and both editions of the Hebrew text; and the third, from the same Syriac version and the Jewish edition of the text.

8. The name of the father-in-law of Moses is exhibited, in both the Jewish and Samaritan copies of the Hebrew Pentateuch, יִתְרוֹ, YITHRO; but its transcription in the Septuagint, Ἰοθρρ, proves that the mater lectionis at present terminating the Hebrew group is a spurious letter, and was not interpolated in the original text till after the first Greek version was written. Against the genuineness, indeed, of this letter, the sacred text itself, even in its present state, can be made to bear evidence; as the interpolators, in their hurry, overlooked this group in one passage, Ex. iv. 18, where they suffered it to remain in its original state, יִתְרִי, without any vowel-letter subjoined. If we turn now to the oldest Syriac version, we shall find this name uniformly transcribed in it ܝܬܪܘܢ, YITHRON. But the vocal part of this transcript was evidently not obtained from the Septuagint; and Jewish instruction was the only other source from which the writers of the Peshitah could have derived it. The pronunciation, therefore, which is hereby conveyed must be considered as authorized by the learned class of Jews in their day; and the nunnation of the final vowel clearly indicates the *animus* with which these instructors were actuated: they dwelt with peculiar emphasis on the sound added to the name, from an eager desire to establish the correctness of this addition to it. Their immediate object, indeed, could not in this instance have been to disparage the Septuagint, as the persons they had here to deal with appear to have been wholly unacquainted with that version; but still they might have had this end remotely in view, as the Syriac transcription of the word which sprung in reality from their teaching, would have the appearance of a testimony, independent of theirs, to the erroneousousness of its Greek pronunciation, *Yothor*, with such readers as might be able to consult both versions. But, however this may be, it is evident that the



wish scribes of the age in which the Peshitah was written only laid the principal stress on the vowel sound they subjoined to the above name, but also that they pronounced that vowel to the Syriac translators in a stronger manner than a larger set of them afterwards ventured to express its sound in the vocalized text: for the form in which the entire word is exhibited in the Peshitah fully accords with the fact which can be abundantly established from other sources, that this version was written before the introduction of the *matres lectionis* into the Hebrew Bible; since, had it been subsequently composed, the framers would obviously have left the vowel-letter here employed in the same state as it is presented to us in the sacred text, without any nunnation.

*Jethro*, or (as the word should be written to express the sound it formerly conveyed) *Yethro*, is a pronunciation of the name in question not exactly the same as any of those above considered; and it is a curious fact that, although this is the name at present most generally received among Christians of all denominations, it yet originated with Aquila, an apostate and most bitter enemy of the Christian faith. In a fragment of his translation of the verse, Exod. xviii. 5, given in the notes at the end of the London edition of the Septuagint, taken from the Vatican MS., the above name may be seen, as written by him, Ἰεθρώ; which Jerome, imposed upon by his Jewish instructor, transcribed *Iethro* into the Vulgate; and Luther, notwithstanding his prejudice against the latter work, adopted this transcript, wherein he has been followed by most, if not all, the Protestant framers of English translations of the Bible. As long as the Jews continued to make use of Greek versions, that of Aquila was by far the greatest favourite with them, and that which best accorded with their views. This version, as well as some others, framed upon a similar plan during the second century, was written at a period when copies of the sacred text and knowledge of its language were wholly confined to the sacerdotal class and the scribes in their interest, together with the few renegades, or Judaizing heretics whom

they successively employed as translators of the Hebrew Bible, under the impression that works issuing from such authors would incur less suspicion than if composed avowedly by themselves. Accordingly, the main object of the versions alluded to, and more especially of the first and principal one, may be collected from their extant remains to have been the attachment to the Septuagint of an appearance of great inaccuracy; as may be exemplified even by the word just extracted from a fragment still preserved of Aquila's translation. For, though *Ιεθρώ* does not exactly agree with *Yithro*, the pronunciation yielded by the Masoretic pointing, it yet completely sustains the alteration of the sound of this name introduced by the vocalizers of the second century, giving the vowel belonging to that alteration its full length, and thereby making the old transcription of the Seventy, *Ιεθόρ*, appear the more incorrect. In the insidious object, however, which has been just adverted to, the above versions most providentially failed; and then at last the Jewish priesthood, above a hundred years after they had got vowel-letters introduced into the writing of the Hebrew Bible, ventured upon a more daring attempt to undermine the credit of the Septuagint, as well as a more direct mode of attacking Christianity, by resorting to the hazardous expedient of placing a copy of the sacred text in its altered state, and also the means of learning to make use of it, within reach of the orthodox Christians. This, however, is a subject which will require a further discussion than I could here spare room for, and which I hope still to go through, if I be spared long enough to write another volume. For the present I shall confine myself to the remark, that Aquila and some of his fellow-translators have been hitherto supposed to adhere more closely to the sacred text than did the Seventy;—a supposition which has sorely perplexed Hebraists. But the difficulty of this case is now entirely cleared up, and it turns out that the extant fragments of the version written by those suspicious authors do not at all approach nearer than the Septuagint to

the original text of the Hebrew Bible, but merely to that text as vocalized during the second century.

9. In my next example of the same class, the nunnation is just as evident as in the first, but the mode of correcting it is not quite as certain. The name of Joshua's father is transmitted to us, in both the Jewish and Samaritan copies of the Pentateuch נִנ, NUN, as also in the Peshitah, ܢܢ, NUN ; but the older representation of its sound preserved in the Septuagint, *Navḥ*,<sup>a</sup> proves very clearly that the true value of the middle letter of the group is not a vowel, but, according to the conception of the reader, either a *W* or a syllable beginning with that consonant, and that the third element, subsequently displaced by the nunnation, was one of the Hebrew aspirates. Which of these aspirates originally occupied the third place, can now no longer be determined to a certainty ; but the great probability is, that it was נ, as נִנ, *NaWeH*, is a Hebrew word signifying 'handsome,' which is very likely to have been employed as a proper name, at a period when characteristic denominations were in general use ; and at all events *NaWeH* is a correct transcript of this name, provided it be left undetermined which of the aspirates *H* is here made to stand for. As to the altered form of the same denomination, נִנ, NUN, it is assumed to mean 'a fish,' because נִנ, *NUNaH*, has that meaning in Chaldee, and ܢܢ, *NUNaH*, in Syriac ; but there is no evidence whatever of its having been significant in the parent Hebrew

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<sup>a</sup> Lest it should occur to the reader that *Navḥ* may possibly have not been the original transcript of this name in the Septuagint, I have to observe that it is found so written in, I believe, every place of its occurrence in the Vatican and Alexandrian copies, except in one passage, 1 Chron. vii. 27, in which it is at present exhibited *Novv* in the Vatican, and *Novμ* in the Alexandrian copy. But this place, which betrays several discrepancies between the two copies of the Septuagint, is evidently much corrupted in both of them. The Masorets have here added to the confusion of the subject, by vocalizing נִנ in this passage for the pronunciation NON ; and the framers of our Authorized Version have actually followed them in this whimsical variation of its sound.

language, and, even if it had been so, it could not, with the meaning attributed to it, have been applied to Joshua's father, except as a nickname,—a species of opprobrious designation with which there is not the slightest reason to suppose that he was branded. This difference, however, between the two forms of the name is here noticed, merely as falling in with much stronger grounds for preferring the more ancient form. The testimony of the Jews who wrote any part, indeed, of the Septuagint, but more particularly its oldest part, which is that here appealed to, immeasurably outweighs the united evidence of both the Jewish and Samaritan scribes of the second century. As to the Syriac representation of the word, it can be considered only as Jewish contemporary evidence repeated in another shape ; for, however independent the authors of the Peshitah might be in translating the general text of Scripture, where their judgment could be guided by the bearing of the context, yet in completing the sounds of unvocalized Hebrew denominations, they were under the necessity of leaning on external aid ; and, as they were obviously unacquainted with the Septuagint, they must have resorted to the most learned Hebraists they could confer with, as their best authority on this subject. The Syriac transcription, however, of this word serves to show that the Jews tampered, if not in writing, at least in pronunciation, with Joshua's patronymic, before they ventured to meddle with his proper name ; as the corruption only of the former part of his designation, and not that of the latter, appears in the Peshitah.

Josephus fully corroborates the representation given by the Seventy of the sound of the name of Joshua's father, and at the same time does so in such a manner as to show that he took his conception of this sound, not from them, but from his own immediate reading of the original group, combined with his traditional knowledge of the subject : for what they made *Ναή*, he transcribed *Ναήπος*. As the Jews were about 350 years longer accustomed to Greek orthography in his day than when the oldest part of the Septuagint was written, it is no

wonder that he should make a freer use of Grecian terminations to Hebrew names than the Seventy did; and, accordingly, we here see him adding *vos* to his immediate reading of the original group, *Navή*, which is the same as their entire transcription of it; just as, in an instance previously noticed, we found him subjoining *μη* or *νη* to *Μαριαμ*, for the like purpose of accommodating the Hebrew denomination to the taste of Greek readers. It may be well here further to observe, that, in his *ad libitum* choice of a termination in this instance, he employs the Greek N, not in order to represent the occurrence of a nunnation in the original group (for then he would have transcribed the name in question *Novnos*, instead of *Navηnos*), but merely to prevent the hiatus which would otherwise arise from so many vowels coming together without any intervening consonant; and he could not make use of the letter more commonly applied to the purpose by the Greeks, the *Digamma*, in this place, as its power is just before virtually brought into play by the contraction into one syllable of the second and third vowels of his transcription. The full designation of Joshua by Josephus is given in the third book of his Antiquities, fourteenth chapter, *Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυήνου παῖς, φυλῆς Ἐφραιμίτιδος*; and from the circumstance of his freely supporting the evidence of the Septuagint both as to the patronymic, and the more immediate denomination of Joshua, it evidently follows that the corruption of neither word commenced, even in the mode of reading them, till after the year 94 or 95 of the first century of the Christian era, when this work was published; for, otherwise, the author, from his tenderness to the character of the Jewish priests, would have observed the same reserve with respect to the corrupted words, as we have already seen he did with regard to the misrepresentation which had been introduced before his time of one of the forms of Sarah's name.

In fine, I would write the name just analyzed *יְהוֹשֻׁעַ* in the Hebrew Bible, with the marginal note on the letter substituted for the final one, 'Sept.'—an authority, indeed, which, consi-

dered by itself, only shows that the element to be restored is an aspirate, but, when combined with the internal evidence of the case, limits that aspirate to *He*. But as *H* may be used to denote indifferently any of the Hebrew aspirates, the evidence of the Septuagint alone affords sufficient ground for transcribing this name in an English version *Naweh*; to which I would recommend subjoining, on its first occurrence, the note 'Sept.—Heb. voc. *Nun*,' in order to point out, not only the authority for its correction, but also the source to which its present corruption is to be traced.

10. The name of the capital city of the ancient kingdom of Israel is always, with but one or two exceptions, exhibited *Σαμαρεία* in the Septuagint, and uniformly, without any exception, so written in the original text of the New Testament. This designation, therefore, omitting its final element, which appears to have been added merely for the purpose of giving it a Grecian termination, may be safely referred to, as a standard for determining the correct vowel-sounds of the original name in question. In the existing state of the Hebrew text, this name is at present therein written שֹׁמֶרֶן, and read ShoMeRON. The first two vowels of this reading are taken from the Masoretic pointing of the adduced Hebrew group. But how little the Masorets can be depended on for the just pronunciation of foreign words, is evinced in the present instance, even without any reference to the above standard, by the contradictory nature of their own evidence on the subject. For they pointed the proper name שֹׁמֶר, from which the one under examination is, in 1 Kings, xvi. 24, expressly stated to be derived, so as to be read, not ShoMeR, but SheMeR. The chief blame, however, of the present erroneous pronunciation of the Hebrew derivative name falls upon the first vocalizers of the sacred text, who expressed the principal vowel of this name with a *Waw*, instead of a *Yod*, and, by subjoining to that mater lectionis a *Nun*, attached a greater stress to the utterance of the *O* sound thereby denoted, than they were warranted in doing. The part, indeed, of the mispronunciation which is to

be traced to their fault is so very gross as to give strong ground for suspecting, that they must have resided at a great distance from Palestine, and most probably somewhere in Europe. For, surely, at the period when they performed their task, that is (as will be shown in a subsequent chapter), within thirty years after the commencement of the second century, they could not have been so ignorant of the vowel portion of the name of a city that had been the metropolis of the ancient kingdom of Israel, if they lived in any of the adjoining countries. The corruption, however, which is here exposed, had partly begun before this time. For the Syriac Christians who framed the Peshitah about the end of the first century (as shall be shown most probable in an ensuing chapter), must be supposed well acquainted with the manner in which the above name was then pronounced, and they transcribed it in their version **ܫܡܪܝܢ** *ShaMaRIN*, with the third vowel, indeed, correctly selected, but corrupted through a nasal pronunciation which was not applied to it till, at any rate, after the Gospel of St. John had been written. Thus the nunnation of the final vowel of this name made its way into the first Syriac version, as well as into the vocalized text. From what is proved in the chapter after the next, respecting the treatment by the old vocalizers of words ending in a paragogic *He*, it will, I think, be found likely that the original form of the name of the town and surrounding district was distinguished from **שׁמֶר**, the designation of the man after whom they were called, by the addition of a final *He*, which those scribes erased when they subjoined the *Waw* and *Nun* thereto. This, however, is suggested merely as a conjecture on a point whose determination is not essential to my theory. Had they acted correctly on their own plan in this instance, they would have put the derivative name in the form **שׁמֶרֶה**, *ShaMaRI*, whether there had or had not been originally annexed to it a *He*. The framers of our Authorized Version exercised a sound discretion in transcribing this word *Samaria* in the Old Testament, in order to exhibit the name in the same form in both Testaments. They also acted judi-

ciously in noting *Shomeron*, as the present Hebrew reading of this name, in the margin of the place (1 Kings, xvi. 24) where its derivation is recorded. But the heading of this note should be changed from 'Heb.' to 'Heb. voc.'; as the specified corruption of the word is not at all warranted by the Hebrew text in its original state, but sprung partly from the mistakes of the Masorets, and partly from those of the older set of vocalizers.

11. Although the names examined in the three preceding articles have been, to a certainty, corrupted by nunnation, yet the peculiar utterance of vowels which gave rise to the process, just investigated, is not in every instance erroneous. On the contrary, traces of the early existence of such a pronunciation can be established, by a comparison of Hebrew denominations suffered to remain in their original state, with the transcriptions given of them in the oldest versions;—a pronunciation, too, which will be found, by the same means, not confined to vowels at the very end of words, but to have been applied to them also when followed by a feeble aspiration. Of this a very striking example is afforded in the Hebrew designation of Solomon, which, from some cause or other, has been left untouched by the first vocalizers; and whose analysis will enable me, through the aid of the theory above unfolded, to account for a remarkable discrepancy, hitherto unexplained, between its sound, as it is now uttered, and, as we know upon unquestionable authority, it was formerly read. This name remains to the present day inscribed in the sacred text, without a single vowel-letter, *שלמה*;—a group which, even with the advantage of the most favourable vocalization, cannot be made, according to the modern way of reading it, to yield a closer approximation to the sound in question than *ShaLoMoH*, or *ShoLoMoH*. But the fact of the initial part of the process of nunnation, or the part relating to pronunciation, having been in very remote times applied to this group, in reading it, is directly attested both by the Seventy Jews and by the framers of the Peshitah,



who have transcribed it respectively *Σαλωμων*, and *שלמון*, ShoLIMON ; and their attestation to this effect is powerfully supported by the testimony of the inspired authors of the New Testament, who have uniformly written it *Σολομων* ; not, indeed, as an immediate transcript of the Hebrew group, but as an original designation of the name, which, however, shows clearly how they would have read and transcribed that group, if they had quoted from the Old Testament any passage that contained it. The differences between the adduced pronunciations of the name are to be attributed to the emphasis required by the nunnation, which, by throwing the stress of voice on the last syllable, gives a comparative indistinctness to the utterance of the preceding ones ; so that even persons who heard the same authoritative reading of the skeleton group, might still, very possibly, fill up the expression of the less prominent portion of its sound with different vowel-letters. These differences, however, prove that the three representations of the sound of this group were made in a great measure independently of each other ; and yet they all perfectly agree as to the nunnation of its last syllable : so it is quite plain that, if the old vocalizers had ventured to apply their improved method of spelling to the example before us, they would have changed the Hebrew group in question into *שלמון*. But they having failed to do this, and the Jews having subsequently deprived themselves of the use of the Septuagint, the true pronunciation of the original group was in the course of time lost among this people ; so that it came at last to be read by them *SheLoMoH*,—a misreading which has been perpetuated by the Masorets, who did not, in their system of points, reserve to themselves even the bare power of expressing, what the Arabic scribes freely represent in their's, the nunnated sound of a final vowel.

The framers of our Authorized Version have in this instance deviated from their usual practice of deferring to Masoretic authority, and have rendered the name here analyzed *Solomon* throughout the English Bible. This rendering is perfectly just

in the New Testament, and, though not equally so in the Old, is still there warranted by the advantage of exhibiting the designation in the same form in both ; but, undoubtedly, *Sholomon* would be a more correct transcription of it from the Hebrew record considered alone. I shall only add that, in whichever form this word is exhibited, the stress of voice, in pronouncing it, should be thrown on its last syllable, and not, as is at present the more usual practice, be laid upon the first.

The corruptions exposed in most of the examples as yet analyzed having been traced to design, it may at first sight appear surprising, that the individuals who at any time had the charge of the Hebrew Scriptures should have ventured to tamper with names so familiar to the Jews. But a little consideration will serve to show, that circumstances were peculiarly favourable to the concealment of the operations of the scribes alluded to, while they were engaged in introducing into the sacred text the fuller mode of denoting words which had previously got into general use in writings upon ordinary subjects. The number of those individuals was very limited,—the number, indeed, of persons who could then read at all, but especially of those who could read a work in a dead language, and in a species of writing that was becoming every day more obsolete, was exceedingly small;—so that, with the exception of those few, the Hebrew Bible was to mankind a sealed book during the entire of the second century, and continued so to the Christians, till the time of Origen in the third century, and to the Jews till, at any rate, near the end of the sixth century ; before which date the latter party certainly did not return to the employment of the Hebrew tongue in divine service, nor to the practice of hearing the Scriptures read in their original language in the Synagogues. Moreover, the Septuagint, which might have guarded this nation from tolerating the corruption of any of the names of the class in question, and which was held in the highest repute by their instructors till about the close of the first century, was early in the next

one withdrawn from their use, under the pretext of its having been corrupted by the Christians; and other Greek versions were substituted for it, which countenanced the misapplication of the new and fuller mode of writing, in the cases which have been as yet investigated. In point of fact, therefore, the interpolators of the vowel-letters might have taken still greater liberties with Scriptural names than they actually did, without incurring any immediate risk of detection. In general, however, their representation of the vocal part of names to which the Jewish ear was familiar, though it is defective, is correct as far as it goes; and they, for the most part, confined their erroneous or dishonest interpolations to those of rarer occurrence. It is, then, to names of the latter class that we are chiefly to look for proofs of the spuriousness of the *matres lectionis*; and they will be found to supply evidence to this effect, not only in greater abundance, but also of a more convincing nature; as, from the haste with which the operation was conducted, the vocalization of such names frequently betrays inconsistencies so palpable that they cannot, without absurdity as well as impiety, be attributed to the inspired authors of the Bible. Hence the sacred text itself, as well as its versions, can in those instances be brought to yield evidence against the genuineness of its vowel-letters. The same line of research, carried on through a comparison of names of rare occurrence, as written in different passages, will also enable me to restore some of the original letters of the Hebrew text, a few of which have been corrupted from other causes in the course of a very long series of ages; and, likewise, to correct the corresponding elements of those names in the oldest Greek and Syriac versions.

Here, as a preliminary step to the branch of this investigation upon which I am about to enter, I have to inquire, how far the principle, that the same written name implies always the same spoken one, which pervades the general class of alphabetic designations (and gives them so vast a superiority over those of an ideographic nature), extended also to the

particular species employed in the Hebrew text in its primitive state. It is quite obvious that, in the case of a system whose elements originally denoted syllabic sounds that were fixed in their consonantal, and mutable only in their vocal ingredients, there might, from an identity of the series of letters by which two names were expressed, be at once inferred an identity of pronunciation, at any rate as far as respects the series of articulations employed. But whether this sameness extended, for the most part, to the vowel portions also of the represented words, remains still to be determined. I have already availed myself of an immediate consequence of the above principle, where I assumed that, as the two forms of Sarah's name differed in sound, they must also have exhibited some difference in writing. But I did not put forward as absolutely certain the inference I partly thence drew, as to the final letter of the first of those forms; because I was conscious that, although the principle in question holds very generally with regard to the designations employed in the primitive state of the sacred text, yet it was not therein adhered to in every case without exception. I do not allude now to the changes of pronunciation that are occasioned by difference of nations, or by difference of times. Such changes reach to even the very superior and far more perfectly vocalized writing of Europeans: as, for instance, the same expression of a name in Roman characters may be pronounced very differently by the French from what it is by the English, and again by the English at present from what it was by their ancestors two hundred years ago. But, without taking into consideration the variations so produced, I am obliged to concede that in unpointed Shemitic writing, even at the same period and in the same country, a group of letters used as a name might possibly represent more than one combination of sounds. This is confessedly the case with respect to groups denoting appellative terms of the Hebrew tongue; and consequently may be equally so in reference to such as are applied to the

expression of proper names, as far as those names are identical with words of the former class.

Thus one and the same group **דא** stands for two ordinary terms of the language that are also occasionally employed as proper names, viz. **דא**, which, according to the exigencies of the context, signifies 'man,' or 'mankind,' or 'Adam;' and **דא**, or **דא**, which in like manner denotes 'red,' or 'redness,' or 'Edom:'<sup>a</sup> while for all the significations of the first of these words it remains up to the present time wholly unfurnished with vowel-letters in every place of its being so applied in the sacred text, and likewise for the general meanings of the second word, in every place but one, namely Cant. v. 10,<sup>b</sup> where it is now written in the form **דא**. In this form, however, the group in question is, I grant, at present always exhibited for the last meaning of the second word; but that it was originally framed as bare of vowel-letters for the sixth application as the five previous ones, is rendered probable even by the manner in which this use of it is first mentioned in Scripture (Gen. xxv. 30), where the Hebrew for 'red' is identified with that for 'Edom,' and yet remains still written **דא**, with the article **א**, indeed, prefixed, but wholly unvocalized. But the absence of the *Waw* from the above group in its primitive state, for every application of it, is proved nearly to a certainty by what has been already shown of the spuriousness of the *matres lectionis*; and the fact of the interpolation of this letter in it in one of the instances in which it is now read 'Edom,'

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<sup>a</sup> **דא** admits of being read a third way also, **דא**, an appellative term signifying 'a ruby;' but as no proper name is connected with this pronunciation of the group, it is not above taken notice of. In every place likewise of the occurrence of **דא** with this signification, it has been left wholly unvocalized by the inserters of the *matres lectionis*.

<sup>b</sup> The above circumstance relative to the Song of Solomon agrees with one previously noticed in this chapter, in its tendency to show that, although this poem is older than several parts of the Bible, it was vocalized later, when the scribes who performed this operation became more accustomed to their work, and in consequence made a freer use of the *matres lectionis*.

can be established beyond all doubt by the inspired authority of the New Testament. This will be clearly perceived by comparing, in the Authorized English Version of the Bible, the following prophecy of Amos with the reference made to it by St. James (as reported by the Evangelist St. Luke) which is identical with its translation in the Septuagint. "In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old; THAT THEY MAY POSSESS THE REMNANT OF EDOM AND OF ALL THE HEATHEN WHICH ARE CALLED BY MY NAME, SAITH THE LORD THAT DOETH THIS."—Amos, ix. 11, 12. "——as it is written: After this I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up: THAT THE RESIDUE OF MEN MIGHT SEEK AFTER THE LORD, AND ALL THE GENTILES UPON WHOM MY NAME IS CALLED, SAITH THE LORD, WHO DOETH ALL THESE THINGS."—Acts, xv. 15–17. If we refer both these renderings to the original passage, as at present written, we shall see that its group אֱדוֹם, transcribed in the first 'Edom,' is construed in the second, 'men,' so must have been read by St. James הַדָּאֵם; and that, consequently, the *Waw* which now appears in this group is spurious, and could not have been inserted therein, till after the period when an inspired Apostle supplied decisive ground for the rejection of its genuineness in the specified place. It is, therefore, certain that in the primitive state of the sacred text, the series of letters אֱדוֹם, employed as the representation of a proper name, served to denote either 'Adam' or 'Edom,' according to the demands of the context.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> It cannot from the above example be inferred that the context did not always suffice to determine which of the specified spoken names the group in question was intended to denote: because, on examining the original passage referred to in this example, we shall find that the Jewish scribes were forced to introduce into it some additional changes to warrant their vocalizing אֱדוֹם

Now although this ambiguity in regard to two names as familiar to the Jews as any appellative words of their language, occasioned no embarrassment, it would have been productive of much confusion, if it had been extended to many of their written designations of human beings, more especially to many of rare occurrence. There is, however, no ground of the slightest weight for supposing this to have been the real state of the case: for whenever, except in the instance of the above adduced example, the Septuagint, our oldest authority for the vocal part of the sounds of Scriptural names, attests a varied pronounciation of a Hebrew group representing a man, it fails—at least in the cases that have come under my observation—of being consistent in that evidence; that is, while it transcribes the primitive group with different vowels to denote different persons, it does not constantly and uniformly transcribe that group with the same vowels when applied to the designation of one and the same individual. The variation in question, therefore, would appear to have arisen, not so much from an original difference of spoken names denoted by one group in common, as from the circumstance of the true sound of that group having been lost before the Septuagint came to be written. On the other hand, in a matter which now, I believe, for the first time comes under discussion, with whatever care I may have examined it, I would not venture to pronounce with certainty, that no other instance but that above canvassed can be produced, of the same written name having served in the original state of the sacred text to denote more than a single spoken one. But I conceive myself fully warranted in asserting that, if there be any additional instances of such ambiguity in that text, as originally written, their number must be extremely limited; and that, being at variance with the distinctness of nominal designations generally observable therein, no one of them can be admitted—at least with

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therein for the name 'Edom;' and, consequently, that the context of the passage in its genuine state excluded that signification of the group.

any degree of confidence—unless its reality be sustained by consistent ancient evidence. In one of the examples, indeed, to be presently brought forward, in which the required consistency has been to some extent observed, I have conceded a diversity of the vocal part of the sound of a Hebrew name in its primitive state, without a complete fulfilment of the specified condition ; but I have done so only conventionally, for the mere convenience of distinguishing different persons by some difference of verbal nomenclature, and without pretending to fix to a certainty the correctness of the difference I have adopted. If my leaving the matter in this state of unfixedness should give dissatisfaction, I am sorry for it ; but I will not represent our knowledge of the sounds of Scriptural names as greater than it really is ; and, in extenuation of this deficiency, I would only beg to remind the reader, that the uncertainty here noticed affects solely names of rare occurrence. Wherever it is of more importance to be acquainted with the full pronunciation of Hebrew names, in consequence of their frequent occurrence in Scripture, in such cases we are abundantly supplied with means of ascertaining that pronunciation with exactness. I shall here add but one more observation, having an immediate reference to the object for which attention will presently be directed to Hebrew names variously transcribed in the Septuagint, without any variation of the persons thereby denoted: viz. that the more diversified the vocalization is of a Greek transcript, while applied to the designation of the same individual, the more striking is the proof thus afforded, that no separate signs for vowels were employed in the original group till after the Septuagint had been written.

Having in the preceding paragraphs incidentally touched upon a very important prophecy of the Old Testament, and the reference made to it in the New, which are at present exhibited, in their final portions, utterly irreconcilable,—as may be seen by comparing the lines of each quotation which are given in capitals,—I cannot pass by this remarkable discre-



pance, which equally holds between the original sentences in the existing state of the Hebrew text, without some further investigation of its cause. It is in vain to urge, with a view to removing the difficulty before us, that St. Luke, writing for persons acquainted with the older volume of Scriptures only through the medium of the Septuagint, quoted the prophecy referred to from that version; for, even admitting this to have been the case, surely he would not have substituted for his own translation of the passage that given by the Seventy, if he did not consider it a correct one. We, therefore, must either adopt the monstrous supposition that St. James and St. Luke entirely mistook the bearing of the second verse of the prophecy in question, and that the latter gave his sanction to an erroneous translation of that verse (whether made by himself or taken from another quarter, need not here be inquired into); or we must come to the conclusion that the Hebrew text has been altered in this place since the time when 'the Acts of the Apostles' were written;—a conclusion for the arrival at which a way has been paved, by the disclosure already effected respecting the very passage under examination; for, as the Jewish scribes have been convicted of misreading one term in it, we need not be surprised at their having tampered with two more of its words also. And this result is further strengthened by the obvious effect of the corruption here imputed to them, which is to change a prophecy detested by the Jews—of the call of the Gentiles to a seeking after the true God and a consequent state of salvation—into one in favour of which all the prejudices of this people were enlisted,—a prediction of their universal dominion upon earth. To put this matter in a clearer light, I here bring together some quotations to be considered by the reader:—1st. The original passage, with the corrections inserted in it that I shall endeavour to establish, but which I translate in the first instance without any reference to those corrections, and in accordance with the sense attributed to it by the Jews; 2ndly. The paraphrase of this passage in the Targum of Jonathan, to

show I have given a fair representation of the Jewish construction of it; 3rdly. For the same purpose, the translation of this passage by Hieronymus; 4thly. The translation of it in the Peshitah; and, 5thly. The translations of it in the Vatican and Alexandrian copies of the Septuagint, compared immediately with each other and with the corresponding passage of the Greek Testament :—

*Hebrew,* למען יינד[רשו את-]יהודה שארית אדום וכל הגוים  
 ם אשר נקרא שמי עליהם, נאם יהוה עשה [כל-] זאת.

in order that they upon whom my name is called, should inherit possession of (or dominion over) the remnant of Edom and all the Gentiles, saith the LORD who doeth this (or these things).<sup>a</sup>

*Targum of* בדיל דירתון ית שארא דאדום וכל יעממא בית  
*Jonathan,* ם ישראל דאתקרי שמי עליהון; בכן אנא יי עבד דא.

in order that the House of Israel upon whom my name is called, should inherit possession of (or dominion over) the remnant of Edom and all the Gentiles; wherefore I the LORD do this.

*Hieronymus,* ut possideant reliquias Idumææ et omnes nationes; eo quòd invocatum sit nomen meum super eos; dicit Dominus faciens hæc.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The pronoun זאת is, in the Hebrew grammars and lexicons, confined to the singular number; but that it admitted of a plural, as well as singular application, is evident from both its Syriac and Greek translation, not only in the very passage under examination, but in other verses of Scripture also. Thus, in Isaiah, v. 25, בכל-זאת is translated, in the Peshitah כסלך כלסך, 'in these things all of them,' and in the Septuagint, ἐν παντι τοῖς.

<sup>b</sup> The *Yod* in the above group is at present read as a consonant; but the analogy which holds between the Syriac and Chaldee dialects shows, that it was originally employed in such sites to denote the vowel *E*, for the purpose of distinguishing the plural from the singular emphatic termination of nouns.

<sup>c</sup> The translation of the passage by Hieronymus differs from all the others quoted by me, in representing אשר as therein used, not as a pronoun, but as



three Greek representations of the meaning of the original verse is, surely, very striking. Even with regard to the one important difference which at present exists between them, there is internal evidence of their having all formerly agreed. For the transitive verb ἐκζητήσωσι requires after it a noun in the objective case, such as no longer now appears in the clause that should contain it in the Vatican copy. Some noun, therefore, in this case has, to a certainty, dropped out of the first clause of the verse in that copy of the Septuagint; and as the LORD is the only fit object of the act of 'seeking after,' or worshipping, we might *a priori* conclude the missing expression, in the requisite case, to be τὸν Κύριον, just as we find it written in the other two representations of the same clause. There is another circumstance which, though minute in itself, I think worth noticing, as an illustration of the scrupulous accuracy of the Septuagint in this place. The expression which I have translated 'upon whom my name is called,' means literally in the Hebrew passage, as well as in the corresponding Chaldee and Syriac verses, 'whom my name is called upon them,' by an idiom that is common to the three dialects. But this pleonasm is as repugnant to the genius of the Greek, as it is to that of the English language; yet we find it strictly adhered to in the translation given of it by the Seventy—ἐφ' οὗς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς. The main point, however, on which I rely as giving a preponderating and, indeed, irresistible weight to the evidence of the Seventy with respect to the meaning of the entire original passage in question is, that it is fully borne out and sustained by the inspired authority of St. Luke, and, I may add, by that also of St. James; as the suspicion cannot for a moment be entertained, that the substance of the speech of that Apostle has been misstated by the Evangelist.

Guided, then, by the light thus supplied, let us see to what corrections of the original passage it clearly leads. It is constantly and uniformly the Hebrew verb שׁוּר, and not שׁוּר, that the Seventy translate by ἐκζητεῖν, 'to seek after,' or by ζητεῖν,

‘to seek.’ Thus, in Ps. xiv. 2, they give ἐκζητῶν τὸν Θεόν (seeking after God), as the meaning of דַּרַשׁ אֶת-אלהים; and, in Is. lviii. 2, they write ἐμε ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας ζητήσουσιν (me day by day they shall seek), to interpret the clause וְאִתִּי יוֹם יוֹם יִדְרֹשׁ: but there is not, I will venture to assert, a single passage of Scripture in which they translate the verb יִרַשׁ by either ἐκζήτεῖν, or ζητεῖν. The concurrent testimonies, therefore, of the Septuagint and Greek Testament here combined serve plainly to show that the Jews substituted a *Yod* for *Daleth* in the first verb of the Hebrew verse under examination, as is expressed in my mode of writing that verb. In the same manner, and by the united force of the same authorities combined together, they can be convicted of having dropped from this verse the proper name of God, whether written with four letters, as it now always is in Hebrew, or only with the two small letters ם, as it is at present in Chaldee, and as Dr. Kennicott states that he found it represented in several of the older copies of the Hebrew text consulted by him. As to the place of the omitted word, it is marked out by the particle אַח, which, coming after a verb transitive in the voice *Kal*, denotes the objective case—the very case in which the context requires this word to be taken; and, accordingly, I have inserted it between brackets in the site thus indicated. The third corruption, to which I have directed attention by the Masoretic sign of rejection, has been already established; and I have only here to add respecting it, that, as the Syriac quotation shows the tampering of the Jews with this verse to be older than the Peshitah, and, consequently, *a fortiori*, older than the vocalization of the Hebrew text, the corruption in question must have at first consisted solely in an erroneous mode of reading אַדָּם; and the *Waw* confining the group to such pronunciation was not inserted in it till a subsequent period. The fourth corruption, indicated by the same marks as the first and third, refers not to the sense, but merely to the orthography of the passage; and the proof of its true nature being here assigned to it is based upon a position for which I have in the first

chapter given my reasons—that, whenever *Shin* is used with the power of *Samek*, the latter element was originally there written. But, according to the rule already laid down by me on the subject, the correction depending on this position is, in the place before us, shifted to the margin. The final corruption in this verse—the omission of the word **ל**—does not materially affect the meaning of the passage, and is therefore to be attributed to oversight of copyists rather than to design. It is in the same way that *πάντα*, the translation of this word by the Seventy, must be considered to have dropped from the Alexandrian copy of their version. In accordance with these corrections of the Hebrew verse, I would venture to recommend the following translation of it :—

“ in order that there should seek after <sup>a</sup>*the LORD*  
 a residue of mankind, even all the Gentiles upon  
 whom my name is called ; saith the LORD, who  
 doeth <sup>b</sup>*all* these things.”

<sup>a</sup> Acts, xv. 17,  
and Sept.

<sup>b</sup> Acts, xv. 17,  
and Sept.

This specimen belongs to a class of examples in which parallel passages of the Old Testament, or of the Old and New, are compared together, and the authority of Scripture itself thereby got to bear upon the spuriousness of the vowel-letters in the sacred text. Their value consists not merely in affording the most decisive confirmation of other proofs of the reality of my discovery, but also in powerfully leading, through the means it furnishes, to the removal from the Old Testament of corruptions productive of the greatest mischief. But as proofs of the spuriousness of the *matres lectionis* which require not the alteration of any other letters of the Hebrew text are more readily assented to, examples of the former kind ought in general to be postponed, till after the reader has been furnished with an abundant supply of such as are of the latter description. On this account the adduced example is to be considered as here prematurely canvassed : but, coming across the set of discrepancies which have just been examined, I could not bring myself to dismiss this complicated mutilation

of a very important passage, without an effort to trace it at once to its source, and clear the inspired record from so foul a blemish.

12. To return now to my subject from this digression—the first name I shall bring under notice, belonging to the class of those of rare occurrence, is one transcribed in our Authorized Version, with considerable freedom and very conspicuous variety, in no less than eight different ways, five of which are specified at the top of the page, and the remaining three, which are there omitted only from want of room, can be furnished by subjoining the letter *H* to each of the first three. The Hebrew designation, which in the original mode of writing it can be clearly proved to have exhibited no variation, was common to a son of David, a brother of David, and a son of Gera, as well as to some other individuals, its application to whom, as being made, I believe, but once to each, need not here be considered; but, whether it was likewise the same in speech for all those different uses of it, cannot be so confidently asserted; as, from the very inconsistent manner in which its vowel-sounds are represented in the Septuagint, all certainty with respect to the vocal parts of its composition appears to have been lost before that version was framed. This name, in the first-mentioned application of it, occurs at the head of the list of the sons of David who were born in Jerusalem, where it is written, in 2 Sam. v. 14, שִׁמְעָה, *ShamMUAḥ*; in 1 Chron. iii. 5, שִׁמְעָה, *ShamMaḥA*, and in 1 Chron. xiv. 4, שִׁמְעָה, *ShamMUAḥ*: while it is transcribed in the Septuagint, in the first of those places, Σαμμους or Σαμμουε;<sup>a</sup> in the second, Σαμαα; in the third, Σαμαα or Σαμμαον; and in the Peshitah, in all three places, שִׁמְעָה, *ShamUAḥ*.<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Where the Vatican and Alexandrian copies of the Septuagint differ, two Greek readings of each examined name are given, of which that supplied from the Vatican copy is placed first.

<sup>b</sup> How very inaccurately the vocalization of the Peshitah with points has been executed by the Maronite divine, Gabriel Sionita, may be judged of, by

Even were we here to confine our attention to the Hebrew text alone, we might, from the different ways in which this name is at present therein exhibited, clearly deduce that it was originally written with solely three letters, שִׁמְעֵי; and, consequently, that the reader must, before the number of those letters was increased, have been left entirely to the resources of his own mind to determine, by means of oral tradition, the vocalic part of the syllabic elements of the word in question. The first or third Hebrew combination attests that the *Haleph* is an interpolated letter in the second; while the second equally testifies that the *Waw* is of the like adventitious nature in the first and third.<sup>a</sup> But when the evidence of the two versions on this point is also taken into account, both of the specified exclusions from the original group are fully thereby confirmed. The uniform Syriac exhibition of the word, in all the three places from which it has been quoted, certifies that the *Haleph* was not added to the second Hebrew combination till after the Peshitah was written; while the

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the example of the name above examined; which, though written with exactly the same group of Syriac letters in the three specified places, has its pronunciation variously represented by him in his Latin translation; wherein it is transcribed, for the first and third of those places, *Somua*, and, for the second, *Semu*.

<sup>a</sup> The bearing above attributed to the testimony of each of the groups שִׁמְעֵי and שִׁמְעֵי against the genuineness of the mater lectionis in the other, is grounded on a position which can hardly be denied, that the original group was read with the same vowel-sounds in, at any rate, all its applications to one and the same individual. Nor can it be assumed that שִׁמְעֵי and שִׁמְעֵי are vocalized consistently with this position, so as to admit of being read in common by the word *Shamūhā*; for where, in this writing, an *A* follows a long or open *U* that is placed before a final guttural, it becomes what the grammarians call a *pathac furtivum*, that is, a short *A* immediately before that guttural, instead of a long one after it. In the next batch, however, of vocalized groups applied in common to one individual, the attestation by each of the groups שִׁמְעֵי and שִׁמְעֵי against the genuineness of the mater lectionis in the other is more obvious, as the opposition between the vocalization of those groups is direct, they exhibiting different vowel-letters in the very same syllable.



Greek transcriptions in like manner evince that neither the *Haleph* nor *Waw* was inserted in any of the three combinations till after the Septuagint was framed. Of these latter transcriptions, indeed,  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha$  is not only at variance with שמע, but even directly contradicts it, as to the vowel part of the second syllable; and  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\omicron\upsilon$  is likewise directly opposed to the vocalization of both שמע and שמע.

By the same process it can be shown that שמע was also the name, as originally written, of one of the brothers of David; though it is, in the present state of the sacred text, exhibited in no less than four different ways, only one of which gives it a common pronunciation for himself and his nephew. This name, in the application of it which now comes under consideration, is written in 1 Sam. xvi. 9, and xvii. 13, שמח, ShaMmaH; in 2 Sam. xiii. 3 and 32, שמעח, ShaMaHaH; in 2 Sam. xxi. 21, שמע, SheMeHI; in 1 Chron. ii. 13, and xx. 7, שמעח, ShaMaHa;<sup>a</sup> and is translated by the Seventy, in the first of the quoted places,  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$  or  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha$ , and in the second,  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$ ; in the third and fourth places,  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha$ ; in the fifth,  $\Sigma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota$  or  $\Sigma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota$ ; in the sixth,  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha$  or  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\iota\alpha$ ; in the seventh,

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<sup>a</sup> The chasms in the first Hebrew vocalization of words are, in my readings of the several modifications of the original group examined in the ten sites specified in the present and the preceding paragraph, filled up from the vowel sounds of the Greek transcripts in those sites, as being the only source, though often a neglected and disparaged one, from which the old vocalizers could have derived any correct information on the subject. According to the Masoretic pointing of the same group, as varied in the different sites referred to, it should be read in the first and third of those sites ShaMmUaH,—in the second, ninth, and tenth sites, ShiMHaH,—in the fourth and fifth, ShaMmaH,—in the sixth and seventh, ShiMHaH,—and in the eighth, ShiMHa. There is less discrepancy between these readings of the several modifications of the group in question than between those given in my text. This difference, however, cannot be attributed to any superior information enjoyed by the Masorets, but merely to the circumstance of their having collated the different parts of their works more carefully than the Seventy. In the eighth of the above sites the reading adopted by them is not supplemental to, but quite eversive of that employed by the first set of Hebrew vocalizers.

Σαμαα or Σαμαας ; and uniformly in every one of those places in the Syriac version, ܫܡܥܝ, *Shamāḥ*, without any vowel-letter, and with one guttural substituted for another at the end of the word, by an exchange that is occasionally made in Syriac writing, and which seems to have been adopted in this transcription of the name, for the purpose of better distinguishing the uncle from the nephew. In the Hebrew text, however, the two first of this latter set of variations betray faults which should, I grant, be attributed to the copyists rather than to the old vocalizers ; but even with this reduction of their number, the additional instances of inconsistent vocalization here exposed, powerfully strengthen my argument. A direct contradiction as to the vowel part of the last syllable of the name subsists, not only between Σαμαα, or Σαμααα, or Σαμαας, and one of the two remaining Hebrew groups, שׁמַעִי, and again between Σεμεί or Σεμεει, and the other שׁמַעִי, but also immediately between those Hebrew groups themselves ; while their common Syriac transcription, ܫܡܥܝ, refutes the existence of *matres lectionis* in either of them, at the time when the *Peshitah* was written, not as directly, indeed, as the Greek transcriptions above compared with them, by displaying different vowel-letters from what they do in respectively the same syllables, but almost as efficaciously, by exhibiting none at all. Surely, if the original groups contained any, at the period referred to, the framers of the Syriac version could not have omitted them, in transcribing those groups from Hebrew into writing of the same general nature,—and that too, writing in which, confessedly, a freer use was made of the very letters in question.

The main point having been now, I submit, fully established,—that the groups applied to the designation of the two relatives of David alluded to, were at first utterly destitute of vowel-letters, and, consequently, that those persons had, in the original state of the sacred text, the same written name,—it remains to be inquired whether they had also the same spoken one, and, if so, what is the verbal denomination that was common to both of them. How, indeed, two individuals were

exactly called, of whom not a single act is recorded in Scripture, it is not very material to determine ; and as certainty on this subject is no longer attainable, so neither is it at all wanted in order to the completion of my argument. As, however, the proposed questions relate to points nearly connected with that already established, I shall examine them, and hope to arrive at their most probable solution, through the following considerations. In the first place, it is evident from the foregoing analysis, not only that the original group was not vocalized till after the Septuagint was written, but also that its several vocalizations were, all but one of them, derived from this very record. The analysis made use of has, indeed, been hitherto confined to bringing together under view contradictory pronunciations of the same group in different verses ; but if it be extended to comparing the Hebrew groups in the ten specified places with the Greek transcriptions of the original group in respectively the same places, we shall find that, in each instance, the two representations of the same word, though differing in fulness of vocalization, are not in this respect directly at variance with each other, except in the third place, in which שמ״ע cannot at all be reconciled in pronunciation with Σαμαα, or Σαμαον. In a matter in which the Hebrew scribes acted so capriciously, it is no longer now discoverable, with any approach to certainty, why they selected this site wherein to deviate from the Greek vocalization. They may, perhaps, have thought the appearance of inaccuracy thrown by such contrivance upon the Septuagint more likely to attract observation, where the group they operated on is put forward at the head of a list of persons of elevated rank and distinguished birth, than in obscurer places of its occurrence ; or they may have honestly considered שמ״ע more suited to the genius of the Hebrew tongue than שמ״ע vocalized in any way that could be derived from Σαμαα or Σαμαον. But, however that may be, if we pass over this single instance, we may perceive in every other one a striking correspondence between the adduced representations ; as, for example, שמ״ע, שמ״ע, and שמ״ע, are

presented to us in the one record, in respectively the same places as Σαμμους or Σαμμουε, Σεμεί or Σεμεει, and Σαμαα or Σαμαας, in the two principal copies of the other. It is quite impossible that such coincidences between two series of discordant representations could have occurred without their mutual comparison ; and the Hebrew vocalization being that of later date, must in these instances have been borrowed from the Greek one. This example supplies, as far as it goes, internal evidence that, however eagerly the Hebrew vocalizers endeavoured to disparage the Septuagint, it was solely thence they derived their knowledge of the vowel part of the pronunciation of Scriptural names of rare occurrence ; and that, consequently, where this source of information failed, they had no other guide or standard to direct them. Accordingly, they, by their vacillating and inconsistent representations, show themselves just as much at a loss as the Seventy were, for the correct pronunciation of the group under examination, in both the applications of it as yet considered. All certainty, indeed, with regard to that pronunciation, having been lost before the Septuagint was written, there could be no human means of recovering it with exactness at any subsequent period. The framers of the Peshitah, therefore, must have been fully as much in the dark on this point, as either the first Greek translators, or first Hebrew vocalizers of the sacred text ; and their consistency, in reading this group always in the same way, when employed as the name of the same individual, merely shows that they attended to—what was overlooked by both the other parties—a careful collation of the different parts of their work ; while the circumstance of their reading it differently for the two individuals referred to, is to be attributed to the latitude of choice left open to them by the very uncertainty in which they were placed, and to their availing themselves of this latitude for the convenience of distinguishing between these persons. As this case, then, furnishes no evidence deserving credit on the matter here under inquiry, I conclude, in accordance with the general position already laid

down upon the subject, that the son and brother of David, who had the same denomination in writing, had likewise the same in speech. In the second place, though there be no certainty as to what was the verbal designation common to the two relatives in question, yet as it is necessary to pitch upon some one or other, I would venture to propose *Shammuah*; not only for its agreement with a very usual mode—perhaps the most usual—of vocalizing names ending with the guttural *Hayin*,—as may be illustrated by the instances of *Abishua*, *Elishuah*, *Jeshua*, *Malchishua*, *Zeruah*,—but also for the preference the three parties whose dealing with the original group is under examination, appear to have given to it,—the Seventy, by employing a correspondent transcription in the first of the three more distinguished applications of this group,<sup>a</sup>—and the Hebrew vocalizers and Syriac translators, by selecting a correspondent vocalization, the former set of scribes, in two of these applications, and the latter set, in all three. Hence I infer it to be most likely, that the family name by which the uncle and nephew were called in common was *Shammuah*.

In the third-mentioned use of the group in question, wherein it serves to denote a member of the house of Saul and son of Gera, it occurs thrice in 2 Sam. xvi., four times in 2 Sam. xix., and eleven times in 1 Kings, ii.; in every one of which places it is to be seen uniformly vocalized שִׁמְעִי, *SheMeHI*, in the Hebrew record, as the sacred text at present stands, and also uniformly transcribed Σεμει in the Septuagint, and ܫܡܥܝ, *SheMeHI*, in the Peshitah. As שִׁמְעִי has been already proved to have been at first written without any vowel-letter whatever, the consideration of the third application of the primitive group is here introduced merely in reference to the subordinate inquiry, with what vocal sounds it should be read

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<sup>a</sup> Although nothing is recorded of the above relatives but their genealogies, yet one of them, the son of a very remarkable man and powerful king, may be said to have been, at least by birth, a more distinguished individual than the other, who was son of only a peasant.

in this use of it. Now, although the authority of the Septuagint upon this point is greatly weakened by the vacillation it betrays with regard to the two previous applications of the same group, yet, as its attestation in all the instances of that at present under view is perfectly consistent, and as the Hebrew and Syriac vocalizations, here also consistent, quite harmonize, as far as they respectively go, with the fuller Greek one, I do not feel myself at liberty to reject this accumulation of concordant evidence. Taking, then, the powers of the consonants, as before, from the Hebrew text, and the remaining elements of the word from the older and more complete representation of its vowels supplied by the first Greek version, I would venture to recommend *Shemehi* as the pronunciation of this group, when used to designate the son of Gera.

A circumstance may be here noticed *ex abundanti*, as accordant with the original identity of the above examined group in its references as a proper name to various individuals,—that in every place of its occurrence in either of the two first-mentioned applications of it, and in every chapter in which it occurs in the third application, we are expressly told whether it be a son of David, or a brother of David (or, what comes to the same thing, a son of Jesse), or a son of Gera, that is spoken of;—a piece of information quite unnecessary to be so often repeated, if the written name employed to denote those persons had been at first made in any respect different for each of them.

The Hebrew group just analyzed, which is constantly vocalized שׁמעי in its third application, is for this use of it translated in the Authorized English Version *Shimei*, with uniformity, indeed, but not with any degree of close adherence to the expression of its sound derived from its oldest Hebrew vocalization, as filled up and completed from either the Greek transcription of the word, or from its Masoretic pointing: for it ought, according to the former combination of authorities, be read *Shemehi*, and, according to the latter, *Shimhi*. With regard to the ten quoted instances of the first and second ap-

plications of this group, the renderings by our English translators of its several forms, in those instances, exhibit the following variations, put in the order of my quotations, the repetitions of the same readings being omitted:—*Shammuah*, *Shimea*, *Shammua*, *Shammah*, *Shimeah*, *Shimma*, and *Shamma*.<sup>a</sup> Though fidelity of transcription is the only conceivable object that could have induced them to adopt such a heap of contradictory readings, yet they deviated in some of these readings from the ancient authorities which bear upon the subject. The most curious of those instances occurs in 2 Sam. xxi. 21, where the Hebrew group is written in the same way as it always is for its third application, שִׁמְעָ, and where both the Masorets and the English translators support my view of the spurious nature of the final letter, the former set of writers, by branding it with their little circular mark of censure, and pointing the remainder of the group for the pronunciation *Shimha*; the latter set, by transcribing this name *Shimea*, which, it may be observed, is at variance with its Masoretic pointing and Greek transcription, as well as with its first Hebrew vocalization.

In conformity with the foregoing exposition of the matter, the Hebrew name just examined requires no correction where it is שִׁמְעָ, that is, in the first and third of the specified places, nor does שִׁמְעָ in any of the eighteen last referred to. But the vocalized forms of the original group in the second, ninth, and tenth places,—in the fourth and fifth,—in the sixth and seventh,—and in the eighth,—should be exhibited respectively שִׁמְעָ, שִׁמְעָ, שִׁמְעָ, and שִׁמְעָ. In an English version, according to the same views, the group in question should be rendered *Shammuah* in the first ten places, and *Shemehi* in the last eighteen; while there ought to be inserted in the margin opposite *Shammuah*, in the second, ninth,

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<sup>a</sup> The last of the above variations does not appear in the later editions of our Authorized Version; as, in them, *Shamma* has been changed into *Shammah* in the margin of 1 Chron. ii. 13.

and tenth places ‘Heb. voc. *Shamaha*,’—in the fourth and fifth, ‘Heb. cop. *Shammah*,’—in the sixth and seventh, ‘Heb. cop. *Shamahah*,’—and in the eighth, ‘Heb. voc. *Shemehi*.’

13. The following examples of names inconsistently vocalized may, from the degree of similarity which holds between them, be briefly considered together. The spuriousness of the *matres lectionis* found in these examples is proved, not only by the evidence of the oldest versions, but also by that of the sacred text itself, on the ground that no direct incoherency could have existed between any different parts of it in their original state. Moreover, the versions referred to contribute valuable aid to the determination of the vowel or vowels in each conflicting instance to be corrected, as also in some of the cases to the restoration of a genuine element of the text thence dropped.

|                                   | Gen. xxxvi. 22.  | 1 Chron. i. 39.  |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>Hebrew text</i> , . . . .      | הַמָּמָה, HEMaM. | הַמָּמָה, HOMaM. |
| <i>Septuagint</i> , . . . .       | Αιμαν.           | Αιμαν.           |
| <i>Peshitah</i> , . . . .         | ܐܝܡܢܐ, HOMaM.    | ܐܝܡܢܐ, HOMaM.    |
| <i>Authorized English Vers.</i> , | Heman.           | Homam.           |

Although the two ancient versions concur in proving the spuriousness of the vowel-letters in the Hebrew exhibitions of this name, they disagree as to its proper vocalization, in consequence of which a choice must be made between their testimonies on this point; and as that of the Septuagint is consistent in itself, a decided preference should be given to it on account of its far greater antiquity. The Hebrew group, therefore, requires no correction in Genesis, but should be exhibited in Chronicles הַמָּמָה, with the marginal note on its altered vocalization ‘Sept.;

while it ought to be transcribed in both of the corresponding places of the Authorized English Version *Hemam*, with the marginal note upon this transcript in the second place of its occurrence, ‘Heb. voc. *Homam*.’



|                                 | Gen. xxxvi. 23.                   | 1 Chron. i. 40.                        |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| <i>Hebrew text</i> , . . . .    | לֵינֹן, H <sub>a</sub> LON.       | לֵינֹן, H <sub>a</sub> LIN.            |
| <i>Septuagint</i> , . . . .     | Γωλαμ—Γωλωμ.                      | Αλων—Ιωλαμ.                            |
| <i>Peshitah</i> , . . . .       | ܠܝܢܢ, H <sub>a</sub> LON.         | ܠܝܢܢ, H <sub>a</sub> NON. <sup>a</sup> |
| <i>Pointed text</i> , . . . .   | H <sub>a</sub> LW <sub>a</sub> N. | H <sub>a</sub> LY <sub>a</sub> N.      |
| <i>Authorized English Vers.</i> | Alvan.                            | Alian.                                 |

From the vacillating Greek vocalization of this name in each copy of the Septuagint, it would appear that all certainty as to the vocal ingredients of its sound was lost before the oldest part of this version was written; as it can hardly be supposed that the framers of the Peshitah, who lived between three and four hundred years later, could have had better information on this subject. The uniformity, therefore, with which the latter set of translators vocalized this name is, I fear, to be attributed merely to the care with which they collated the different parts of their work. The Syriac vocalization, however, as the best within our reach, and as being in part supported by that of the Seventy, must be here adhered to. The Hebrew name, then, should be left in its present state in Genesis, and altered in Chronicles into the form לֵינֹן with the marginal note on the altered part, ‘Pesh.’ To change on such uncertain grounds any genuine element of the sacred text would be quite unwarrantable; but it is to be borne in mind that the correction here recommended affects only an interpolated letter. The vocalization of this name in the two places of its occurrence in the pointed text is here given, to show that the Masorets entirely mistook the nature of the introduced letters, which they dealt with as uttered consonants, and not, as they ought according to their own theory, as quiescents. To determine the best English transcript of the above name which the case admits of, it should be ascertained whe-

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\* The substitution of the Syriac *N* for *L* in the Syrian transcript of the above name in the second place of its occurrence has obviously been occasioned by a mere oversight of the copyists.

ther the diaphonous element of the Hebrew designations be used with its composite or simple power. Now, if the initial letter of the fourth Greek transcript be, as is most likely, a Γ, which from great age has lost its transverse line, the evidence of the Septuagint is three to one, and at any rate is two to one, in favour of the composite power of the *Hayin*. This name, I therefore conceive, should be transcribed in both places of its occurrence in a revised English version *Ghalon*, with the marginal note upon it in the second of those places, ‘Heb. voc. *Ghalin*.’

|                                 | Gen. xxxvi. 23.   | 1 Chron. i. 40.   |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Hebrew text</i> , . . . .    | שֹׁפֹה, ShoPhU.   | שֹׁפֹה, ShoPhI.   |
| <i>Septuagint</i> , . . . .     | Σωφap—Σωφ.        | Σωφι—Σωφι.        |
| <i>Peshitah</i> , . . . .       | שׁוֹפָה, ShoPhaR. | שׁוֹפָה, ShoPhaR. |
| <i>Authorized English Vers.</i> | Shepho.           | Shephi.           |

In the four Greek representations of the name before us, the vocalization of the first syllable is perfectly identical, while no inconsistency can be made out against that of the second syllable, which is preserved unmutated only in one of those representations. The Greek vocalization, therefore, of this name in the first place of its occurrence in the Vatican copy of the Septuagint may be admitted correct; while the Peshitah proves the spuriousness of the vowel-letters in the Hebrew groups, not, as in previous instances, by the use of different vowel-letters in respectively the same syllables, but by abstaining from the employment of any vowel-letters whatever in either exhibition of this word. Here a second service of the two versions is presented to us in the restoration of an original letter of the above Hebrew name, of which no trace is to be found in any of the extant copies of the sacred text. In committing to writing vowel sounds that had been previously preserved chiefly by means of oral tradition, the later the operation was performed, the less its accuracy could be relied on. So far the authority of the Peshitah is inferior to that of

the Septuagint. But with regard to the service which now comes under consideration, the two versions are more upon a par; for it is possible that the Syriac translators may have had access to as perfect a copy of the original text as any made use of by the Seventy. In reference, indeed, to the present case, they at first view of the matter appear to have obtained a better one; as they have given a transcript of the lost letter in both Genesis and the Chronicles, which the Seventy have preserved in the former place alone. But the advantage thus shown upon the side of the Peshitah is much more likely to have arisen from the practice observed by its framers, of collating the corresponding parts of Scripture, than from any superiority of the copy or copies of it in their possession. But however this may be, the circumstance of the name before us having been originally terminated with a letter of *R* power, is established by the joint, and at the same time perfectly independent, attestations of both versions. I would therefore venture to recommend this name to be written [ר]שפ<sup>ר</sup> in the first place of its occurrence in the sacred text, and [ר]שפ<sup>ר</sup> in the second, with the marginal note upon the final letter, 'Sept. et Pesh.' in the former place, and 'Pesh.' in the latter; while it should be transcribed in an English version '*Shophar*' in both places, with the note, 'Heb. voc. and cop. *Shophu*,' in the margin of the verse containing it in Genesis, and 'Heb. voc. and cop. *Shophi*,' in that of the corresponding verse in Chronicles.

|                                 | Gen. xxxvi. 11.           | 1 Chron. i. 36.           |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Hebrew text</i> , . . . .    | רשפ <sup>ר</sup> , ŠoPhU. | רשפ <sup>ר</sup> , ŠoPhI. |
| <i>Septuagint</i> , . . . .     | Σωφαρ—Σωφαρ.              | Σωφαρ—Σωφαρ.              |
| <i>Peshitah</i> , . . . .       | רשפ <sup>ר</sup> , ŠoPhU. | רשפ <sup>ר</sup> , ŠoPh.  |
| <i>Authorized English Vers.</i> | Zepho.                    | Zephi.                    |

The circumstances of this case are nearly analogous to those of the last one, with the exception that the final letter of the name here brought under notice appears to have dropped from

the sacred text before the Peshitah was written; in consequence of which only the evidence of one of the principal versions is afforded to us, as to the loss of that letter and the proper vocalization of the word. But on each point this evidence is perfectly consistent and complete in itself. The name should therefore, I submit, be written צפֿוֹר in the first place of its occurrence in the Hebrew Bible, and צפֿוֹר in the second, with the marginal note in both places upon the introduced letter, 'Sept.:' and it should be transcribed in an English version *Zophar* in both of the verses containing it, with the note in the margin of the first of them, 'Heb. voc. and cop. *Zepho*,' and in that of the second, 'Heb. voc. and cop. *Zephi*.'

14. The errors of the Masorets, already exposed with regard to the use of the *matres lectionis* in names of rare occurrence, can be also exemplified by their treatment of foreign designations, and indeed are therein peculiarly observable. Thus, the power of *Waw* in וִן has in two instances been mistaken by them, where that group serves in the Hebrew text to denote localities outside Judea. First, a town of Egypt is mentioned four times in Scripture (Gen. xli. 45, 50, xlv. 20, and Ezek. xxx. 17) by its Egyptian name, which is constantly paraphrased in the Septuagint by the characteristic denomination 'Ἡλιουπολις, i. e., 'city of the Sun,' on account of the Pagan deity who was principally worshipped there. This name has been allowed to remain, as it was originally penned, וִן, HON, in the first and third places of its occurrence in the Jewish edition of the Hebrew text;\* but, in the second and fourth, it is at present exhibited with a *Waw* inserted between its genuine elements, to denote the vowel *O*. Now the Masorets could not be ignorant of the nature of the introduced letter in the second of the four specified places; because they

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\* In the Samaritan edition the above name is written without a *Waw* in the second, as well as in the first and third place of its occurrence;—a circumstance which affords additional proof, if any were wanting, of that letter being an interpolated one in וִן, where this group makes its second appearance in the Jewish copies.

had the word under their eyes only five verses before, written without any such addition. They, in consequence, rightly marked the *Waw* in that place as, according to their theory, the quiescent accompaniment of a vowel ; whereas, in the fourth place, where they had not the like aid for their guidance, they pointed it as a sounded consonant, and thereby converted an Egyptian proper name into a Hebrew word that signifies iniquity ! It is in vain urged, in defence of so extraordinary a transmutation, that *Hon* was a very wicked, idolatrous city ; for this character might have been given of every place without distinction throughout the entire of Egypt in the days of Ezekiel ; and, therefore, was not calculated to suggest to those whom he addressed the notion of any one town of that country more than another. It is true that *Beth-hēl* (house of God), a place where Hebrew was spoken, is sometimes styled by the inspired writers *Beth-hawen* (house of iniquity), for a reason well known to the Jews, namely, the idolatry there practised ; and, upon one occasion, this town is called simply *Hawen* (iniquity), familiarity with the compound term naturally leading to the use of its principal ingredient with the same signification, besides that the context of the passage marks out the locality referred to : “the high places also of *Aven*, the sin of Israel, shall be destroyed.”—Hos. x. 8. The worship of a golden calf is emphatically termed in Scripture ‘the sin of Israel ;’ *Aven*, therefore, or *Hawen*, must here denote one or other of the two cities of Israel in which that sin was habitually committed, and Bethel was the chief one. But Hebrew never was the national dialect of Egypt ; and there is nothing whatever to countenance the supposition that one of its towns in particular could have been specially known to Ezekiel’s countrymen under the vague designation of a general term of the Hebrew language, except the assumed identity of the groups of letters with which that term and the proper name of the Egyptian city in question were all along written in the sacred text ; an identity which, it now turns out, did not present itself till many centuries after the lifetime of the Prophet, and

which is only apparent, and not even to appearance complete, the first vocalizers having, in two cases out of four, overlooked the group employed to express the Egyptian name, and suffered it to remain in its original state.

Secondly, another foreign locality—a valley or plain in the territories of Damascus—is mentioned in Scripture (Amos, i. 5) under the designation of  $\text{אֲבֵן}$ , the transcription of which in the Septuagint, our oldest and best authority on the subject, is  $\Omega\nu$ ; which clearly shows that it should be read  $\text{HON}$ , whereas it is pointed by the Masorets for the pronunciation  $\text{H}a\text{W}e\text{N}$ ;—a misreading, however, which did not commence with them, but had a much older origin. The word is not in this, as in the former example, restricted to  $\text{HON}$  by the internal evidence of the case: for, neither does the group with which it is written occur with its present application in different parts of the text, by a comparison of which the true reading might be ascertained; nor, where the language of the Syrians and that of the Jews had so close an affinity, would there have been any absurdity in the supposition of a valley in Syria having been called by a Hebrew name. Accordingly, the Jewish scribes of older times, who took every opportunity they could of throwing discredit on the testimony of the LXX., and had in the instance before us nothing to contend with but that testimony, at an early period adopted  $\text{H}a\text{W}e\text{N}$  as the right pronunciation of  $\text{אֲבֵן}$ , in the verse just referred to. This proceeding of theirs may be collected from the renderings of the group in question in some of the spurious Greek versions, or of new editions of the genuine one, that were published in the course of the second century of our era, under their direction, or that of Judaizing heretics, who, to a certain extent, concurred in their views. The pretended corrections I here allude to are preserved in the Commentaries of Jerome, in a passage upon Amos, i. 5, which runs in the following terms:—“Campum autem idoli quod Hebraicè dicitur *Aven*, et LXX. et Theodotio interpretati sunt  $\Omega\nu$ ; Symmachus et quinta editio transtulerunt *iniquitatem*; Aquila,

*ανωφελους*, id est, *inutilem*:"—*Hieronymi Opera*, Ed°. Benedict. tom. iii. col. 1374. In this instance, as well as some others, the spurious Greek versions of the second century actually, in their deviation from the earlier genuine one, went beyond the Hebrew vocalization in support of which they were written ; for the Hebrew group פִּנָּס does not contradict the Greek transcription Ων, except through the reading to which they have restricted it ;—a reading which is unquestionably false, since the testimony of the LXX., which is opposed thereto, vastly outweighs that by which it is supported, not only as the oldest that has reached us on the subject, but also as given by a party above suspicion, and before the written expression of the word in question became ambiguous in the sacred text. As the misreading of this word can be traced as far back as the age of Aquila, that is, to a date very shortly subsequent to the introduction of vowel-letters into the Hebrew Bible, it must have originated in design ; but its continuance by the Masorets can be attributed solely to ignorance, those scribes having always exhibited the most scrupulous editorial honesty, and the secret of the interpolation of the vowel-letters in the original text having been lost among the Jews long before their time.

15. To revert from the mistakes of the Masorets to the intentional misrepresentations of the older set of vocalizers,—the Hebrew designation of *Potipherah* affords, in its present state, compared with the transcription of it by the Seventy, a striking example of groups wrongly supplied with *matres lectionis* ; and, at the same time, places in a conspicuous light the very superior value of the Septuagint, even when considered barely in the service it performs of recording the vocal portion of the sounds of names. The Hebrew group here referred to, פִּנָּסִיפֶרֶע, is, through accident or caprice, separated into two parts in the copies of the Jewish edition of the Pentateuch which were consulted by the framers of our Authorized Version (as may be perceived by their mode of transcribing it) ; but it is correctly written as a single word in several

others, in manuscript, that are enumerated by Dr. Kennicott, as also in all the Samaritan copies he collated, except one, and is likewise translated as such in the Septuagint and Peshitah. The transcription of the original group in the former version, *Πετεφρη*, represents a combination of sounds that are significant in Coptic,—a medley offspring of Greek and Egyptian,—wherein *ρη* means ‘sun;’ *φρη*, ‘the sun;’ and *ε-φρη*, ‘to the sun;’ while *ετ* is the pronoun ‘who;’ and *πετ*, ‘he that.’ The entire compound, therefore, *πετ-ε-φρη*, is literally ‘he that — to the sun,’ or ‘one dedicated to the service of the sun;’—a characteristic description, of the same nature, in its immediate signification, with all the old ideagraphic designations, and which constituted a very appropriate name for a priest of *On*, a town called by the Seventy *Ἡλιούπολις*, ‘the city of the sun.’ This analysis of the meaning of *Πετεφρη* in a foreign tongue is, I admit, taken from the Coptic, as exhibited in copies of works that were not composed before the second or third century of our era; but still is applicable to this dialect in much earlier stages of its existence. The ingredients and structure of the analyzed expression having no connexion whatever with Greek, must have been derived from the ancient language of Egypt; and they appear to have undergone no perceptible change in their transition from it into its mongrel descendant, or during an antecedent period of considerable length. For their combination agrees in sense with the meaning which may well be conceived, for the reason above stated, to have been conveyed by the name of the father-in-law of Joseph: and it also agrees in sound, as closely as the rules of Hebrew orthography will allow, with the designation of that name transmitted to us by the author of the Pentateuch. At least *פִּיטְפֹרֶעַ*, when stripped of its adventitious elements, admits of being read, *PhēTePhēRēH*,<sup>a</sup> or, according to

<sup>a</sup> The circumstance of the Seventy having recorded this name *Πετεφρη*, instead of *φετεφερη*, shows that they were guided by its original Egyptian sound, rather than by the imitation of that sound in Hebrew



modern usage, *PeTePhēRēH*, and so differs in pronunciation from the Greek or Coptic group compared with it, only in the separation of the *Ph* and *R* powers, which are never completely united into one articulation in Hebrew.

The extraordinary permanence and durability thus indicated of the verbal ingredients of a description, in a country which had not the benefit of even the rudest syllabary,—much less of an alphabet of consonants and vowels,—for nearly a thousand years after the age in which Joseph lived, must, I conceive, be attributed to the extreme shortness of the words brought together, and their necessarily frequent occurrence in the use of the language to which they belonged. But however this may be, the reading of the original group suggested by its Greek transcription, supported as it is by the internal evidence of the case, vastly outweighs in authority the united force of the Jewish, the Samaritan, and the Syriac representations of this name by means of letters exactly the same in value, and differing only in shape, which may all in common be read *PUTIPhēRaH*, or *POTIPhēRaH*. The circumstance of the word having been thus misvocalized by the framers of the Peshitah, who transcribed it פִּטְיִפְרָה, shows this corrupt pronunciation of it to have been adopted by the Jews, before they introduced *matres lectionis* into the sacred text; but still they did not venture on the change of its sound till after the time of Josephus, as we find the transcription employed by the Seventy adhered to by him. Although the second vowel-letter of the Hebrew group in its present state might be read *E* as well as *I*, yet both require, I apprehend, the little circular mark of censure, without the entry of any substitute for either in the margin; as the *matres lectionis* were employed solely for the expression of open long vowels. This group should, therefore, as I conceive, be written in the sacred text פִּטְיִפְרָה, and be transcribed in an English version *Petephereh*, or, if such a mode of printing it be allowable in a work intended for general use, *Peteph'reh*.

16. From the difference in termination of the Hebrew,

Samaritan, and Syriac representations of the foregoing denomination, and the similar name applied to one of the officers in Pharaoh's service, as well as from their different treatment in the Septuagint, in which one of them is exhibited with an unaltered Coptic, and the other with a Grecianized ending, it would appear that the last syllable of the former word had a fuller or longer sound than that of the latter;—a circumstance which still is compatible with their having had the same characteristic signification, as  $\rho\eta$ , the final element of the above analyzed compound, is written  $\rho\epsilon$ , without any alteration of its meaning, in the Bashmuric dialect. But in process of time, according as Greek came into more constant and general use in Egypt, both names were alike transcribed in that language into  $\Pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\phi\rho\eta\varsigma^a$  at the period when Josephus flourished; and by the time that the Coptic versions were composed, they were both in common therein written  $\Pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\phi\rho\eta$ : whether it was the case, that increased familiarity with Greek, reacting on Coptic, extended to the two transcriptions in the latter language the sameness which commenced between those employed in the former one; or that identity of characteristic signification of the two original names led eventually to the identity of their sounds, after the Egyptians had become habituated to alphabetic designations. But however this result may have been produced, at any rate the joint testimony of the Hebrew and Samaritan editions of the sacred text, supported by that of the first Greek and Syriac versions, proves beyond a doubt that the two Egyptian names in question had originally different terminations, one of which alone has been preserved in the Septuagint, the other having been therein transmuted into

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<sup>a</sup> The name of Potipherah does not occur in Scripture in the nominative case; but from its genitive being written  $\Pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\phi\rho\eta$  in the Septuagint, and  $\Pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\phi\rho\omega$  by Josephus, it would appear that the Greek transcription of that name for the nominative case had been changed from  $\Pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\phi\rho\eta$  to  $\Pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\phi\rho\eta\varsigma$  in the interval between the age in which the oldest part of the Septuagint was written, and that in which Josephus lived.

a Grecian form. Hence the oldest combined vocal and consonantal representation we have of the sound of the last syllable of the second name is to be found in *φουτιφαρ*, the transcription of פֹּטִיפָר given, according to Origen, by both Aquila and Symmachus, and which continued to denote the pronunciation of the entire name till, at all events, the age when Jerome wrote it 'Phutiphar,' after which the reading of the Hebrew group was changed to 'Potiphar,' and has, through the operation of the Masoretic pointing, been retained in that form up to the present day. In these successive representations of the word, however otherwise different, the pronunciation of the last syllable remains unchanged; and, though it can be traced to no older or higher authority than that of two of the spurious Greek versions of the second century, yet in the absence of any better, we should not, I conceive, be justified in deviating therefrom: while at the same time the first two syllables, being exactly the same as those of the name previously examined, must of course require the same corrections both in their Hebrew and their English designations. I would, therefore, affix to the Hebrew group the same marks as in the preceding instance, exhibiting it in the form פֹּטִיפָר, and would transcribe it in an English version *Petephar*.

17. Of foreign names designedly misvocalized with *Haleph* we have a remarkable instance in the Hebrew designation of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which in the present state of the sacred text is to be seen generally therein written נִבְכַּדְנֶצֶר or נִבְכַּדְנֶצֶר. Whether the two final syllables of these groups were, upon the interpolation of the *Haleph*, at first read *nāzor* or *nēzor*,<sup>a</sup> can

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<sup>a</sup> Among the possible readings, in the time of the first vocalizers of the sacred text, of the two final syllables of the above groups, are not included *nāzar* and *nēzar*; because, wherever the very last syllable exhibits a mater lectionis (as in Jer. xlix. 28, Ezra, ii. 1), it is always a *Waw*, whose vocal values are inconsistent with those readings. The *Waw* in this situation is always noted by the Masorets with the little circular mark of censure, as at variance with their pronunciation of the name; but still their retaining it at all in the

no longer now be determined: all that is known to a certainty on the subject is, that they came at length to be uttered *nezzar*, in which pronunciation they have been permanently fixed by their Masoretic pointing. Before proceeding further, it may be worth while to notice, by the way, an inconsistency in that pointing. In the system of the Masorets, the regular effect of a quiescent upon the preceding vowel is to render it open as well as long, while, on the other hand, the doubling of the following consonant in utterance has the very opposite effect, upon the same vowel, of giving it a close sound. Of these contradictory influences the latter has been attended to, and the initial letter of the two syllables pointed with a *segol*; while the *Haleph* interposed between this close vowel<sup>a</sup> and a dageshed letter is suffered to appear as if it had no business there. Modern grammarians attempt to account for the discrepancy here betrayed, by calling the mater lectionis so placed an *otiant* instead of a *quiescent*; just as if the introduction of a new term could suffice to explain the cause of this anomaly. The true solution of the difficulty, I submit, is to be found in the firm determination of the Masorets nowhere to deviate, in the slightest degree, from either the letters of the text, or the pronunciation of its groups which had been transmitted to them,—not even where these were irreconcilable with each other. This scrupulous strictness of the Jews, carried to an extreme that would have been observed by no other set of scribes in the world, was admirably calculated for the preservation of the sacred text in an unaltered state, during the many centuries before the Reformation that it was virtually in their sole keeping: for, though the proof of their editorial honesty, which here incidentally presents itself, applies immediately to only the Masorets, yet we have no reason to think

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text, under such circumstances, is a strong additional indication of their scrupulous honesty.

<sup>a</sup> The *segol* has sometimes, I admit, a *quasi* open sound, but not where it is followed by a dageshed letter, without any other vowel-point intervening between it and that letter.

any preceding set of Jewish scribes at all different in this respect, till we go back to the second century of our era, when we find them repeatedly charged by the Christians with corrupting the Greek version of the Bible, and when, it now turns out, they also tampered with the original Scriptures.

That in the case before us the *Haleph* is an interpolated letter is proved by the Syriac transcription of the name in question, which is uniformly **ܢܚܕܢܥܙܪ** in every place of its occurrence in the Peshitah; and as the use of *matres lectionis* in Syriac writing gradually increased, the circumstance of the *Haleph* not appearing at present in this transcription supplies an *a fortiori* argument against its existence there at the time when the first Syriac version was written, and consequently against its having been inserted in the original Hebrew group till after that period. This inference from the Syriac evidence on the subject is powerfully corroborated by that of the sacred text itself, in which the designation of Nebuchadnezzar is, even to the present day, exhibited in various forms without the *Haleph* (as, for instance, it has been suffered to remain in its original wholly unvocalized state **נבוכדנצר**, in Dan. ii. 1, iv. 34, v. 18, and is found written **נבוכדנצר** in Ezra, i. 7, v. 12, 14, vi. 5, Jer. xxiv. 1, Dan. iii. 1, 19, 24, iv. 28, and **נבוכדנצר** in Ezra, ii. 1). Now the interpolation of the above *mater lectionis* would have been actually an improvement on the original spelling of the group, if it had served to convey the true vowel-sound of the penultimate syllable; but the old vocalizers certainly did not believe it to perform any such service; as they had under their eyes *Ναβουχοδονόσορ*, the transcription of the name in the Septuagint, which had up to their time been always considered by the Jews as the best, or rather indeed the only authority on the subject. The circumstance, therefore, of their deviating here from the first Greek version could have arisen solely from the dishonest wish of bringing that standard into disrepute;—a design which, though conceived with great art, was not in this instance put into execution with equal care; as we see that,

in several places just quoted, the Hebrew designation has been either overlooked and left in its original state, or displayed in other forms likewise admitting to be read in exact accordance with its Grecian vocalization. The correctness of this vocalization is supported by the constant and uniform agreement, with respect to it, of the Seventy and the framers of the Peshitah: and the uniformity, on this point, of the former set of translators is of the more weight, inasmuch as it is evident, from other instances, that they did not collate the different parts of their version. Josephus moreover vocalizes this name exactly as the Seventy, and only differs from them in writing the word *Ναβουχοδονόσορος*, and so adding to it a Greek termination;—a difference which might naturally be expected from the increased familiarity of the Jewish public in his day with the Grecian language. It is also to be observed that both of the above-mentioned set of translators always retain the consonants of this name the same, even where the *Nun* of the Hebrew designation has been changed to *Resh*: and, although in general the authority of the sacred text is higher than that of any version, as to the consonants of names, yet, where it is inconsistent with itself, the combined testimony of the Greek and Syriac versions is obviously entitled to a preference. Where, then, the penultimate syllable of the Hebrew group exhibits an *Haleph* or a *Resh*, the little circular mark of rejection should be placed over these letters, and a *Nun* within brackets should be prefixed to the latter; while, in an English version, this name should, I conceive, be transcribed *Nabukodonozor*, uniformly in every place of its occurrence.

18. Of the Hebrew representations in their existing state, כּוּרִשׁ and דָּרְיוּשׁ,<sup>a</sup> of the Persian names of Cyrus and Darius, the former is brought under notice, not only to establish the

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<sup>a</sup> In the above group neither the *Yod* nor the *Waw* is printed in open type; because it is doubtful which of those letters is therein employed as a *mater lectionis*, as may be seen by a subsequent part of the paragraph. All that we can be certain of is, that one of them must be so used, or the word

adventitious nature of its mater lectionis *Waw* by the testimony of the first Hebrew vocalizers themselves, who overlooked this group, and suffered it to remain wholly unvocalized in two places of its occurrence (Ezra, i. 1, 2); but also to expose the mistake committed by the second set (whether it originated with them or earlier critics), of pointing this *Waw* for its *O*, instead of its *U* sound;—a mistake which shows that the Jews must have abandoned the use of Greek versions of their Scriptures (wherein the name in question has always been transcribed *Kypos*) long before the period when the sacred text came to be pointed; and, at the same time, gives a very striking instance of their gross ignorance, in losing the principal vocal part of the sound of a name which was so prominently connected with the history of their nation. The latter group, as at present written in the sacred text, וְיִשְׁׁ<sup>וְיִשְׁׁ</sup>, places the historic ignorance of the Masorets in nearly as conspicuous a light, by the manner in which they have pointed it, and affords thereby a further exemplification of a mater lectionis mistaken by them for a consonant. The first vocalizers of the Hebrew Bible cannot be supposed to have misrepresented the vocal part of the sound of this name with the intention of disparaging its transcription in the Septuagint, *Δαπειος*;—an expression of the word which was quite unassailable, as supported by the authority of Herodotus and the general consent of the Grecian public. The group וְיִשְׁׁ, therefore, must be considered as agreeing in sound with *Δαπειος*, as closely as the powers of the letters in the two kinds of writing admitted; according to which view of the matter it must have been read either *DaRYUSh*, or *DaRIWuSh*. The former reading is the nearest approach to the sound of *Δαπειος* that the Hebrew group can be made to convey, if the *Yod* be in it an original

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expressed would differ too much from the well-known attestation of its sound, *Δαπειος*; and at the same time that both of them cannot be vowel-letters, as the reading of this group *DaRIUSh* is prohibited by Hebrew orthography, which does not allow any syllable to commence with a vowel.

element ; the latter, if the *Waw* be so. But, whichever may be the true pronunciation of דָּרְיוֹשׁ, one of its two specified letters is a mater lectionis, and consequently, according to the theory of the Masorets, a quiescent accompaniment of a vowel ; whereas those critics have treated both of them as sounded consonants, and pointed the entire group so as to be read DāRYāWēSh. It is unnecessary to dwell on the incorrectness of this reading ; as it never met with any extensive reception : even the various Protestant translators of the Bible, who all of them paid too great deference to the Masoretic vocalization in its application to foreign denominations, yet in the instance before us deviated from their usual practice, and uniformly abandoned the pronunciation of this name, as fixed by the Hebrew points, for the far older one adopted long before the commencement of the Christian era by both Jews and Greeks in common.

19. But the most surprising instance of the mistake in question, committed by the Masorets, is betrayed in their pointing of the Hebrew designation of Jerusalem,—a name which might naturally be supposed one of those best known to them. Notwithstanding the very numerous occurrences of this name in Scripture, it is, I believe, written but five times in the fuller manner, יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, YēRUSHaLEM, with a *Yod* in the penultimate place ;—a circumstance which even of itself serves to prove that letter an interpolated element ; and the proof thus supplied from the internal evidence of the case is clearly borne out by the independent, yet so far concordant testimonies of the Peshitah and the Septuagint. In the former version the name before us is transcribed ܝܪܘܫܠܝܡ, HURēShaLeM, with, indeed, the initial letter and the place of the *Waw* changed, but still with no *Yod* in the final syllable ; and in the latter it is rendered Ἱερουσαλήμ, so that, while the Syriac transcription attests the spuriousness of the letter under consideration in the Hebrew group, the Greek one further shows it to have been therein inserted for the purpose of denoting the vowel *E*.



According to the theory, therefore, of the Masorets, this letter in יְרוּשָׁלַיִם should be viewed as a quiescent attendant on the vowel-mark substituted for it in their system ; yet they treated it as a sounded consonant, having pointed the entire group so as to be read *YeRUShaLaYiM* ; and such was their partiality for this pointing, that they continued it the same even where the letter in question is wanting ; though the reading so produced, *YeRUShaLaiM*, is irregular, and implies, what is scarcely credible, that a *Yod* has dropped from the original text the vast number of times that the last syllable of this word is exhibited without it, and consequently that a name to which the Jews are so much attached has yet been preserved but five times correctly written throughout the whole range of their Scriptures. But, even in the very few instances in which this pointing is not irregular, that is, where it is applied to the fuller form of the Hebrew group, the reading which thence results, *Yerushalayim*, can be shown erroneous, not only in sound, through the very superior authority of the Septuagint which sanctions quite a different pronunciation of the word, but also in sense, through the meaning, ‘the two Jerusalems,’ which this reading conveys. It surely is not to be supposed, that two cities were so united in the Jewish metropolis as not to form conjointly a single Jerusalem, but to bear, each of them, separately, that name ; the notion appears absurd in itself, and is utterly unwarranted by history. Besides, wherever the point can be determined by the context, this word is always found in Scripture to be used in the singular number ; as, for instance, in the following passage :—“ Our feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem. Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity in itself.”—Ps. cxxii. 2, 3. In the original lines, as well as in this translation of them, the name is strictly limited to the singular number by the forms of the pronoun and verb connected with it. The Hebrew word, I admit, is, in both instances of its occurrence in the lines referred to, written without a *Yod* in its last syllable ; but the coins dug out of the

ruins of Jerusalem supply the deficiency in this step of my argument, by presenting to us in Hebrew letters of an older shape the legend **ירושלם הקדושה**, that is, 'Jerusalem the holy.' The circumstance of the adjective subjoined to the name in this legend being in the singular number, plainly shows, that even the fuller designation of this name has been erroneously pointed by the Masorets; and, at the same time, it proves that the *Yod* before the *Mem* being neither the consonant *Y*, which would put the word in the dual form, nor the vowel *I*, which would make it plural, must be therein used for the vowel *E*, in complete accordance with the sound assigned to the vocal part of its final syllable in the Septuagint. To the like result, I may add, we are also led by the evidence of those very scribes themselves,<sup>a</sup> if the original name of the city be allowed, on the authority of Josephus, to have been **שלם**, the final part of its later denomination; for, where this part occurs as the name of a place in Scripture (viz., Gen. xiv. 18, and Ps. lxxvi. 3), they have pointed it so as to be read, not *ShaiM*, but *ShaiM*. Josephus, I admit, transcribed the shorter group **Σόλυμα**; but, in perfect agreement with this representation of its sound, he rendered the longer one 'Ἰεροσόλυμα;<sup>b</sup> and, if the Masorets had been equally consistent, vocalizing the former *Shalem*, they should have made the reading of the latter *Yerushalem*; and, consequently, when *Yod* appears in the final syllable of the Hebrew designation, they should have treated it, not as a sounded consonant, but as a

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<sup>a</sup> The Masorets may likewise be shown to have misvocalized for the dual number even some of the ordinary words of their language. Thus, where seraphs with wings are mentioned, Is. vi. 2, the Hebrew groups, **שש כנפים**, are pointed for the reading *SheSh KeNaPhaYiM*, 'six pairs of wings;' though the subsequent part of the verse clearly proves that each seraph had only six wings altogether. It is true that the regular plural form of the above noun feminine is **כנפֿות**, *KeNaPhOTh*; but this circumstance is in no way inconsistent with the existence of an irregular plural for the same noun, **כנפֿים**, *KeNaPhIM*, and the context compels us to attach such form to it in this place.

<sup>b</sup> **Τὴν μέντοι Σόλυμα ὕστερον ἐκάλεσαν Ἰεροσόλυμα.**—*Josephi Antiq. Jud.* lib. I. cap. x. sect. 2.

quiescent one, and that, too, an attendant on their vowel-point for *E* instead of *I*.

The change of the Greek rendering of this name from *Ιερουσαλήμ* to *Ιεροσόλυμα*, by authors who may be fairly supposed to have transcribed it immediately from its designation in the sacred text, deserves here to be noticed, as falling in with the supposition of that designation having been originally unvocalized: it was rendered, as far as I can find, solely in the former of those ways by the Seventy, in both of them by the Evangelists, and in the latter alone by Josephus. But after the Hebrew group was interpolated with *matres lectionis*, and put in the form *ירושלם*, it could no longer be read in the way indicated by the second rendering. The misreading of this group *YERUSHaLaYiM*, which has been perpetuated through the pointing applied to it by the Masorets, may very possibly have been transmitted to them from earlier times, but still could not have commenced till after the Jews had lost all knowledge of the Septuagint; and it most probably originated with some extremely ignorant set of scribes, to whom, in consequence of their residing in countries far removed from Judea, the name of its ancient metropolis had virtually become a foreign denomination.

This name is rendered in the earlier editions of the Authorized English Version of the Old Testament *Ierusalem*; but, as soon as the vocal and semi-consonantal parts of the phonetic value of *I* were, for the sake of distinctness, appropriated to different characters, and *J* came into established use as the representative of the latter part of that value, the initial element of the word was very properly changed to this letter; and it should now still further, for precisely the same reason as before, be changed to *Y*; since the very power that was previously shifted from *I* to *J* has, for some time past, been transferred, in English orthography, from *J* to *Y*. In our Authorized Version of the New Testament, the same name was at first transcribed *Hierusalem*, in consequence of too implicit a reliance on the correctness of the marks of aspiration em-

ployed in the copies of the Greek Testament,—marks which were not inserted therein, any more than in the copies of the Septuagint, before the seventh or eighth century of the Christian era. How the first accentuators came to attach the *spiritus asper* to the initial letter of *Ιερουσαλημ* can, I apprehend, be easily explained. For the city so called having been very generally styled, by Christians as well as by Jews, *holy*,—an epithet expressed in Greek by a word pronounced *hieros*,—it was very natural for men acquainted with that language, but ignorant of Hebrew, to take it for granted that *iepos* formed part of the etymology of the name *Ιερουσαλημ*, and so to prefix the sign of the stronger species of aspiration to its initial element. But a reference to the Hebrew designation clearly shows this mode of aspirating its Greek transcription to be erroneous; and the detection of this error very soon led to the dropping from the English rendering of the Greek word its initial *H*, which we find omitted, besides the *I* being changed to *J*, in the edition of our Bible that was printed at Cambridge so early as the year 1629. In this state the name has continued to be exhibited in, I believe, every subsequent edition of the Authorized Version of the New Testament; wherein it now should, for just the same reason as in that of the Old Testament, be still further changed from *Jerusalem* to *Yerusalem*. Upon this subject I shall add but one more remark, that in strictness the name in question should be rendered *Yerushalem* in the English version of the Old Testament. But, as we have inspired authority for pronouncing the sibilant part of this name with an articulation equivalent to that of either *Sh* or *S*, it appears better, for the sake of uniformity, to exhibit the word the same way in both English Testaments, *Yerusalem*, in like manner as we at present find it printed *Jerusalem* in both of them in common.

20. I shall close this chapter with an inquiry into the correct mode of reading the Hebrew group *יהוה*, representing a proper name for the Almighty which He condescended to reveal to Moses, and by which He expressly declared in Exod.

iii. 15,<sup>a</sup> that He should ever after be called; though the Jews, through a degree of reverence for it carried to a superstitious extreme, have now for more than two thousand years abstained from its utterance, and substituted, in reading out the text of their Bible, at first a single, and subsequently one or other of two words, quite different from it in sound. But, as the removal of error in this case is naturally the first step towards the attainment of truth, I shall commence with a brief review of the various transcripts of this name to be met with in the works of ancient authors, taken in the order of their dates, placing immediately after each transcript the mode thereby

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<sup>a</sup> If the group יהוה be substituted for its English rendering in the Authorized translation of Exod. iii. 15, this verse will be presented to us in the following state:—"And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, יהוה, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial for all generations." By this arrangement we may at once perceive the relation of the introduced Hebrew group to the words by which it is surrounded in the original verse; whereby it is shown that יהוה is here expressly revealed to be the name by which the Almighty chose to be called, and moreover is expressly declared (that is, surely not the mere group of four letters, but the sound they properly convey) to be one which should ever after be preserved among the successive generations of men. In this verse יהוה should certainly not be paraphrased 'the LORD,' but ought to be transcribed into a group of English letters denoting its sound, on account of the direct reference here made to it as a name. Hitherto the preceding verse has been supposed to be the answer to the query of Moses, because it immediately follows that query; but it is only preliminary to the answer, and reveals what is in strictness not a name of God, but merely a description of His nature; although this description is used, previously to the communication of the proper name, as a *quasi* name, in accommodation to the apprehension of Moses, who was habituated to the employment of such substitutes for names in hieroglyphic writing. This is a point which, on account of its importance, has been discussed at considerable length in the third Part of my Treatise on the Ancient Orthography of the Jews, together with a question therewith connected, why יהוה ought in general to be dealt with in translations of the Hebrew Bible as a descriptive term. On the present occasion I confine myself to the inquiry, how this group, when used as a proper name, should be read, or, in other words, how the name thereby denoted should be pronounced.

indicated of reading the original word, and expressed in the peculiar kind of notation adopted by me, which serves to denote both the sound of the Hebrew group, and at the same time the manner in which each of its elements contributes to the formation of that sound.

In the historic work of Diodorus Siculus (lib. i. §. 94), written nearly half a century before the commencement of the Christian era, the name of the God of the Jews is transcribed *Iaw*; which shows the four-lettered name, יהוה, to have been read by those from whom the transcriber derived his information respecting it, *YaHOH*. We next find, in a fragment of the history by Philo Byblius, preserved in the *Præparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius (lib. i. cap. 9), the same name transcribed *Ievw*, which accords with the reading of the original group, *YeHUHo*. Philo, indeed, gave out that his work was a translation of a much older one by Sanchoniatho; but this account of the matter is now very generally looked upon as a mere fiction, resorted to by him for the purpose of gaining more credit for what in reality was entirely his own composition; and, even if it were true, the names occurring in the record should still be ascribed to himself, since he would naturally write them so as to represent the sounds with which they were pronounced in his day. But he is related by Suidas to have flourished as late as the reign of the Emperor Hadrian; according to which statement he must have written this history before the thirty-eighth year of the second century. In the latter part of that century Clement of Alexandria gave in his *Stromata* (lib. v. § 6), as the transcript of the four-lettered mystic name, *Iaov*, corresponding with the reading thereof, *YaHUH*. In the early part of the third century, his pupil Origen transcribed this name in two different ways: *Iwa* in the second division of his Commentary on St. John, and *Iaw* in the thirty-second section of his sixth book against Celsus, corresponding respectively with the readings of the Hebrew group, *YaHOāH* and *YaHOH*. A pronunciation corresponding to the latter of these readings appears to have held its ground for about two

centuries after, among Pagans as well as Christians. Thus, for instance, the name in question was transcribed by Macrobius in the latter part of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, *Iaw*, in his *Saturnalia* (lib. I. cap. 18);<sup>a</sup> and about the same time by Jerome, *Iao*, in his book *De Interpretatione Nominum Hebraicorum*, and *Iaho* in the commencement of his Commentary on the eighth Psalm; all of which transcripts severally agree with the reading of the original group  $\Upsilon\alpha\text{H}\text{O}\text{H}$ . In the fourth century Epiphanius also adduced, in the tenth section of his treatise against the Gnostics, the transcript *Iaw*, stating it to be the name given by those heretics to 'the Ruler in the highest heaven;' and in the fifth section of his Treatise against the Archontics, he includes, among the names of the true God,  $\text{I}\alpha\beta\epsilon$ , corresponding with the reading  $\Upsilon\alpha\text{H}\text{V}\epsilon\text{H}$ . This last transcript ( $\text{I}\alpha\beta\epsilon$ ) Theodoret, who flourished about the middle of the fifth century, informs us, in his fifteenth question upon Exodus, accorded with the Samaritan pronunciation of the four-lettered name; while, in the same place, he transcribes the Jewish pronunciation of that name,  $\text{A}\alpha$ ,—a transcript which shows that the Jews had, by that time, abandoned the pronunciation  $\Upsilon\alpha\text{H}\text{O}\text{H}$ , so long previously sanctioned by them, and substituted another, with which no possible mode of reading  $\text{יְהוָה}$  could be made to agree, and which could not impose upon any one who had ever seen this Hebrew group, and was acquainted with the powers of its separate elements. Yet Theodoret was followed in the adoption of this transcript by subsequent writers, among whom the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, Photius, is particularly to be noticed, on account of his having been by far the most learned man of the age when he lived, which formed part of the ninth century.  $\text{A}\alpha$ , I should observe, is obviously the transcript, not of  $\text{יְהוָה}$ , but of

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<sup>a</sup> Macrobius in the place above specified quotes an oracle wherein  $\delta\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\ \Upsilon\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  is called *Iáw*; from which description of the Being so denominated we may perceive, that *Iáw* conveys the sound of the name then circulated by the Jews as that of the supreme God, although this Pagan writer applied it to Apollo or Bacchus.

the substantive verb  $\text{הָיָה}$ ,  $\text{HaYaH}$ ; of which this inflexion signifies 'he was,' or 'he has been,' and therefore implies not, as those Christian writers were taught to believe, essential and eternal existence, but rather a cessation of existence. Hence it appears that they were deceived by their Hebrew instructors, not only as to the true sound of the four-lettered name, but also as to the meaning of the sound which was imposed upon them as the true one.

As the transcript  $\text{Aia}$  is assumed by some modern commentators to be spurious in the passage of Theodoret above referred to—though for no other reason that I can find, except their preconceived notion that he could not be so utterly ignorant of Hebrew as is shown by this word in its present state—I shall here bring under notice another passage of his, containing the same transcript, where no objection is made to its genuineness, and where several additional proofs of his extreme ignorance of the language in question are supplied. It may be rendered as follows:—"For, since those who are stupified [in its primary sense, thunder-struck] have, through ignorance of the signification of Hebrew names, imagined that  $\text{Αδωναι}$ , and  $\text{Ελωι}$ , and  $\text{Σαβαωθ}$  are different Gods, I think it worth while to explain to the ignorant what each of these signifies in the language most familiar to them [literally, in the Greek language]. The name  $\text{Ελωθ}$ , then, is interpreted 'God;' and  $\text{Ελωι}$ , 'my God.' But  $\text{Ηλ}$ , pronounced with a smooth breathing *of the initial letter*, itself also denotes 'God;' while, uttered with a rough breathing, it signifies 'the strong one;' and  $\text{Αδωναι}$ , 'the Lord.' But  $\text{Κυριος Σαβαωθ}$  is interpreted 'Lord of forces;' or 'Lord of armies,' as legions of soldiers are among the Greeks called forces. But  $\text{Σαδδαι}$  designates 'Him that is sufficient and powerful;' and  $\text{Αια}$ , 'the *self* existent.' This *last*, moreover, was unutterable among the Jews; but the Samaritans read it  $\text{Ιαβαί}$ , not knowing the meaning of the word."<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Επειδή γὰρ οἱ ἐμβρόντητοι, τῶν Εβραϊκῶν ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἐγνωκότες τὴν σήμασίν, διαφόρους ἐνόμισαν εἶναι θεοὺς, τὸν Ἀδωναί, καὶ τὸν Ελωι, καὶ τὸν



At the very commencement of the explanatory part of this extract our author commits the mistake of writing Ελωθ instead of Ελωα, as a name of God. It must have been from a malicious motive that his instructors were led to teach him thus to designate the Almighty by a Hebrew term which signifies, not 'God,' but 'curses.' The distinction he draws between the pronunciation of לֵאל, 'HēL,' according as it is applied to God or man, is entirely without foundation: there is, as far as I can find, but one instance of the latter application of it (Ezek. xxxi. 11), where Nebuchadnezzar is the person referred to, and where it is very questionable whether it should not be written (without, however, any change of its sound) לֵאל, HēL: at least Kennicott enumerates thirty MSS. in which it is so exhibited in that place. But however this may be, the word in question is frequently applied to human beings in a plural form, either absolute or construct; and then it is written, sometimes with and sometimes without a *Yod* between its radical elements; while, on the contrary, it is *always* written without the intervening *Yod*, when applied to God. The actual existence of the difference just specified is obvious to every one who has the slightest acquaintance with the sacred text; yet it could not have been known to our author, or he would have been eager to notice it in the passage under examination. But the reason of this difference, though hitherto unknown, can now be easily assigned. The root לֵאל, HēYāL, 'strength,' drops its middle radical in the derivative לֵאל, HēL, 'strong,' to whomsoever

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Σαβαώθ, προύργον νομίζω τί σημαίνει τούτων ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλώτταν ἐπιδείξαι τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι. Τὸ Ελωθ τοίνυν ὄνομα, θεὸς ἐρμηνεύεται· τὸ δὲ Ελωα, ὁ θεὸς μου. Τὸ δὲ Ηλ ψιλούμενον μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τὸν θεόν, δασυνόμενον δὲ τὸν ἰσχυρόν· τὸ δὲ Αδωναί, τὸν κύριον. Τὸ δὲ κύριος Σαβαώθ κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων ἐρμηνεύεται, ἢ κύριος στρατιῶν· καὶ γὰρ παρ' Ἑλλήσι τὰ στασιωτικὰ τάγματα δυνάμεις καλοῦνται. Τὸ δὲ Σαδδαὶ τὸν ἱκανὸν καὶ δυνατὸν σημαίνει· τὸ δε Αια, τὸν ὄντα. Τοῦτο καὶ ἀνεκφώνητον ἦν παρ' Εβραίοις· Σαμαρεῖται δὲ Ιαβαι αὐτὸ λέγουσιν, ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν τοῦ ῥήματος δύναμιν.—*Theodoretī Hæreticæ Fabulæ*, lib. v. cap. 3..

that derivative may be applied. But, on the introduction of *matres lectionis* into the Bible, the vocalizers inserted between the radical letters of this word, when applied to men, a *Yod* (apparently the letter which had been dropped from the root, but in reality one used with quite a different phonetic value) to express the vowel *E*, though they sometimes failed to do so, through oversight occasioned by the haste with which they executed their work. On the other hand, the uniformity with which they abstained from this insertion where the derivative is applied to God, shows the omission to have been therein made from design, in consequence of their reluctance to tamper with a word for which they felt the most profound respect in this application of it. The next mistake observable in the passage before us is exhibited in the assumption that, because *δυνάμεις* signifies primarily 'forces,' and thence 'armies,' the corresponding Hebrew word צְבָאוֹת, *SeBaHOTH*, must likewise undergo this transition of meaning; which is not at all the real state of the case, as it is used, indeed, in the second of those significations, but never in the first. As to the ignorance of Hebrew betrayed by his employment of *Αια* to convey the sound of the four-lettered name, it has already been sufficiently noticed. He rightly condemns the Samaritan pronunciation of this name; but they adopted *Iaβε*, or *Iαβαι*, not, as he supposed, because they were ignorant of the meaning of the original word, but because they, as well as the Jews, were resolved to conceal its true sound. The mispronunciations to which the two parties resorted, we may perceive, were quite different. But this is most usually the case with witnesses giving false evidence, who have no secret understanding with each other; and is indeed one of the ways in which falsehood can be brought home to both Jews and Samaritans, in the present instance.

To convict the Patriarch Photius of like ignorance of Hebrew, it will be sufficient to direct attention to part of a letter of his respecting the signification of the four-lettered name, near the end of which he expresses himself on the same subject as that

discussed in the fifteenth question of Theodoret upon Exodus, and very much in the same style, to the following effect:—"Then, *he subjoins*, 'and my name I did not make known to them,' in order that you [Moses] might say that I have deemed you worthy of greater honour than the patriarchs your ancestors; for my name which I did not make known to them, or even to Jacob, though urgently asking, that I clearly revealed to thee, when I declared, 'I am the *self-existent* one.' Now this *name* is pronounced by the Jews *Aia*, but by the Samaritans *Iaβe*; and it is written with these letters, *Yoth, Alph, Wauth, Heth*."<sup>a</sup> The extract I have adduced from the writings of Theodoret supplies, as has been already observed, clear evidence, through the use he makes in it of *Aia*, that either he had never seen a group of the highest importance and most frequent occurrence in the sacred text, or that he must have been unacquainted with the powers of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The passage now before us furnishes the very same evidence against Photius, with the addition of his own declaration to the same effect, given by him indeed very unconsciously, but still in the most express manner. For, while he, from a desire of appearing to know Hebrew, volunteers to specify the elements of the four-lettered name, he actually misstates those elements, introducing into the group two letters that do not in reality belong to it; and I may add, that he does so without any advantage to his representation of the subject: since the sound of *Aia*, by which he denotes the pronunciation of this name, is just as irreconcilable with any legitimate modification of the powers of the erroneous group *איה*, as it is with a similar treatment of the true one, *יהוה*.

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<sup>a</sup> Εἶτα, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου οὐκ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς· ἵνα εἴπῃς, μείζονός σε φιλονικίας ἢ τοὺς πατριάρχας, τοὺς σοὺς προγόνους, ἠξίωσα· τὸ γὰρ ὄνομά μου ὅπερ ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐδήλωσα, καὶ τοῖ τῷ Ιακώβ, καὶ προσλιπαρήσαντι, τοῦτό σοι διεσέφησα ἀποφηνάμενος, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν. Τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ μὲν Ἑβραίοις λέγεται Αἰα· παρὰ δὲ Σαμαρείταις, Ιαβε. Γράφεται δὲ καὶ γράμμασι τούτοις, ἰώθ, ἀλφ, οὐάυθ, ἦθ.—*Photii Epistolæ, ab Episcopo Montacutio editæ*, p. 219.

Verily, his instructors must have entertained the most thorough contempt for his knowledge of Hebrew, when they ventured to impose upon him so barefaced a misrepresentation of the subject. But, as Theodoret and Photius held the foremost rank among the learned in the ages in which they respectively flourished, Hebrew cannot be supposed to have been more known to any other Christians in those ages than it was to them. This limitation, however, to the Christian knowledge of Hebrew may be more strictly applied in the case of the latter of those authors, the superiority of whose attainments over all contemporary learning was more decided than that of his predecessor. The first, therefore, of the passages just examined suffices to show that the knowledge in question began to decline among Christians very soon after the age of Jerome; while the second serves to prove that it became utterly extinct among them before the middle of the ninth century,—as completely extinct, indeed, as it previously had been for about a century after the termination of the age of the apostolic fathers of the Church.

To turn our attention now to the series of readings of the four-lettered name, arranged in the order of their dates, which were successively introduced by the Jews,—*YaHOH*, *YeHUHo*, *YaHUH*, *YeHOaH*, *YaHOH*, *HaYaH*,<sup>a</sup>—the fraudulent nature of each reading is established by the only evidence that can be given for its fairness, that of the Jews themselves, who, by abandon-

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<sup>a</sup> Besides the above untenable pronunciations of יהוה, another has been transmitted to us (*Pipi*), the blame of which falls not on the Jews. In MS. copies of the Septuagint no longer extant, *πιπι* is recorded to have been written, instead of κύριος, to represent the four-lettered name. The reason of this misrepresentation of the sound of the word in question is explained by Jerome as follows:—"Nonum [nomen Dei apud Hebræos] τετράγραμμον, quod ἀνεκφώνητον, id est, ineffabile, putaverunt, quod his letteris scribitur, *Jod, He, Vau, He*. Quod quidam non intelligentes, propter elementorum similitudinem, quum in Græcis libris repperint, *πιπι* legere consueverunt."—*Hieronymi Opera*, Ed°. Benedict. tom. ii. p. 705.

ing it for the next one, virtually acknowledged that it does not supply the true pronunciation of this name. By thus proceeding through the terms of the series according as they are here arranged, we find every one of them proved by the very party from which it originated a false representation of the sound which is the object of our search, till we come to the last term ; and the fallacy of that reading is at once exposed by an immediate comparison of it with the original group, יְהוָה, of the pronunciation of which it could not have been received as the correct exponent by any set of men who were not utterly ignorant of Hebrew. With regard to YαHVεH, the Samaritan reading of the same name, its erroneousousness is on all sides admitted ; and, since but one more reading of the above group, as far as I can learn, has been transmitted to us, viz., YεHσWαH, which is furnished through its Masoretic pointing, the only inquiry that remains to be made is, whether this one yields, or not, a just representation of its sound. Before, however, entering on the examination of this point, I would venture to offer by the way the following remark. From a comparison of the various readings here specified of the four-lettered name, it is plain that both Jews and Samaritans endeavoured, as far as they could, to impose erroneous pronunciations of it on all those belonging to other nations with whom they respectively had intercourse. But, besides this design of imposition which was common to both parties, though differently carried out by each, a separate one can with a considerable degree of probability be traced to the Jews : that, I mean, of giving to the Hebrew vowel-letters the fallacious appearance of genuine ingredients of Scriptural writing. If we look to the Jewish portion of the above series of readings, we shall find that, however they may differ in other respects, the *Waw* of the original group is treated as a mater lectionis in all of them except the last, which was not brought into use till after the Christians had lost all power of reading Hebrew. But, as it was notorious that the Jews would not tamper with the

letters of this sacred group,<sup>a</sup> if a mater lectionis should be found among their number, it might be concluded to have been there from the first, and thus vowel-letters would be made to appear coeval with the other elements of the inspired text. This observation, however, does not apply to the first term of the series, which the Jews could have given currency to solely with the intention of concealing the true sound of the name of God. The further design just described could not have been entertained by them as early as the age of Diodorus Siculus ; since they had not then as yet extended the use of vowel-letters from their ordinary writing to the text of their Bible.

But the more important point here to be considered is the question whether *Yehowa* be not the true sound of the four-lettered group. Two reasons are very generally and very justly assigned in favour of this pronunciation of the name referred to, which have not as yet been allowed their due weight, in consequence of the fallacy of the grounds supporting the other pronunciations of it not having been sufficiently exposed. The first is the close resemblance in sound to *Yehowa* of the Pagan name for the supreme ruler of the world, Jo-ve, or rather (according to the original powers of the first and third letters) *Yo-we*,—a resemblance which cannot be rationally accounted for, except on the supposition of the Pagans having, at a remote period before the Jews had fallen into the superstitious practice of abstaining from the utterance of the former word, borrowed the sound of it from them, and curtailed its first two syllables in rapidity of speech into one. Accordingly, the strong likelihood of a connexion between the two names is admitted, even by persons who attempt to invert the order of that connexion, and derive the Jewish from the Pagan one, in utter disbelief of the Mosaic account of the ori-

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<sup>a</sup> The group above referred to is said to have been exhibited in some ancient copies of the Hebrew text in the contracted form יְהוֹ, and is still to be seen occasionally so written in the Targums; but in its fuller form no element of it is ever found to have been in any way altered by the Jews.

gin of the older name.<sup>a</sup> The second reason is supplied by human proper names formed from compounding יְהוָה with other words, such as יְהוֹנָתָן, or יֹנָתָן, YēHONaThaN or YONaThaN, ‘God has given;’ יְהוֹרָם or יֹרָם, YēHORaM or YORaM, ‘God is exalted;’ יְהוֹשָׁפָט or יֹשָׁפָט, YēHOShaPhaT or YOShaPhaT,<sup>b</sup> ‘God has judged.’ It is on all sides admitted that, in the case of the fuller form of each compound of this description, the two first syllables<sup>c</sup> should be pronounced *Yēhō*; but it seems evident that the true sound of those syllables, when not contracted into one, must be the same, whether the name in question be read by itself, or joined in composition with another word. The chief ground, however, for the correctness of the Masoretic pointing of יְהוָה which attaches to it the sound *Yehowa* is, that all the other modes of reading it having been proved fallacious, if this were so likewise, then there would be no written memorial of the true sound of this name; and consequently that sound must have been long since lost, notwithstanding the express declaration of the Almighty that the knowledge of it

<sup>a</sup> Among the persons above alluded to, I regret to state, is included Gesenius, who, in the observations made by him on the word יְהוָה in his *Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum*, ventured (upon the evidence, forsooth, of certain ideographic inscriptions that can now be no longer read, and which, even if they were legible, would be of no authority whatever, in comparison with that of the Pentateuch) to broach the following opinion of the origin of this name:—“Ut dicam quod sentio, hoc vocabulum remotissimæ antiquitatis esse suspicor, nescio an ejusdem stirpis atque *Jovis, Jupiter*, ab Ægyptiis translatum ad Hebræos (confer quæ de usu ejus in gemmis Ægyptiacis modo dicta sunt), ab his autem paululum inflexum, ut formam et originem Semiticam redeat.”

<sup>b</sup> The *Waw* in each of the above composite names is not one of the original elements of the four-lettered group, but a mater lectionis introduced to express the vowel part of the second syllable of that group, and to serve as a connecting link between the two parts of the several written compounds.

<sup>c</sup> The first of the two syllables above referred to is not usually reckoned as a syllable, on account of the imperfect sound of the *Shewa*, the vowel with which its consonant is uttered. But this, I conceive, is a reason only for viewing the combination only as an imperfect syllable, and not for altogether excluding it from the class of syllables.

should ever after the time of Moses be preserved among mankind. But as the conclusion to which we are thus led is obviously false, so likewise must be the supposition on which it is founded.

The last of these proofs, though by far the most convincing of all, has hitherto been overlooked in consequence of the erroneous treatment of the group יְהוּה in Exod. iii. 15, whereby the prediction contained therein has been suppressed. But in order to perceive the full force of this proof it is necessary not only to correct the translation of the verse referred to, but also to bear in mind that the specified group became a still more vague designation of the name in question after the introduction of *matres lectionis* into the sacred text than it was before, on account of the ambiguity thereby attached to its third element; and that if the subsequent completer vocalization of the same group had been deferred much longer than the period when it was actually applied thereto, the true sound of this name must have been eventually forgotten even by the very priests of the Jews. It has been already shown in the present chapter that mere oral tradition is not sufficient to preserve permanently the vocal part of the sounds of Scriptural names of rare occurrence; and to this class the superstition of those priests reduced the name before us by the very rare use they made of it (according to rabbinical accounts, they uttered it only in solemn benedictions of the people two or three times each year). Besides, it is to be observed, that they not only abstained almost entirely from the right pronunciation of the name in question, but also habituated themselves to wrong ones which they successively adopted for the purpose of deception: so that, as they confined themselves after the sixth century—at least in the case of religious subjects—to the Hebrew method of writing, the true sound of this name must, notwithstanding the deep respect they felt for it, have been at length effaced from their memory through the combined operation of the causes here specified, if that effect had not been prevented by the application to the sacred text of the Maso-



retic system of vocalization. The remedy, indeed, was a natural one, produced by human ingenuity ; but still, its seasonable introduction, just at the time when it was wanted, may with a high degree of probability be ascribed to a superhuman power, which appears to have been exerted in this, as well as in various other instances, for the protection of the Bible.

When the pointed text at last got into Christian hands,—as it did, no doubt, quite contrary to the intention of the Jewish priests,—those men, still persevering in their old plan of concealing the true sound of the four-lettered group, had no expedient left for the purpose except the barefaced assertion of its being nowhere in the Bible pointed so as to convey that sound. In refutation of this assertion of theirs, it might, perhaps, be sufficient to refer to its inconsistency with the use uniformly made by them of the Masoretic pointing in the case of every other word of the sacred text, as well as to the earnest desire they must have felt permanently to preserve the memory of the sound of this one for their own benefit (though not for that of others), and the consequent utter improbability of their neglecting the means for that end which the Masoretic system afforded them. A fuller view, however, of the subject will be obtained by examining the argument employed on the opposite side of the question. It may be thus stated,—the Jews, in reading out the sacred text, always substitute for the sound of the four-lettered group that of either אֲדָנִי or אֱלֹהִים, two groups quite different from it; but the Masoretic pointing, in accordance with this practice, always denotes the vocal part of the sound of one or other of those substituted groups, and therefore, never that of the group itself. The first step of this argument may be assented to; for, though the Jews, after they fell into the superstitious practice of suppressing the sound of the group under discussion, did not always deal with it as they now do,<sup>a</sup> yet their treatment of it has been such as is

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<sup>a</sup> As the Seventy have translated יְהוָה everywhere in their version by the Greek word *Kyrios*, which answers to the Hebrew one אֲדָנִי, they must

here described ever since the time when the sacred text was pointed ; and, as far as concerns the question at issue, there is no need of tracing their practice to a remoter period. But the second step, in which truth is mixed up with falsehood, entirely fails of conducting to the adduced conclusion ; as may be shown by entering into particulars. It is quite true that, if the group יהוה, which is in general pronounced with the sound of אדני, HaDoNaY, ‘ the Lord,’ should immediately precede or follow the latter group—when it is, according to the present practice, not uttered with the sound thereof, but with that of אלהים, HeLoHIM, ‘ God,’ in order to prevent the recital of the word *Hadonay* twice over in immediate succession,—in a case of this kind it is constantly pointed יהוה (YeHoWiH) with exactly the same series of vowels as is applied to the group אלהים ; and therefore we must at once concede, what is here insisted on by the Jews, that this pointing of it expresses, not the vocal part of its own sound, but such part of the sound of the latter group. Again, when any of the prefixes כ, ל, or ב, is placed before יהוה, the compound is always pointed as אדני would be after the same prefix ; as, for example, ביהוה is constantly pointed ביהוה, in like manner as באדני is באדני. In these four cases, then, it must also be admitted that, as the pointing corresponds with the Jewish practice of substituting the sound of אדני for that of יהוה in reading out the specified compounds, it is employed to denote the vocal part of the for-

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have read it in every place of its occurrence in the original by the sound *Hadonay*: and the mode of pronouncing it with this sound alone continued at any rate till after the age of Origen, who, in his Commentary on the second Psalm gives upon this subject the following evidence:—”Εστι δέ τι τετραγράμματος ἀνεκφωνητὸν παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πετάλου τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ λέγεται μὲν τῇ Ἀδωναὶ προσηγορίᾳ, οὐχὶ τούτου γεγραμμένου ἐν τῷ τετραγράμμатῳ παρὰ δὲ Ἑλλήσι τῇ Κύριος ἐκφωνεῖται. (But there is a certain four-lettered name unutterable among them [the Jews] which is inscribed on the golden plate upon the forehead of the high priest, and is read by the title *Adonai*, although this is not the word that is actually written with the group of four letters; but among the Greeks it is expressed by the title *Kyrios*). *Origenis Opera*, Ed°. Benedict. tom. ii. p. 539.

mer, instead of the latter, sound in each combination. But when the four-lettered name is headed by the prefix מ, or when it is written without any prefix, and is not coupled with אֲדָנִי, —in the former of which cases the letters are pointed מִיְהוָה,<sup>a</sup> and in the latter, יְהוָה,—the pointing applied to the group itself, which is just the same in both cases, is obviously not that of אֲדָנִי, the group whose sound is in each case substituted for its own sound in reading out the sacred text. Nor can it be maintained that this pointing, though somewhat different from that of אֲדָנִי, was yet intended to suggest to the reader the latter punctuation. This prop to the Jewish argument, besides that it has no ground to rest on but gratuitous assertion, is at once removed by the evidence of the punctuators themselves, to whom their own intentions in the management of the operation must have been better known than to any subsequent set of Jews. For, wherever those scribes meant, by their mode of pointing the name in question, to direct the reader's attention to the punctuation of אֱלֹהִים, they annexed to it the very series of points that belongs to that group, and exhibited it in the form יְהוָה; whence it follows, *pari ratione*, that, if they had anywhere, by their treatment of the same name, intended to suggest the vocalization of אֲדָנִי, they would have applied to it exactly the series of points appropriated to this latter group, and presented it to us in the form יְהוָה. As, then, this attempt to make out in either of the above cases an exception to the general practice of the Masoretic vocalizers has proved quite ineffectual, we are unavoidably led by analogy to the conclusion that, in those cases, they dealt with the group under examination precisely in the same manner as they have uniformly done with every other group in the Hebrew text, and applied to it the signs of

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<sup>a</sup> The Masorets, from a reluctance to tamper in any way with the elements of the group יְהוָה or alter their number, refrained from *dageshing* its initial letter; in consequence of which they had to point the prefix מ with an open *E* instead of a close *I*, in order to compensate for the want of a *dagesh* in the *Yod*; just in the same manner as if that initial letter had been a guttural.

the vowels that belong to its own proper sound,—a sound which thus comes out (by combining those vowels with the articulations expressed by the letters of the group now become consonants) to be YeHoWaH.

The variation observable in the mode of pointing this group—sometimes with the vowels appertaining to its own sound, and sometimes with those of other words—betrays, on the part of the Jewish rulers under whose direction the operation was performed, an unsteadiness of purpose which must be ascribed to the conflicting nature of the motives by which they were actuated,—the desire of getting inserted in their Bibles an improved expression of the sound of the four-lettered name, and the, if possible, still stronger one (therewith scarcely compatible) of keeping that sound concealed from all but the individuals of their own nation. The pointing, however, that was suited to the latter object, we may perceive, was not allowed to prevail to the extent of excluding that required for the former ; so that the priests, or their scribes, were eventually made to apply to this name an adequate and permanent completion of the marks of its sound in the very numerous sites which fall under the heads of the last two of the above described cases. Thus came to be fulfilled the prediction communicated to Moses, which has been already referred to,—a prediction, be it observed, which was made respecting the group יהוה, without limitation to any particular class of men, that it should be “a memorial unto all generations” (Exod. iii. 15); and consequently, that the power of correctly reading it should be perpetuated for the benefit of various branches of the human race.

As the pointed text has now been shown to yield a just representation of the sound of the four-lettered name in the sites of its most frequent occurrence, or those which come under the head of the last of the seven above described cases, it may appear, at first view, unaccountable that the Jewish priesthood, considering the strong prejudices they felt on the subject, should have ever permitted the Hebrew Bible, with its vocalization thus improved, to get into Christian hands.

But the fact is that, however eagerly they may have desired to prevent this event,—and the expectation that they would be able to do so was probably one of the natural means by which they were induced to suffer the vowels belonging to the proper sound of the group in question to be applied to it in any site,—it became eventually quite beyond their reach to secure this object of their most ardent wishes. They might indeed have retarded the event referred to more than they actually did, if they had not been thrown off their guard by the grossness of Christian ignorance during the mediæval ages; in consequence of which they were led to think it quite unnecessary to adopt any measures of concealment with regard to men who were then just as incapable of making use of the sacred text in its pointed as in its unpointed state. But they could not permanently obstruct the spread of the benefit of this improvement among mankind. I grant that, when in the second century all knowledge of the ancient Hebrew became extinct among the Christians, the priests of the Jews were able to defer, as long as suited their designs, the restoration of any part of that knowledge, which was then confined exclusively to their own order and the scribes in their interest. But the state of the case was quite altered when the Christians sunk a second time into total ignorance of the sacred language. Before this calamity befell them, the Jewish rulers, disappointed of the effects they had expected from the substitution of the spurious Greek versions of the second century for the Septuagint, abandoned the use of those versions, and returned to the performance of divine service in the ancient Hebrew, though a tongue then quite unknown to the great body of the Jews. In this change they were at first strenuously opposed by their own congregations, as appears by a decree, yet extant, of Justinian, in which he took the part of the people, and very justly condemned the attempt to compel them to hear their Scriptures read in a language they did not understand. But notwithstanding this opposition, which was for a time rendered quite irresistible by the interference of the imperial govern-

ment, the priests eventually succeeded, and appear to have carried their point soon after the death of that emperor, or, at any rate, early in the seventh century. To reduce, however, the odium of so despotic a measure, it became their interest to encourage and assist, in every way they could, the educated and influential portion of the laity to learn the original language of the Bible; and the result clearly shows that they must have acted on the plan of such an alteration of their former policy. For the knowledge of this language, together with the possession of the pointed text, was so extensively diffused among the Jews, beyond the circle of the scribes who were under the immediate control of the priesthood, about the time when the Christians were returning to the study of Hebrew in the fourteenth century, that they easily procured pointed copies of the Hebrew Bible, and found numbers of Rabbins who were most ready for hire to give them the instruction requisite to enable them to make use of those copies. The consequence was, they applied themselves to this study with the advantage of aids greatly beyond those enjoyed by the series, commencing with Origen, of the early fathers of the Church, and which it was out of the power of the Jewish priesthood to intercept and prevent from reaching them. But what rendered them completely independent of either priestly or rabbinical instruction was the printing of the pointed Hebrew text near the end of the fifteenth century; and they have, in fact, so advanced since that period in the critical analysis of Hebrew, that, by means of close attention to the grammatical structure of the sacred text, and more especially through the light thrown upon its sense by the inspired writers of the New Testament, they have arrived at a far superior knowledge of it to that possessed by the very priests of the Jews. Before, however, this result was attained to, the effect of the above event, in reference to the name which is the subject of the present inquiry, became visible. The whole Hebrew Bible was first printed with points at Soncino, in the

year 1488;<sup>a</sup> and in twenty-eight years after, came out the *Arcana Catholicæ Veritatis* (by Galatinus, a Franciscan monk, or, as he styles himself in the dedication of his work, one belonging to the *ordo fratrum minorum*), in the tenth chapter of the second book of which the true pronounciation of the four-lettered name is given; nor, from the manner in which the subject is there discussd, does the proper sound of this word appear to have been then for the first time announced. The date of the work is placed, as was usual in those times, at its very conclusion, and is expressed by the author as follows:—“*Peractum est, divina opitulante gratia, Opus de Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis, ex Iudaicis codicibus excerptum atque Invictissimo Maximiliano Cæsari semper Augusto dedicatum; Barij, anno Virginiei partus M.D.XVI., pridie nonas Septembris.*” The edition of this work to which I have had access is dated in the year 1603; and the right pronounciation of the name in question is therein printed *Iehoua*, which would, in the modern form of it, be exhibited *Jehova*; which again, by substituting equivalents for the two letters whose original powers have since been changed, would come out *Yehowa*, differing from *YeHoWaH*, the exact transcript of יהוה, only by the omission of an unsounded *H* at its end. This restoration, however, of the true sound of the examined name was for a considerable length of time admitted to be correct only by individuals: the first Bible into which it was introduced is, I believe, that of Matthews, published in the year 1537, whence it spread through all the authorized English versions which after that date successively came out; so that it is wanting in only the first of them, namely, Coverdale’s Bible. Thus the English Church appears entitled to the credit of being the first Christian community which has given its sanction to this important correction.

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<sup>a</sup> A copy of the above-mentioned Bible is preserved in the Library of Exeter College, Oxford. At the end of the Pentateuch there is a long Hebrew subscription, indicating the name of the editor (Abraham Ben Khayim), the place where it was printed, and the date of the edition.

## CHAPTER III.

### PROOFS OF THE SPURIOUSNESS OF THE MATRES LECTIONIS IN THE SACRED TEXT, DERIVED FROM THE USES MADE OF THEM IN THE STRUCTURE OF ITS LANGUAGE.

ANOMALIES OF A CERTAIN PRONOUN NOT ATTRIBUTABLE TO COPYISTS—NOR CAN THEY BE ASCRIBED TO THE INSPIRED AUTHORS OF THE BIBLE—THE HEBREW PRONOUN IN QUESTION HAD ORIGINALLY BUT A SINGLE FORM—CURIOUS PECULIARITY OF SHEMITIC LANGUAGES THEREBY ACCOUNTED FOR—SUPPLEMENTAL VOCALIZATION OF JEWISH EDITION OF THE PENTATEUCH—THIS ADDITIONAL VOCALIZATION EXECUTED WITH THE GREATEST HASTE—CONSEQUENT CHANGE OF STRUCTURE ILLUSTRATED BY AN ENGLISH EXAMPLE—REMAINS OF MASCULINE AFFIX *HE* AFTER NOUNS SINGULAR—ANALYSIS OF HOS. IV. 17–19, THROUGH THE AID OF THE PRESENT DISCOVERY—ANALYSIS OF HOS. X. 5, BY MEANS OF THE SAME DISCOVERY—REMAINS OF MASCULINE AFFIX *HE* AFTER AN EPENTHETIC *NUN*—VOCALIZED FORMS OF AFFIX *HE* AFTER NOUNS PLURAL—VARIOUS TREATMENT BY VOCALIZERS OF MASCULINE AFFIX *HE* AFTER VERBS—CORRECTION OF GEN. XVII. 16, SUGGESTED BY PRECEDING ANALYSIS.

FROM considering the inconsistencies of nomenclature which the sacred text in its present state betrays, I proceed to inquire into others more immediately connected with its language, whose exposure will tend with still greater force to establish the spurious nature of the *matres lectionis* therein employed ; and I commence with a very remarkable peculiarity in the style of the Hebrew Pentateuch,<sup>a</sup> with regard to the pronoun of the third person singular ; because its analysis not only will afford a most decisive proof to the effect in question,

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<sup>a</sup> It is only the Jewish edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch that is above taken into consideration. The peculiarity referred to does not exist in the Samaritan edition,—a circumstance which supplies one of the indications of the Samaritan copies having been later vocalized.



but will also lead to other proofs of the same bearing, as well as to the solution of a class of difficulties which are widely diffused through this writing. The feature of the inspired composition just mentioned, to which I wish here to direct attention, and which has hitherto proved utterly inexplicable, both makes it appear to differ in grammatic structure from all the rest of the Hebrew Scriptures, and, still further, gives it the semblance of being, in this respect, at variance with itself; so, comes under our consideration in a twofold point of view. First, the specified pronoun has in the record of Moses but one form,  $\text{אֲנִי}$ , whatever may be the gender of the noun referred to; but in those of all the subsequent prophets it has two, the second being produced by changing the mater lectionis in the middle of the adduced group from  $\text{י}$  to  $\text{י}$ ; whereby its pronunciation comes out  $\text{HUH}$  for the masculine, or, as the case may require, the neuter gender, and  $\text{HIH}$  for the feminine or neuter.<sup>a</sup> The Masora attests (in a note upon Gen. xxxviii. 25) that there are but eleven instances in which this distinction of gender, by means of the second form, is made in the former portion of the Hebrew Bible; while Hebraists have since remarked that there are but three in which it is omitted, where requisite, in the latter. But these exceptions to the difference of structure in question are so few, in comparison with the vast number of cases in which it holds good, that they can be looked on only as mere errors of transcription; and it deserves to be noted that not one of them occurs in the book of Joshua, the part of Scripture which, there is every reason to suppose, was written next after the Pentateuch. Secondly, although throughout the general course of the Mosaic

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<sup>a</sup> As there are but two genders in Hebrew, the masculine and feminine words of that tongue supply the place, not only of masculine and feminine, but also of neuter terms in our language. This remark applies to pronouns as well as to nouns; and, supposing any Hebrew pronoun to have originally had but a single form, then that form, as long as it was the only one, must have corresponded to all the forms of the equivalent English pronoun.

record, no distinction of gender is expressed by this pronoun in its integral state, yet the fragments of it that are used as affixes to other words mark such distinction just as frequently and as prominently as in any other part of the sacred text.

A very able modern Hebraist has in vain attempted to get rid of the difficulties of this case, by assuming that the pronoun under examination had originally in the Pentateuch, as well as in the remainder of the Old Testament, two forms ; and by representing its present usual singleness of form therein, as a corruption of the text, through the fault of the Hebrew copyists. The charge so brought against those scribes is quite inadmissible : since, on the one hand, they cannot be suspected of having made, from design, a change which, upon the assumed hypothesis, would be attended with the effect of giving an air of absurdity to numerous passages in the very portion of their Bible most revered by them ; and, on the other, the nature of this change is wholly incompatible with the supposition of its having been repeatedly produced through oversight. It is obvious that transcribers must have a strong tendency to quit, when off their guard, uncommon forms of words, and to glide insensibly into the use of those to which they are accustomed ;—a tendency that not only is directly opposed to the casual and undesigned production of the peculiarity in question, but also very plainly accounts for the eleven instances of deviation from it which occur in the Pentateuch ; and the sole cause for wonder, with respect to such instances, is that more of them are not to be found in this part of the Hebrew Scriptures. Let us, however, look to Dr. Kennicott's representation of the matter, as put forward by himself :—

“ Gen. xx. 5.<sup>a</sup> הלא הוא אמר לי, אחתי הוא ; והיא, גם הוא  
אמרה, אחי הוא.”

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<sup>a</sup> It is right here to observe that, in giving the above extract, I have so far taken a liberty with it, as to exhibit the Hebrew line, not exactly as written by Dr. Kennicott in the usual manner, but according to the mode of no-

In these twelve words we find the pronoun of the third person five times ; twice properly *he*, and three times originally *she* ; but, in the printed editions, two of the three feminine pronouns have been most absurdly changed into masculine. So that the preceding words, if closely, or rather if truly translated, contain the following expostulation of Abimelech on account of Sarah . . . . . *said HE not unto me, HE is my sister ? And SHE, even HE said, HE is my brother !* And is this the boasted integrity of Jewish transcribers ? I should humbly presume, that this single specimen, read seriously but twice over, is sufficient to convince men, the most obstinately prejudiced, that every Hebrew letter is not printed, as it was writ originally." —*First Dissertation*, pp. 355–6.

Our author was perfectly safe in the conclusion he here came to, that there was something wrong in the Hebrew passage quoted by him, as it stands at present ; but he was quite unwarranted in throwing the whole blame of this upon the Jewish transcribers. The nonsense, too, which he derives from the words in his translation of them, is entirely of his own creation, and results from his unfounded assumption that the pronoun contained in the passage had originally in the writings of Moses two forms ; for, if it had but one, as is clearly attested by the general evidence of the text of that part of Scripture, that single one ought evidently to be construed, in each place of its occurrence, *he*, *she*, or *it*, according to the demands of

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tation I have adopted. The like liberty is taken in the rest of my Hebrew quotations. No change of letters is therein attempted without due notification, but minor alterations are made in the appearance of some of them, the initials of proper names being enlarged, and the *matres lectionis* printed in an open type, while the modern plan of stopping sentences is introduced. These alterations, which would greatly contribute to facilitate the reading of the sacred text, if applied to it, are justifiable on the very same grounds as that already adopted and universally assented to, of separating the letters of this record into distinct groups, to correspond to the words they respectively denote,—a state of distinctness which was not communicated to this species of writing till after the benefit of it had been experienced in other kinds.

the context.<sup>a</sup> The only fault, then, which can here be fairly imputed to the copyists, is the introduction once of the second form of this pronoun from the force of habit ; of which mistake there are but ten more instances to be met with throughout the entire range of the Pentateuch. Now, the circumstance of their writing this word in the above-quoted passage in two instances of its application to a female, as well as in hundreds of others of the same kind in the Mosaic record, in a form that was, according to their general practice, quite anomalous, can, I will venture to assert, be rationally ascribed to no other cause than a fixed determination, on their part, of adhering strictly to the sacred text as they found it, and not altering a single letter, even where the sense appeared indispensably to require such alteration, in conformity with the general structure of the language in their time. The very circumstance, therefore, which Dr. Kennicott considered as reflecting on their integrity, is one that affords the strongest proof of the scrupulous fidelity with which they executed their task ;—a fidelity, indeed, quite singular in the history of transcriptions, and which was carried by them to an extreme that amounted to superstition, but which has been most fortunate, or rather providential in its effects. For the preservation of the Hebrew text in very nearly the state in which it was left by the

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<sup>a</sup> In the correctness of the above observation I am supported by the Authorized English Version, in the five first books of which the rendering of שֶׁ is constantly *she*, wherever such construction of it is required by the context. Thus, for example, the passage of the original which Dr. Kennicott would have us believe quite absurd in its present state, is in this translation rendered as follows:—"Said he not unto me, *She is* my sister? and she, even she herself said, *He is* my brother." In so construing free from all absurdity this, and similar passages of the Pentateuch, the framers of our version were perfectly warranted, *provided* the pronoun in question had therein regularly but one form. They must, therefore, be considered as agreeing with me in the inference I have drawn from that proviso ; namely, that the Hebrew copyists were not in fault in the hundreds of instances, in the specified part of the Hebrew Bible, in which they wrote this pronoun for the feminine gender שֶׁ, though they were in the eleven instances in which they made it שֶׁ.

first vocalizers after their interpolations, affords an aid to inquiry, without which it would now be no longer possible to trace back and detect those interpolations.

If we turn from the transcribers to the authors of the inspired text, we shall find the idea equally chimerical, of the difference of structure in question between the Pentateuch and the rest of the Old Testament having originated with the latter class of individuals. According to the supposition with which I have now to deal, a most important improvement in the distinctness of the language of the Jews was suddenly brought about, and all at once completed, within a few years after the death of their great lawgiver : and the succeeding prophets, who all held him and his work in the highest veneration, yet virtually condemned, or at least abandoned, in their own mode of writing, the grammatical structure of that work in one of its most prominent features. The mere statement of this hypothesis is sufficient to mark its extreme improbability, or—perhaps I might say—its absurdity. But let us examine the supposed case more in detail, and inquire, in the first place, how the writer, therein imagined to have introduced the change in question, could have gained the information that conducted to it ; or how, after having made the acquisition, he could possibly use it in the manner he is represented to have done ! Was Joshua favoured with a higher degree of inspiration than Moses ? Certainly not. Was he more skilled in human learning ? Certainly not. Was he placed in a situation in which he could be expected to receive foreign instruction in the matter under inquiry ? Certainly not : it is very unlikely that the tribes he met with in Canaan spoke a dialect at all better than, or different from, his own ; or, even if they did, he was not on terms of peaceable intercourse with any of them except the Gibeonites, whom he treated with the greatest contempt, and looked down upon as his slaves. Admitting, however, for a moment, that he, some way or other, most unaccountably arrived at the improvement here referred to, I have still to ask : Could he, then, in the natural course of

things, have adhered to it uniformly in every instance? Certainly not: it is contrary to all that is known of the power of habit, to suppose that he would not have sometimes relapsed, in this respect, into the mode of expression to which he had been previously accustomed. In the next place, even laying aside the consideration of the priority of the book of Joshua to the writings of all the subsequent prophets, which is an insuperable barrier to the supposition of the above improvement having commenced with any of them, we shall find this supposition in a great measure pressed by the same difficulties in their case as in the one already examined. Not one of them was more highly inspired than Moses; not one, Solomon excepted, was more learned; not one, supposing the alteration to have begun with him, can be admitted to have by natural means completed it, in the manner in which it is exhibited in his compositions in the present state of the Hebrew text. There is, besides, this additional objection to the change having been made by any of the successors of Moses: they all, in common, imitated his style so closely, that, although Hebrew continued a living language till near the end of their series, or for almost a thousand years, it yet remained the whole of that time absolutely the same<sup>a</sup> in its idioms and in every other particular except the one under consideration. To attribute, then, this single instance of alteration to them, in opposition to the entire of their ascertained practice, instead of viewing it as a work of after-ages, is directly repugnant to the rules of reasoning which analogy and common sense prescribe.

The case of Moses himself remains still to be discussed: and here the peculiar structure of the Pentateuch, in the

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<sup>a</sup> Hebrew scholars have detected some very slight differences of language, as they conceived, between the earlier and later books of the Hebrew Bible; but if these differences be examined with the aid of the light now thrown upon the subject, they will be found to have been produced almost entirely by the different degrees of fulness of the *matres lectionis* in the sacred text, the vocalizers having inserted them more freely, according as they became more habituated to their use.

second of the aspects which I have brought under notice, comes to our aid. To ascribe this peculiarity to the Jewish legislator, as its author, involves, I do not hesitate to assert, a direct contradiction. I allow it quite possible that a writer might give distinct forms for two genders to the pronoun in question in its integral state, and yet only one of them appear in the fragments of it used by him as affixes; but to imagine that he should express a difference of gender in the fragments, and not in the entire word, is a manifest absurdity. For, be it observed, the omission, here supposed, does not consist in his leaving this word equally unvocalized for both genders, but in his inserting constantly and uniformly in it a vowel that would, for his feminine references, according to his own conception of the subject, as indicated by his variation of the affixes, be positively wrong;—a line of proceeding which cannot be imputed to any rational being, and least of all to an inspired one. The consideration, then, of the various ways in which this pronoun is written both in the Pentateuch alone, and in that work compared with the rest of the Hebrew Bible, affords a very near approach to demonstration, that it was not put in the different forms which it now displays, by the inspired composers of the sacred text.

But it is by means of the *matres lectionis* that the variations in question were produced. We have here, therefore, an independent proof of the strongest kind, with respect to those letters, that they neither constitute a part of the original writing of the Bible, nor were subsequently added through any mere faults of transcription; and, consequently, that their insertion therein is due to persons quite different both from its authors and from its copyists. These scribes are called by me vocalizers, on account of their having interpolated the sacred text with vowel-letters, and still further the first or the old vocalizers, in order to distinguish them from the Masorets, who in later times vocalized the same text with points. This reasoning, indeed, bears immediately on the interpolation of only the *matres lectionis* found in the

Hebrew pronoun of the third person singular ; but, as they are shown to a certainty to be spurious in one most important and extensive class of instances of their employment in Scripture, how can they be allowed genuine in any other ? The argument, therefore, virtually extends to every use made of them in the Hebrew record, and serves greatly to strengthen the proofs previously adduced to the same effect. In order to the establishing, however, of the first step in a direct synthetic explication of the difficulty here proposed for our consideration, the immediate result of the foregoing analysis is all that is wanted. The vowel-letters now found in the analyzed pronoun, which give it two forms in its integral state, are spurious ; and it originally had in that state but one form, which was written  $\aleph$ , and pronounced  $HuH$ , alike for every gender. Strange as this primary step may appear, I yet do not see how its deduction from the facts above proved can be resisted ; and, besides, it derives some support from the analogy of the other Shemitic dialects. In the Persian tongue, indeed, *he*, *she*, and *it*, are, even up to to this day, still expressed in common by  $\aleph$ ,  $HO$ , a derivative from  $HuH$  ; and *his*, *her*, and *its*, are likewise in common denoted by the affix  $\gamma$ ,  $O$ ,—a fragment of the same derivative, which of necessity has but one form for the three genders, in consequence of its integer having but one.<sup>a</sup> And in the rest of the Shemitic languages there is a peculiarity arising, I submit, out of the one in question, which continues to hold in all of them, though the cause of

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<sup>a</sup> The Persian and English languages resemble each other in a very remarkable feature, that in each the genders of nouns are dependent, not on termination or any other cause equally arbitrary, but on the nature of the subject denoted ; so that they both have in this respect a great superiority over most, or nearly all, other languages. The degree, however, of this superiority is considerably reduced in the Persian tongue, by the indistinctness of the reference to nouns by means of the single form for all genders of the pronoun  $\aleph$  and affix  $\gamma$ . From a description of a Malabar dialect of Sanscrit subjoined to an account of the alphabet it is written with, which was published at Rome in the year 1772, this dialect would appear to enjoy the same advantage, and to rather a greater extent than does the Persian language. Respecting the genders of nouns in the *lingua Malabarica* it is therein stated



it has from each been long since removed. In all those languages a distinction of gender, by means of a second form, is imparted to the third person singular of the verb, in every conjugation and tense ;—a property which would be much more naturally attached to the pronoun of that person and number, since, in correctness of thought, gender belongs not to actions, but only to agents.

This very remarkable peculiarity in the structure of all the Shemitic tongues, except the Persian, has not hitherto been accounted for, but can now, I apprehend, be traced with a high degree of probability to its cause ; namely, the original singleness of form in those tongues of the pronoun in question, which alone could have given rise to any occasion for forcing on the corresponding inflexion of the verb an expression of gender that is not properly applicable to it. But when this attribute was communicated to one part of the verb, it was through analogy extended to others. Hence it would appear that, in all the Shemitic dialects whose structure is known, with the one exception just specified, a change has occurred with regard to the above pronoun, by the addition to it of a second form : and as this change, granting it took place, was effected in all of them the same way,—by pronouncing the monosyllable alluded to, or a derivative from it, no longer indiscriminately for every gender, but only for the masculine or neuter with the sound of the vowel *U*, and for the feminine or neuter with that of *I*,<sup>a</sup>—it would further appear, that the na-

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as follows:—"Generis masculini sunt ea omnia quæ ad Deum, angelos, ac homines pertinent; femininum est quod rationalem feminam sonat; cetera autem cujuscumque ordinis sint, sive irrationabilia, sive insensibilia, sunt generis neutrius."—*Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum*, p. 17.

<sup>a</sup> Thus the distinction of gender in the above pronoun is made in the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, as now written, in the following manner:—

|                         | HE.              | SHE.             |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>Chaldee</i> , . . .  | ܢܝܢ, HUḤ.        | ܢܝܢ, HIḤ.        |
| <i>Syriac</i> , . . .   | ܢܝܢ, HU, or HaW. | ܢܝܢ, HI, or HaY. |
| <i>Arabic</i> , . . .   | هو, HUā.         | هي, HIā.         |
| <i>Ethiopic</i> , . . . | ወላት, WēHTu.      | ይላት, YēHTi.      |

tions speaking those dialects borrowed the improvement, one from another in succession, after they had become sensible of the benefit of it, from being compelled to learn the language of their Grecian conquerors. With which of them the alteration commenced, it would be impossible now to determine ; each probably adopted it gradually in a manner not likely to arrest observation ; and they all in common must have been just as anxious to conceal their obligation to foreigners, in this respect, as they were with regard to the introduction of the *matres lectionis* into their several systems of writing.

The main proof, however, of the pronoun under examination having at first had but one integral form for every gender in the Hebrew language, rests upon the evidence of the Jewish transcribers of the Pentateuch ;—evidence which carries with it, as has been already shown, the clearest indications of truth, and in further support of which I shall here offer two remarks. First, there are still extant in the Hebrew text remains of a single form for both genders of the affix derived from this pronoun ; which, indeed, do not necessarily imply that their integer was likewise of only one form, but are in accordance with the supposition of its having been so. These remains, which were overlooked by the old vocalizers, from the haste with which they executed their work, shall a little further on be more particularly considered. Secondly, it is to be borne in mind, that the peculiarity above noticed in other Shemitic tongues, holds also in Hebrew ; namely, that of the several inflexions of verbs for the third person singular having two forms, which could scarcely have been given to them in the first instance, if the distinction of gender thereby conveyed had originally been expressed through the corresponding pronoun.

According to the representation now given of the origin of the double forms of Hebrew verbs, however superfluous they may be elsewhere, they are still wanted in the Pentateuch, where the pronoun of the third person singular has been suffered, in the integral state of it, to retain its primitive

single form ; and the continuation of their usefulness in this part of Scripture may be illustrated by the following example. In the prediction contained in Gen. iii. 15, respecting the seed of the woman, that it should bruise the serpent's head, which is written in the Hebrew text וְהָאָדָם יִשְׁכַּח רֶשֶׁת, the first word, HUH, considered by itself may, from the extreme simplicity of the sacred language, as preserved in the Pentateuch, be rendered *he, she, or it* ; and the context leaves it open to either the second or third of these renderings, as 'the woman' is mentioned in the preceding part of the verse as well as 'her seed.'<sup>a</sup> In consequence of the latitude which so far appears to be afforded, with regard to the sense in which this word may be taken, it has been referred to 'the woman' by Romanists, from their anxiety to extol the merits of the Virgin Mary ; and the prediction is translated in the Vulgate, as that version stands at present, '*ipsa conteret caput tuum.*'<sup>b</sup> But there is a restriction yet to be looked to in the original, which wholly excludes this meaning : the verb יִשְׁכַּח is not in the feminine form ; and, therefore, the prophecy can be applied only to the seed of the woman, or to what is thereby denoted, the Messiah.

As a second step in the direct explication of the case before us, I have to offer a remark,—fully borne out by anomalies connected with this subject in the style of the sacred text,—

<sup>a</sup> Even the masculine sense of HUH is not excluded in the case of the above prediction, if the word be referred, not immediately to 'the seed of the woman,' but to 'the Messiah,' as the ulterior signification of that expression ; and, accordingly, the pronoun in this passage is rendered *αὐτός* in the Septuagint, and *ipse* in the translation of Jerome.

<sup>b</sup> The first word of the above extract from the Vulgate must have been changed since the time of Jerome ; for not only has he transmitted this word *ipse* in his own translation of Genesis, but also has, in his *Liber Quæstionum Hebraicarum in Genesim*, given a reason for so rendering it, which excludes the possibility of *ipse* being a corruption introduced by his copyists. The following is his note upon the subject :—" Ipse conteret caput tuum, et tu conteres ejus calcaneum : quia et nostri gressus præpediuntur à colubro ; et Dominus conteret Satanam sub pedibus nostris velociter."—*Hieronymi Opera*, Ed<sup>o</sup>. Benedict. tom. II. p. 510.

that it did not occur to the old vocalizers to introduce into the original language of the Bible the improvement of a second form of the pronoun under discussion, or at least that they did not carry their intention in this respect into effect, till after they had reached the end of the Pentateuch in the process of interpolating its written ingredients with *matres lectionis*. Of course what is here stated of those scribes must in strictness be understood to apply rather to their directors the Jewish priesthood, the sole guardians among the Jews of the Hebrew Scriptures during the second century, even the most learned of the laity having been then utterly ignorant of the ancient Hebrew tongue. When the pronoun **אני** was vocalized with a *Waw* for the feminine, in like manner as for the masculine gender, it evidently had but one sound in speech as well as only one form in writing; and, consequently, the fragment of it used as an affix to other words, —viz. **ני**, either alone, or preceded by an epenthetic **י**, —must have then been the same for both genders, and unvocalized for the masculine, just as it still remains for the feminine gender. On the other hand, by the time that a distinction of gender made its appearance in the affix, —through either the substituting for it, or the subjoining to it of a *Waw* for the masculine gender, —this distinction must have been already established in the integral pronoun, and in consequence thenceforward exhibited, by means of a second form, in whatever mode was adopted of conveying by letters a full expression of each of its sounds. The operation, therefore, of inserting vowel-letters in the sacred text was, to a certainty, twice applied to the portion of it written by Moses; and, through the second part of the process, a great improvement in the distinctness of the pronoun in question, which had previously crept into nearly all the Shemitic dialects, was introduced into the parent tongue, though no longer then a living language.

The third and last step in the solution of the difficulties involved in the proposed case is supplied by the observation

that, when the old vocalizers went over the Pentateuch a second time, and displayed throughout its text two distinct forms of the fragment of  $\aleph$  for different genders, they most inconsistently omitted to make a corresponding alteration in the integer, and failed to change into *Yod* for the feminine gender the *Waw* that had previously been inserted in it indiscriminately for both genders ; although, by their omission of this correction of the part of the operation executed the first time of vocalizing the Mosaic record, they left the way open for—what they were most anxious to prevent—the eventual detection and exposure both of the interpolation of the *matres lectionis* in the sacred text, and of the fraudulent perversion thereby effected of several of its most important passages. However surprising this inconsistency in their conduct may be, yet the fact of their having acted so is incontestible ; and this fact, combined with the two previously established, sufficiently accounts for the discrepancies and contradictions which the integral and fractional representations of the pronoun in question, compared together, betray in the existing state of the sacred text. With regard to the cause of the omission noticed in the last step of this explanation,—no doubt the Jewish rulers under whose superintendence the vocalizers worked, would have been reluctant to let a great many erasures be made in their Bibles, or to resort, for the purpose of avoiding this evil, to the trouble and expense of getting their copies of the Pentateuch written all over again. Yet still, had they perceived in time the great peril of eventual detection they exposed themselves to, by leaving this part of the sacred text in the state in which it has been transmitted to us, they would evidently have incurred every minor risk and resorted to every expedient, however laborious or expensive, to secure the execution of the requisite corrections. From their having, then, neglected to take this precaution, it is quite plain that they failed to perceive the discrepancies above pointed out, and the remote consequences that were sure thence eventually to follow, till after the opportunity was lost of remedying the

evil in secret, and without incurring a risk of instant exposure. This degree of blindness on their part is, I conceive, unquestionable, though it can hardly be accounted for in men of such acuteness in their general conduct, and who besides exerted in this very same transaction no small amount of cunning, in contrivances to ward off the more pressing dangers of immediate detection, as I hope to have an opportunity of more fully showing in a subsequent chapter. It is true, they acted with great precipitation in the case before us; which circumstance may, indeed, have contributed to the oversight in question, but certainly does not supply an adequate cause for it.

Of the haste and confusion with which the vocalization of the Pentateuch was extended, by means of a supplementary process, to the additional service of distinguishing the gender of the pronoun **הוא**, when in its fragmental state, some notion may be formed by the aid of the following example, taken from a part of this record in which one might expect more especially to find the operation performed with the greatest care and deliberation. The original of the expression, "beast of the earth," in the 24th and 25th verses of the first chapter of the Authorized English Version of Genesis, is correctly printed in the latter of the corresponding Hebrew verses, **חית הארץ**; but, in the former, it is at present put in the anomalous form, **חיתו ארץ**,<sup>a</sup> that is, literally, "his beast, earth,"—a meaning scarcely intelligible, and which, at any rate, cannot be reconciled with the context in the specified place. The manner in which this Hebrew expression is written in the second verse shows clearly how it should be corrected in the first; and, accordingly, it is in the Samaritan edition of the Pentateuch presented to the reader in exactly the same form, **חית הארץ**, in both verses. How the erroneous reading got into the Jewish edition, can now at last be easily explained.

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<sup>a</sup> The **ו** which is prefixed to the first of the above groups in the one instance, and the **א** which precedes it in the other, are omitted, for the purpose of confining attention to the portions of the two original expressions that ought to be exhibited perfectly identical.

The scribe who undertook to go over the book of Genesis a second time for the purpose of supplying a deficiency in its primary vocalization, casting his eye down each page in search of ה used as a masculine affix to a noun singular, mistook this letter on its first occurrence after חית for such an affix ; and, in consequence, changed it to י, to indicate that the compound should be read KhaYaThO, 'his beast,' instead of KhaYaThaH, 'her beast:' whereas, if he had even perused the single verse through, instead of confining his attention to a combination of only four of its letters, he must have at once perceived that the character he operated on, did not at all represent a pronoun subjoined to חית, but, on the contrary, denoted the definite article prefixed to ארץ. His mistake plainly shows,—what indeed is at any rate known from other sources,—that in remote times the sacred text was written continuously without any blank spaces between the words : for, had they been then separated into distinct groups in the manner in which they now are, the bare position of the *He* would have been quite sufficient, without any consideration of the sense in which it was employed, to guard him from the error into which he here fell. But this example is further worth noticing for the striking specimen it affords of the blunders which were committed in the process of vocalizing the sacred text, and which had an obvious tendency to lead eventually to the detection of the interpolation therein of the *matres lectionis*. If the Jewish priesthood, who superintended the execution of this work, had carefully revised it before they suffered a vocalized copy to get out of their hands, they must have perceived, and would evidently have in consequence removed, the more glaring of the inconsistencies and self-contradictions which it at present betrays ; and then they would in the natural course of events have been nearly secure from the risk of any subsequent exposure of their fraudulent contrivance. From this state of security, however, they were precluded by their own act. The bearing of the extant fragments of Aquila's Greek Version of the Old Testament renders it clear that he must,

while writing his translation, have had the aid of a vocalized copy of the Hebrew Bible ; and, as he lived at a time when all transcripts of this record, as well as all knowledge of the ancient Hebrew, were confined to the sacerdotal class and the scribes under their direction, it is evident that he could not have acquired his copy, or the degree of proficiency in its language which was requisite to qualify him for making use of it, without their clandestine assistance. But after they had thus enabled him to write a translation fitted for the support of their views and the disparagement of the Septuagint, they could no longer correct any mistake detected by them in the vocalization of the original text, without letting him perceive the adventitious nature of that vocalization, and, consequently, subjecting themselves to the peril of instant exposure ; for Aquila was a man on whose fidelity they could not depend. Thus, in their eagerness to avail themselves of the services of this apostate, they allowed a copy of their Bible to get into his possession before their vocalization of the text was sufficiently corrected ; and this step proved fatal to the eventual preservation of their secret. This much I feel it necessary to offer at present in explanation of the subject : I may soon, perhaps, have an opportunity of entering more fully into the particulars of the entire transaction, as far as its history can be deduced from internal evidence and external sources of information.

To return to the combination of Hebrew groups analyzed in the earlier part of the preceding paragraph,—it should, according to the notation recommended in this essay, be printed in an amended edition of the sacred text חִיתָּוּ אֶרֶץ, in which way the true reading is restored, and, at the same time, the double mistake committed in the mode that has hitherto prevailed of transmitting it, is exposed to the eye of the reader. The Authorised English translation of this Hebrew expression requires no correction, being exactly the same for it in the 24th as in the 25th verse ;—a sameness with regard to the renderings of it in the two places, which holds in, I



believe, all the known ancient, and nearly all the modern versions of the Hebrew Bible, and which virtually yields an attestation, on the one hand, from both of the versions that are older than the second century, how the above expression was originally written in the first place of its occurrence, and, on the other, from all the subsequent ancient ones, how it ought to be written in that place. The two earlier renderings alluded to are, besides, worth noticing, the Greek one,—*θηρία τῆς γῆς*, ‘beasts of the earth,’—for its expressly proving that the article ה preceded the second Hebrew group in the specified place, at the time when the Septuagint was composed; and the Syriac one,—ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܗܝܝܬܐ ܕܬܝܪܐ, *KhaYOThaH D’HaRBHaH*, ‘the beasts of the earth,’—because, by the non-substitution of the affix ס for the final letter of its first word, although this affix is frequently employed without any use in the Syriac dialect, it just as pointedly vouches that no such redundant affix followed the first Hebrew group in the same place, at the period when the Peshitah was written.<sup>a</sup> The next words of the Greek version, *κατὰ γένος*, show that the corresponding group of the

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<sup>a</sup> The vocalizers giddily fell into the very same combination of mistakes in their treatment of the three following expressions in the Psalms, which are here exhibited in such a way as to point out, along with the blunders committed, the mode of correcting them; and the Authorized English renderings of these expressions are subjoined to them respectively, to show that the learned framers of our version would have agreed with me, as to the corrections requisite, if they had known that the irregularities hence removed in their translation, were due, not to the inspired penmen, but to scribes who operated on the sacred text by stealth, and were in consequence induced to do so with great precipitation.

כל חיתָּ [ח]יער, “every beast of the forest.”—Ps. l. 10.

לחיתָּ [ח]ארץ, “unto the beasts of the earth.”—Ps. lxxix. 2.

כל חיתָּ [ח]שדָּר [ה], “every beast of the field.”—Ps. 104, 11.

For all these instances, the Septuagint and Peshitah concur in establishing the faults of the writing, in the present state of the text, exactly with the same force as they do in the case above selected from the first chapter of Genesis. In the third example the additional blunder was committed of

Hebrew text, לַמִּינֶה, was written without the affix ה in the copies consulted by the Seventy, in consequence of which they were at liberty to read the group, חַיִּית, in the plural number *KhaYoTh*, 'beasts of,' instead of *KhaYaTh*, 'beast of;' but it is limited to the singular number by that affix in the Samaritan, as well as in the Jewish edition of the text, and by the equivalent affix ס in the corresponding place of the Syriac version; so that the balance of ancient authority is greatly in favour of the received reading of חַיִּית in the singular number, and the received writing of לַמִּינֶה with the affix ה at its termination. But although there be no absolute necessity for any change of the last mentioned group, its signification would be rendered more distinct by a *Yod* before the *He*; and, at any rate, it should be read as if it was thus more fully written. Before the introduction of vowel-letters into the sacred text, when this group was exhibited in the form לַמִּנֶּה, it admitted of being read with a feminine reference, either *LeMiNaH*, 'after its kind,' or *LeMiNeHa*, 'after its kinds,' according to the demands of the context; but ever since, it would, in order to the full and distinct representation of the latter sound and sense, require a *Yod* between its last two letters, exclusively of that wanted within the body of the word. On the other hand, the old vocalizers, having, from the haste with which they executed their task, or from want of room,<sup>a</sup> frequently omitted to insert this *mater lectionis* between nouns

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vocalizing שְׂדֵה, or rather סְדֵה, with the pronoun possessive of the first person, or for the plural construct state, neither of which operations was allowable upon a noun with a *He* emphatic prefixed; and there is the still further grammatical objection to placing this noun in the construct state, that no other follows in immediate connexion with it.

<sup>a</sup> The frequent omission of the *mater lectionis Yod* in the sacred text in places where it is wanted to denote the plural number of nouns, is most probably to be in part accounted for by the want of room for its insertion; as there is reason to think that vowel-letters were first introduced into unvocalized copies of the Bible previously in existence, instead of into copies written out entirely anew.

plural and their affixes, the great number of alterations of the sacred text requisite for supplying those omissions would be very objectionable. Upon the whole, then, I consider it the lesser evil to leave such groups in their defective state, and follow the example of the Masorets, or second set of vocalizers, who have pointed them for the same pronunciation as if the defect in question had not occurred in the first vocalization. In a few instances, indeed, the punctuators neglected this rule; but they appear to have done so, merely from failing to perceive that the nouns in the groups operated upon were in the plural number. Thus, in the case before us, they pointed לַמִּינֶה for the sound LeMiNaH; and the framers of our Authorized Version, in deference to their punctuation, translated this group 'after his kind.' But it is quite obvious from the context that the inspired historian used the words expressing in this place 'beast of the earth,' in the same manner as nouns of multitude are employed, and intended thereby to denote all the various kinds of 'beasts of the earth,' or 'wild beasts,' which were created at the period referred to.\* Notwithstanding, then, the circumstance that I have met with no ancient authority directly supporting the plural number of the noun in the

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\* The best English translation, as I conceive, which has been hitherto published of either of the passages containing the combination of groups above examined, is that given of the second one in Myles Coverdale's Bible, printed in 1535, and which I copy from the edition of it reprinted in 1838. "And God made y<sup>e</sup> beastes of the earth every one after his kynde." Here, by the interpolation of the words 'every one' (which might, according to the excellent plan subsequently introduced, be exhibited in italics, and the force of the objection to their insertion be thereby greatly reduced) Coverdale avoided any inconsistency between the plural number of 'beastes' and the singular number of the possessive 'his,' as well as any opposition to the context arising from the singular number of 'kynde;' so that he actually succeeded in conveying the true sense of the passage. But, by means of my discovery, the very same meaning is expressed, without deviating in the slightest degree from the strict rendering of the Hebrew words, as originally written.

next ensuing group of the original passage,\* except the version of Jerome, in which that group is translated ‘secundum species suas,’ I have no hesitation to maintain that it should be read *LeMINeHa*, and translated, in a revised edition of our English Bible, ‘after its kinds.’

My principal reason, however, for here bringing under consideration the group last analyzed, is to avail myself of the opportunity which its Authorized English Translation, ‘after *HIS* kind,’ affords, of illustrating the change of grammatic structure, with respect to the use of the pronoun of the third person singular, which was introduced into the original language of the Bible in the course of the second century. Through a practice which formerly prevailed in English composition, the personal and possessive forms *he* and *his*, *she* and *her*, of this pronoun, were applied not only to nouns with which they agree respectively in gender, but also to neuter nouns. Of this practice, as far as it relates to one of the specified possessive forms, an example is supplied in the above aduced translation, taken from our last Authorized Version ; and, of the same practice with regard to the corresponding personal form, two instances will be found in the rendering of the 29th and 30th verses of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew, given in the first Authorized English Version, or that edited by Coverdale in 1535, and reprinted in 1838. These verses are exhibited in the reprinted work, with the original spelling, but in modern English character, as follows :—“ Wherfore yf thy right eye offende the, plucke *HYM* out, and cast *HIM* from the. Better it is for the, that one of thy membres periszhe, then that thy whole body shulde be cast in to hell. Also yf thy right honde offende the, cut *HYM* of, and cast *HIM* from the. Better yt is that one of thy mēbres periszh, thē y<sup>t</sup> all thy body shulde be cast in to hell.” The particulars noticed in

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\* It will presently be shown that the reading of the above noun in the plural number is indirectly supported by the Septuagint.

this and the preceding example, which could not have been irregular at the times when the versions in which they occur were written, are obviously incorrect in reference to the present grammatic structure of English. The anomalies of the latter description may possibly have arisen from a change of gender of some nouns formerly deemed masculine or feminine, which are now classed under the neuter gender. For the feature of the English tongue which gives it a superiority over every other language of Europe—that, I mean, of distinguishing the genders of nouns, not by their terminations on any other arbitrary criterion, but by the nature of the subjects they denote,—did not belong to it at first, as may be clearly inferred from its German origin, but was only gradually acquired. But the anomalies of the former description cannot be accounted for in the same manner; as we find, even in the last Authorized Version, the possessive form ‘his,’ of the pronoun in question, and, in some of the earlier English versions, the possessive ‘her,’ referred to nouns singular to which the neuter form ‘it,’ of the same pronoun, is also applied, and which, therefore, must have been deemed neuters at the times when those references were severally made to them. Thus, the ninth verse of the fourth chapter of the book of Numbers is translated in our present Authorized Version as follows:—“And they shall take a cloth of blue, and cover the candlestick of the light, and HIS lamps, and HIS tongs, and HIS snuff-dishes, and all the oil-vessels thereof, wherewith they minister unto it.” The same passage is rendered in Matthew’s Bible (which, as the title-page informs us, was written in 1537, though not printed till 1549, and which having been taken, the earlier books of it, from the portion of the Old Testament translated by Tyndal, must be referred to a date somewhat anterior to that of Coverdale’s version), in these words:—“And they shall take a cloth of iacincte, & couer the candlesticke of light, & HER lampes, and HER snoffers & fyre pannes, and al HER oyle vessels whiche they occupye aboute it.” Hence it would appear

to follow that the possessive form, 'its,' which is now appropriated to neuter nouns singular, did not come into use, or at all events not into general use, till after the period when our present Authorized Version was written. Now the changes of each of the personal forms of the pronoun in question into the impersonal form which, in certain cases, have already been made in the later English versions of the Bible, and the corresponding changes of the possessive forms of this pronoun which have also been already effected in part, and will undoubtedly be completed in like cases, whenever a new version, or a revision of the present one, comes to be sanctioned by the authority of our Church, are closely analogous to those of the same pronoun in Hebrew which have crept into the original record, the integral and fractional forms of this pronoun in the ancient tongue corresponding to a considerable extent with its personal and possessive forms in the modern language. By these alterations not the slightest variation of the meaning has been produced, either in any of the English versions, or (where they have been correctly applied) in the Hebrew text ; but merely greater distinctness and appropriateness have been given to the expression of that meaning in each kind of writing ; and thus, by means so far corresponding, the grammatic structure of both languages has been greatly improved. There is, however, this material difference between the two sets of alterations, that the English set, as far as it has been as yet carried out, was made deliberately in a series of versions written in a living language, according as that language was changed in its structure ; and also made openly, so that the reader can trace in the successive versions the gradual progress of the change : while, on the other hand, the Hebrew set was introduced into a compilation which is the sole ancient remnant of a dead language, with such precipitation that many errors and inconsistencies were suffered to get into this part of the vocalization of the sacred text ; and by stealth, during a period in which the Christians had neither any copy of that text, nor the slightest knowledge of the language in which it is written : so that

when a vocalized copy of it was purposely placed within reach of Origen, the most able of the early fathers of the Church, and he was taught to read it by the very party who were interested in concealing the fact of its having been tampered with, he entertained not the least suspicion of that tampering, and had no opportunity of detecting it by a comparison of this exemplar with older copies. But some of the last points here incidentally touched upon, as well as others essentially connected with them, are of too much importance to be dealt with in only a cursory manner. I shall, therefore, reserve them for fuller discussion,—as far as they can by internal evidence and the very scanty external means within my reach be established,—in a supplementary volume, wherein they may be made the chief subject of examination, if I be spared life and health sufficient to complete this treatise ; and will now proceed to follow up the argument supplied through the discovery of the introduction into the sacred text of a second integral form of the pronoun here referred to, by adducing some instances of the mistakes committed with regard to each of the several forms of the fragment of it used as an affix.

The cases which here naturally come first under consideration are those to be found of the affix ׀ employed in reference to masculine nouns singular, which are by no means as few as they are generally supposed to be : nor are they to be looked upon in the light in which they are represented by Hebrew grammarians, as irregularities ; but should be viewed as remains of the original use of a common fragment of ׀ for both genders, which were, through precipitancy, overlooked by the old vocalizers, in the process of substituting for, or adding to this fragment, when used with a masculine reference, the mater lectionis ׀, for the purpose of marking a distinction of gender. It would, indeed, be strange, if ׀ was an irregular affix for the masculine gender in Hebrew, when it is on all sides admitted to be a regular one for that gender in Chaldee and Syriac. In each of these three cognate dialects the affix under consideration is, I grant, now read with different vowel

sounds for different genders ; but such a distinction could not have been made in the fragment, till a corresponding one was introduced into the integral pronoun ; and it is certain that in Hebrew, at all events, this pronoun in its unbroken state had at first but one pronunciation. In this dialect ׀, when used as an affix to a noun singular, is at present read *oH* for the masculine, and *aH* for the feminine gender ; but which of these, or whether either of them was originally its common pronunciation for both genders, can no longer be determined to a certainty. The probability, however, is, that the former was that common one, as connected in vowel sound with *HuH*,<sup>a</sup> the original single reading of the entire pronoun for all its applications. The latter is, and most likely always was, in Hebrew a terminating sound of both nouns and verbs for the feminine gender ; and, therefore, was naturally selected as the utterance of the above affix for its feminine references, as soon as a distinction of gender was extended to the pronoun from which it is derived. The Samaritan edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch will be of considerable use to me in the present, and some of the subsequent investigations to be made in the course of this Chapter ; because the Samaritan scribes did not in every instance adhere strictly to the Jewish vocalization of the Mosaic record ; in consequence of which I am enabled (by selecting words differently treated by the two sets of scribes) to bring together for immediate comparison those groups of letters, as written before and after vocalization, and so to trace them back from their vocalized to their original states.

Here I have to point out what appear to me two very striking marks of a providential interference for securing the eventual exposure of the insidious conduct of the Jewish priests of the second century. The first is supplied by their having failed

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\* That the first vocalizers of the Hebrew text made little or no distinction between the vowels *O* and *U* is evident, from their having employed but one and the same mater lectionis to denote each of them.



to correct the grosser mistakes committed in vocalizing the sacred text, before they suffered any copies to get anew into the hands of the orthodox Christians, who had lost all knowledge of the original language of the Bible, together with their copies of it as originally written, not long after the beginning of the second century. Those mistakes the rulers of the Jews must have detected soon after having been committed, and consequently had near a hundred years to correct before the date of the event just referred to. How then came they to neglect a precaution for the observance of which they had such abundance of time, and whose necessity, one would think, the lowest degree of prudence must have indicated? This precaution they were precluded from resorting to, by another step incompatible with it, which notwithstanding their extreme cunning they were led to adopt. From the very commencement of the specified interval, they employed heretics or apostates to write new Greek versions in disparagement of the Septuagint, whom for this purpose they entrusted with vocalized copies, and got taught a moderate share of the ancient Hebrew tongue. But if they had attempted to introduce any changes into the vocalization, after once they had put copies into the hands of those men, they would have thereby revealed the secret of their treatment of the original text to persons in whose fidelity they could not place the slightest reliance; and they preferred leaving their fraud subject to a remote danger of detection, to running the risk of its instant exposure. The second of the marks in question is furnished by the conduct of the Samaritan scribes in reference to the same subject. The Jewish priests hated those scribes and the entire nation to which they belonged; yet it was necessary that they should let the Samaritan guardians of the Pentateuch be furnished with a vocalized copy of that record, before any such copy was allowed to get into Christian hands; as, otherwise, the alarming risk must have been incurred of vocalized and unvocalized copies being compared, and the fraudulent treat-

ment of the former class thereby at once detected.\* On the other hand the Samaritans hated the Jews, but they hated still more the Christians ; and being less prejudiced than the former party against the admission into the sacred text of a Pagan invention which produced, as far as it was fairly applied, a most valuable and important improvement in the mode of writing that text, they must have eagerly adopted it even on this account alone, though in all probability they did so, like those from whom they borrowed this innovation, chiefly for the sake of the perversions thereby effected of prophecies supporting the truth of Christianity. But, surely, if their judgment had not been blinded in some extraordinary manner, they would have perceived that, to give weight to those perversions, the spurious nature of the interpolated letters should be kept concealed, and that, in order to this concealment, the interpolations should be exactly the same in the two editions of the Hebrew Pentateuch. They could not, indeed, even if they had been ever so much on their guard, have contrived any mode of dealing in perfect safety, with the grosser mistakes of the Jewish vocalizers ; which, whether left in *statu quo*, or corrected, powerfully

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\* The Christians became totally ignorant of the ancient Hebrew after the death of the immediate disciples of the Apostles, that is, very soon after the commencement of the second century ; and continued so till about a third part of the third century was over, when Origen learned this language and obtained possession of a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures. Both acquisitions are attributed solely to Origen's energy and talent by Eusebius, who speaks of them in his Ecclesiastical History in terms of the greatest admiration, and as two of the most extraordinary achievements of this extraordinary man. But, on a full examination of the case, there will, I think, be found very strong reason for concluding that he made neither acquisition without the connivance and concealed permission of the Jewish priesthood, to whom (setting aside the consideration of the Samaritan priests and the immediate dependents of both parties) all extant copies of the whole or any part of the sacred text, as well as all knowledge of the language in which it is written, were at the time exclusively confined. Their motives for selecting this able and zealous father of the Christian Church, as their unconscious agent for the publication of the vocalized text, will be fully considered in my next volume, if I be spared life and health to prepare for the press the materials I have collected relating to this subject.

tended to the exposure of their secret, in the former case through a due consideration of the nature of the retained blunders, and in the latter through the discrepancies produced by the removal of those blunders from only one of the two editions compared together. But with regard to the general vocalization of the text, their different treatment of its consonants and vowel-letters, which they might have avoided, was obviously fitted to arrest observation, and thereby lead to the discovery of the interpolation of the latter class of elements; for the circumstance of the two editions disagreeing every here and there in this latter class, while yet they constantly and uniformly, with very few exceptions, agree in the former, cannot be attributed to any accidental faults of transcription, but must have originated in design. In consequence of this oversight on their part, each record at present affords far more copious testimony than it could otherwise have done, against the genuineness of the *matres lectionis* in the other, and, in reference to the examples to be adduced in the course of the present chapter from those records mutually compared, the reader is requested to bear in mind that, besides the particular use to which each is applied, they all in common serve the general purpose of contributing to establish the fact, that the vowel-letters employed in the sacred text constitute no part of its original writing.

To proceed now to the above-proposed analysis,—I subjoin a few instances of the affix ך employed in the Jewish edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, with a masculine reference, and in which it is accordingly vocalized for such reference in the Samaritan edition, except in the case of the last example, which was equally overlooked by both sets of vocalizers with letters.

|                 | Jewish Edition.                                          | Samaritan Edition.                         | Authorized Eng. Ver. |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Gen. xxxv. 21,  | אָהֶלָה, H <sub>o</sub> H <sub>o</sub> L <sub>o</sub> H. | אָהֶלָי, H <sub>o</sub> H <sub>o</sub> LO, | his tent.            |
| xlix. 11,       | עִירָה, HIR <sub>o</sub> H.                              | עִירָי, HIRO,                              | his foal.            |
|                 | בְּסָתָה*, *SUT <sub>h</sub> oH.                         | בְּסָתָי, KeSUT <sub>h</sub> O,            | his clothes.         |
| Ex. xxii. 5,    | בְּעִירָה, BeHIR <sub>o</sub> H.                         | בְּעִירָי, BeHIRO,                         | his beast.           |
| 27,             | בְּסָתָה, KeSUT <sub>h</sub> oH.                         | בְּסָתָי, KeSUT <sub>h</sub> O,            | his covering.        |
| Deut. xxxiv. 7, | לֶחָה, LeH <sub>o</sub> H.                               | לֶחָי, LeH <sub>o</sub> H,                 | his natural force.   |

In all these instances the affix ה is admitted by the Masorets to have a masculine reference, being pointed by them for the sound *oH*, in agreement with the representation I have given of the pronunciation of the several groups in the column extracted from the Jewish edition of the Pentateuch. Notwithstanding the number of differences here exhibited between the two editions, only one of them is in reality a discrepancy, namely, that produced by the loss of the initial letter of the third group in the Jewish column, which is proved to have been dropped thence, not only by the testimony of the Samaritan edition in the corresponding place, but also by that of the Jewish edition itself in every other place of the occurrence of the word with which this group commences ; as, for instance, in the fifth of the examples just adduced. The group in question, therefore, is evidently mutilated, and ought to be written [כ]סרתה in an amended edition of the sacred text. All the other differences are occasioned merely by an altered mode of spelling the words, which makes no change whatever in their several meanings and no perceptible one in their sounds. From the practice here exemplified of the Samaritan set of vocalizers (in which they imitated that of the Jewish set) whereby they substituted the *Waw* for the original affix, instead of coupling it therewith, we may perceive that this alteration of the spelling was first introduced, not into copies written out entirely anew, but into unvocalized ones then already in existence ; and that, as *He* at the end of a syllable causes no perceptible change of its sound, they erased the old affix before inserting the *Waw*, in order to avoid crowding two letters into the space intended only for one. We shall, however, presently see that, pressed by want of room, the old vocalizers took the same liberty with this original element of the sacred text in places where it was at the commencement of a syllable, and where, consequently, they had not the same excuse for its removal.

The old affix for the masculine gender, ה, having been rightly pointed by the later set of vocalizers in the foregoing

examples, requires therein no correction as to the mode of either reading or translating it. But there are many cases in which the Masorets have, from a prejudice in favour of the more usual employment of this affix with a feminine reference, mistaken its true application; and in which, consequently, the demands of the context indispensably require that the translation, given of it in deference to their mispointing, should be changed. Of this necessity no less than three instances are afforded within the short compass of the original of the following very obscure and confused passage, as at present exhibited in our Authorized Version. “— her rulers *with* shame do love, Give ye. The wind hath bound her up in her wings.”—Hos. iv. 18, 19. It is no excuse for pointing the affix ך, on each occurrence of it in this place, for the feminine gender, and translating it by the pronoun ‘her,’ that ‘a backsliding heifer’ is mentioned two verses before; as the animal there denoted by a feminine noun is not at all the subject of the prophet’s censure, but is merely alluded to incidentally in a simile. The party here upbraided is the people of Israel, figuratively represented as an individual under the designation of Ephraim the progenitor of their principal tribe, and expressly referred to by that name in the verse immediately preceding this quotation. The sense, therefore, absolutely requires the change of the first ‘her’ into ‘his,’ and of the second into ‘him;’ while the grammar of the English language, as at present constituted, equally demands the alteration of the third, which refers to the wind, into ‘its.’ By these corrections great confusion is at once got rid of; yet the chief source of obscurity has not been hereby removed; as, without further alteration, the first clause of the above quotation still remains utterly unintelligible. But the present discovery, I am in hopes, will enable me to arrive at the true meaning of the sentence, so grossly mistranslated. The whole Hebrew passage, with as much of its oldest Greek and Syriac renderings as contribute to the recovery of the sense of the portion of it corresponding to the clause in question, stands thus :—

*Hebrew*, . . . הוֹנָה; סֵר סְבָאִם. הוֹנָה; הִנָּח לָ; חֲבוֹר עֲצָבִים אֲפָרִים; הִנָּח לָ; סֵר סְבָאִם. הוֹנָה;  
 הוֹנָה, אֲהָבוּ הָבוּ קֶלֶן מִנִּיָּה. צָרָר רוּחַ אוֹתָהּ  
 בִּכְנָפֶיהָ. וַיִּבְשׂוּ מִזִּבְחָתָם.

*Sept.*, . . . ἡγάπησαν ἀτιμίαν, 'have loved infamy.'

*Peshitah*, . . . נִסְמַח צָחַל, 'have from the inmost bowels  
 loved infamy.'

Before grappling with the principal difficulty of this passage, I have to conclude my remarks upon the affix ה three times therein repeated. On the first and second occurrence of this affix it should evidently be read in the masculine gender, for the same reason as in the English translation, on account of its being referred to Ephraim; and, on its third occurrence, it should also be pointed and pronounced for that gender, in consequence of its reference to רוּחַ, 'the wind.' For, although this Hebrew word is more usually treated as a noun feminine, it must be here looked upon as masculine, since the verb connected with it, צָרָר, is exhibited in the form of a masculine inflexion. Grammatical concords, I admit, are sometimes found violated in the Hebrew Scriptures, which were composed long before the art of grammar was understood or even thought of; but, as they are therein, for the most part, adhered to, we are in fairness bound to suppose that they are so, in every case in which the original elements of the sacred text do not force upon us the opposite conclusion; and no vocalization, whether with letters or with points, is to be admitted as sufficient evidence of the employment of any false concord in it as originally written. The fact is, the old vocalizers, in their procedure of changing the affix ה into ו for masculine references, overlooked in the above passage the three groups מִנִּיָּה, MaGiNnEHu, 'his rulers,' or, more literally, 'his shields;' אוֹתָהּ, HOTHoH, 'him;' and בִּכְנָפֶיהָ, BiKNaPhEHu, 'in its wings;' and the Masorets, or later set of vocalizers, sooner than acknowledge the occurrence so close to each other of what, according to their view of the matter, would have been three irregularities, pointed the final letter of those seve-

ral groups for the feminine gender, in direct opposition to both sense and grammar. These glaring blunders are corrected, without the slightest alteration of the Hebrew text, simply by reading the letter in question, in the first and third instances, *Hu* instead of *Ha*, and, in the second instance, *oH* instead of *aH*. In each of the two former examples, it is to be observed, the affix follows a plural noun, and belongs to a set of cases which shall, a little farther on, be more particularly considered. In concluding, however, this branch of the investigation, I should add that, according to a new exposition of the nature of the paragogic *He* submitted to the judgment of the learned in the next chapter of this treatise, more especially the part of it arranged under the heading, 'The paragogic *He* after *A* now used more than is commonly supposed,' the feminine gender of *וַיִּרְא* can be reconciled with the form of *וַיִּרְאָה*; and still farther that, according to the construction given by the Seventy of the clause containing those groups—a construction which will presently be examined—the gender of one of the three specified affixes depends on that, not of either word separately considered, but of the term compounded of both, which there is nothing to hinder from being feminine. But, if the view of the matter supplied in either way be adopted, the Masoretic pointing of the last of those affixes would require no alteration, and only the modes of reading two of them would then want correction.

The first clause of the adduced Hebrew passage has been already examined in the first chapter of this volume; and, according to the analysis there gone through, it may be rendered, as follows:—"Associated with idols is Hephrayim; quit him; *he is* prince of drunkards." Next comes the clause in whose discussion I here propose to engage. The learned framers of our Authorized Version have in vain attempted to make sense of this clause by separating the term *קִלְיֹן*, 'shame,' from the verb which it immediately follows; for, surely, the series of words, 'do love, Give ye,' is just as destitute of meaning as, 'do love, Give ye shame.' In fact, it is quite plain that

there must be something wrong in the writing of the Hebrew sentence as it stands at present ; and attentive consideration of its several ingredients is necessary, in order to preparing the way for the detection of that fault. Now the first two words of this sentence—**הוֹנֶה הוֹנֶה**, ‘in fornicating have fornicated,’<sup>a</sup>—present to us a Hebrew idiom which, by means of the infinitive mood of a verb used with the force of a Latin gerund, and combined with a definite inflexion of the same verb, serves to attach the notion of vehemence or excess to the manner in which the act represented by that inflexion is performed. But the next two words, **אֲהַבְּוּ הַבֹּי**, would, by inserting an **א** at the commencement of the second of them,<sup>b</sup> exhibit another instance of precisely the same idiom, were it not for the **י** at the end of the first, which interferes with its being read in the infinitive mood ; and, of course, as long as that letter was held to be an original element of the inspired text, inquiry could be pushed no further in this direction. But now that this barrier is removed, and that we are at liberty to question the propriety of the insertion of the mater lectionis at the close of the first word as an addition made to it by fallible scribes, we are placed in a situation, with respect to the analysis before us, that may be illustrated to an English reader by a sentence which indeed, after a certain correction, will eventually turn out to be the exact literal translation of the Hebrew clause under consideration, but to which attention is here directed, merely on account of the manner in

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<sup>a</sup> Literally, ‘in causing to fornicate have caused to fornicate.’ But, as the Seventy have translated the words in question *πορνεύαντες ἐξεπόρνευσαν*, I follow their authority in understanding the *Hiphil* modification of the verb as used in this instance simply with the force of its *Kal* modification. In fact, the Greek interpretation includes the more literal one: for, if the rulers were themselves guilty of idolatry,—the crime here metaphorically called fornication,—their example had an obvious tendency to lead the people to the perpetration of the same crime.

<sup>b</sup> The English reader is requested to bear in mind that the Hebrew writing and his own proceed in different directions; and, consequently, that the second of the above specified groups is the one to the left.



which one of its ingredients is written. 'His rulers [literally, his shields] in fornicating have fornicated, in loving have oved infamy.' No one, surely, on the perusal of this sentence, could have the slightest doubt but that, through the fault of some copyist or printer, the letter *l* had been here omitted at the beginning of the penultimate word. But the case of רבִּי in the original clause is precisely analogous: for, although it be, when considered by itself, a significant word, it makes no sense in connexion with those among which it is placed; and, consequently, it requires correction just as much as 'oved' does in the English example; while its comparison with the Hebrew verb immediately preceding points out just the same way of correcting it. An *Haleph*, therefore, should obviously be prefixed to the above group, this addition to it being imperatively demanded by the circumstances of the case; and the validity of the correction which is thus supported by the context, is still further corroborated and, I may say, confirmed by the joint testimony of the oldest and best versions of the sacred text. For the two groups here more immediately under examination, together with the noun placed just after them, are translated in the Septuagint ἡγάπησαν ἀτιμίαν, 'have loved infamy;'<sup>a</sup> while they are, along with the same addition,

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<sup>a</sup> The Greek rendering of the whole clause above referred to is as follows: πορνεύοντες ἐξεπόρνευσαν, ἡγάπησαν ἀτιμίαν ἐκ φρονήματος αὐτῆς. 'fornicating they have fornicated; they have loved infamy for its very insolence.' The learned reader may perhaps be disposed to ask, why, following the Seventy in the main body of this rendering, I yet reject the final part of it, and give a preference to the construction of the last group רבִּי, 'his shields,' which results from its Masoretic pointing for the pronunciation MaGiNoEH<sub>u</sub> after the vocalization of the affix with which it is closed has been corrected. To this I reply, that their translation of the group in question, attaching to it the sense, 'on account of its pride or insolence,' would require its being written רבִּי, MiGgeHoNoH; that is, would require the insertion therein of an *Haleph* not used as a vowel-letter. But I make it a rule never to deviate from the consonants of the sacred text, as transmitted to us by the Jews, except where there is an absolute necessity for such deviation. It is for the same reason that I avail myself but once of the aid of the Peshitah throughout the discussion of the entire passage to which this clause belongs.

rendered still more closely in the Peshitah, ܠܢܨܠܚ, 'have from the inmost bowels loved infamy,' through the use of a verb common to the Hebrew and Syriac tongues, and of which the inflexion here specified, ܠܢܨܠܚ, *ReKhaMU*,<sup>a</sup> is exactly equivalent to the Hebraism 'in loving have loved,' both expressions equally serving to convey the meaning, 'have exceedingly loved.' I have no hesitation, then, in maintaining that the above groups should be written אֶרְבִּי [אֶרְבִּי] in an amended edition of the sacred text : nor is it an objection of any importance against these corrections, that they derive no support from manuscript copies of the Hebrew Bible ; since the restored *Haleph* must have been omitted by copyists before the text was vocalized, that is, a great many centuries before the oldest copies now extant were written. Thus the present discovery leads to the corrections just effected, which again, in their turn (verified and confirmed as they have been by the most powerful combination of internal and external evidence), react upon that discovery, and contribute to the proof of its reality, by establishing the spuriousness of the *Waw* at the end of the foremost of the corrected groups. Upon this point the testimony of the Syriac translators bears with peculiar force, by showing beyond a doubt that they attributed to the specified group the meaning, 'in loving,' and consequently the sound, *HəHəB* ; but how could they possibly have read it with this sound, if the mater lectionis, now found at its end, had been there at the period when they wrote?

Here I might close my analysis of the Hebrew passage,

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<sup>a</sup> The above representation of the sound of the Syriac group accords not, I admit, with its modern pronunciation, the *Waw* at its termination being at present passed over without utterance ; but this evidently could not have been the case when vowel-letters were first introduced into Syriac orthography. The *Waw* must have then been employed to distinguish the plural, from the corresponding singular inflexion, in sound as well as in writing ; and I give a preference to the more ancient mode of reading the word, not only for its greater distinctness, but also for its nearer approach to *ReKheMU*, the Hebrew pronunciation of the same inflexion of the very same verb.

but that in the next clause a further correction is suggested by the Septuagint, which, though not required with the same urgency as the two just arrived at, and though it quite changes the uses of the letter ה in one of the three places wherein it has been treated as an affix, yet appears entitled to attention, not merely on account of the support it derives from the oldest version of the Hebrew Bible, but also because it makes way for what, I submit, is an improved rendering of part of this passage, without altering any of the original elements of the text. The clause in question, together with the literal meaning of it in its present state, and its Greek interpretation, with the literal sense thereof likewise subjoined, stands thus—

*Hebrew*, . . צר רוח אותה בכנפיה

The wind hath bound him up in its wings.

*Sept.*, . . . Συστροφή πνεύματος. σὺ ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτῆς.

The whirlwind! thou — on its wings!

Upon a comparison of this Greek line with its original, we may clearly perceive that the Seventy read צר, not as the verb ṣaRaR, 'hath bound up,' but as a noun in regimen, ṣeRoR, 'a bundle of;' and their attestation is here given that the word with this signification, combined with the Hebrew for 'wind,' was employed in the ancient language of their countrymen to denote a whirlwind or hurricane;—a matter of fact for the truth of which there could not be produced any higher uninspired authority than theirs. This sense of the compound, therefore, may be safely assented to, though no opportunity is afforded of testing its correctness through the occurrence together of the two component words in any other passage of the sacred text. By means of the same comparison it will further be seen that these interpreters read the third group of the Hebrew line, not as the pronoun הOTHoH, 'him,' but HaTtaH, 'thou;' and here, by the way, I may again appeal with confidence to ancient testimony in support of my discovery, and ask, how could they by any possibility have attached the sound HaTtaH to אותה, if the Waw which now appears in

this group, had been there at the date of the framing of their version? But—to return to my subject—the construction which results from their mode of reading the clause imparts to it, as I conceive, much greater force of expression than that to which it was afterwards confined by the vocalizers of the second century; and, in favour of this construction, we are also to take into account that it clears the prophet's language of the awkward metaphor of a person bound up in, or confined by the wings of the wind, instead of being uplifted and carried away thereon. If, indeed, this metaphor had been conveyed solely by means of genuine elements of the sacred text, I should not have presumed to question its propriety; but when I find it due to the colouring given to the sentence by a set of fallible scribes, I must demur to its reception. For both reasons, then, I would venture to place a little circle over the *Waw* of *וּפְתִיחָהּ*, and recommend a return to the more ancient reading of the adduced Hebrew line, which requires not the alteration of a single one of its original letters as given in the Masoretic text. According to that reading, Hosea, after censuring the vices of the Israelites and their rulers, and speaking of the people as an individual, the forefather of one of their tribes, suddenly turns round, as it were, to this individual, and thus addresses him:—“*Behold the whirlwind! thou art already on its wings!*” As much as to say,—Thou art on the point of being attacked by hostile armies, which shall bear thee off to a distant land with the violence and the rapidity of a storm;—a threat not the less impressive for the abruptness of the enallage of person, or the darkness of the allusion. In contrasting this construction of the Hebrew clause with that which is at present received, the reader is to bear in mind that the question at issue is not at all between the first translators and the sacred text (which is, in its original elements, exactly the same for both constructions), but between those translators and vocalizers posterior to them by more than three hundred years; and, although the later set of scribes might, from the obscurity of this sentence, be conceived to have honestly differed from their predecessors, as to its meaning, or rather

as to the form of expressing that meaning, yet when we find them constantly disagreeing with the Seventy, wherever the unvocalized original admits of the slightest variation in the mode of reading it, this general conduct of theirs greatly reduces the authority of their decision in the case before us, independently of the more intrinsic reasons for preferring the Greek rendering in this particular instance. After the apostrophe which this clause, according to its oldest interpretation, conveys, the prophet returns to the form of speaking of the Israelites in the third person, but mentions them no longer under the figurative character of a single individual, but in their collective capacity as a nation:—"Moreover they shall be put to confusion for their *idolatrous* sacrifices."

The value of the several corrections made here and in the first chapter of this treatise, in three analyzed verses of a prophecy of Hosea, will perhaps be better seen by an immediate comparison of the unbroken series of these verses, as exhibited in the Authorized English Version, and as now proposed to be changed:—

*Received Translation of Hos. iv. 17, 18, 19.*

"17. Ephraim *is* joined to idols; let him alone.

18. Their drink<sup>a</sup> is sour; they have committed whoredom continually: her<sup>b</sup> rulers *with* shame do love, Give ye.

19. The wind hath bound her up in her wings, and they shall be ashamed because of their sacrifices."

*Altered Translation of the same verses.*

"17. Hephrayim *is* associated with idols; quit his company; (18) *he is* prince of drunkards. His<sup>c</sup> rulers have committed excessive fornication; they have exceedingly loved infamy. (19) *Behold* the whirlwind! thou *art already* on its wings! Moreover they shall be put to shame on account of their *idolatrous* sacrifices."

<sup>a</sup> Heb. *is gone*.

<sup>b</sup> Heb. *shields*.

<sup>c</sup> Heb. *shield*.

But a far more striking and copious illustration of the egregious blunders of the old vocalizers, with regard to the affix in question, as well as in reference to other points, is furnished by a subsequent passage of the same prophet, rendered in our Authorized Version as follows :—"The inhabitants of Samaria shall fear because of the calves of Beth-aven: for the people thereof shall mourn over it, and the priests thereof *that* rejoiced on it, for the glory thereof, because it is departed from it."—Hos. x. 5. Even in this translation an inconsistency, in respect to grammatic number, may be perceived to occur thrice between a pronoun and the noun to which it refers ; but in the original, as it stands at present, this inconsistency is found to hold, not only as to number, but also as to gender, and is repeated in both respects no less than six times. The errors, however, of gender here to be noticed differ from those illustrated in the previous example, in the circumstance of their having arisen from the vocalizers of the second century having meddled with the affix referred to in places where they ought to have left it in its original state ; while, on the other hand, occasion was given for those just before exposed, through the neglect of those scribes to vocalize the same affix, where, according to the then introduced system, its form should have been changed. But besides the six double violations of concord, with respect to the above affix, in the second clause of the present example, there is one more error of vocalization therein, together with three more in its first clause ; and, in fact, the mistakes here committed by the old vocalizers are so numerous that I am obliged, for the purpose of avoiding confusion, to deviate from my usual plan, and, in the first instance, lay before the reader both the Hebrew passage, with the corrections it would require in an amended edition, and the Authorized English Translation of it altered accordingly ; deferring till afterwards to state the grounds of those corrections and alterations. After the corrected Hebrew verse, with its meaning expressed in English, are placed the

renderings given of the same verse in the Septuagint and Peshitah, with a literal interpretation subjoined to each. For, although both renderings yield internal evidence of being erroneous, and so afford no aid towards ascertaining the true construction of this obscure passage, they are of considerable use in supporting my description of the original state of the Hebrew text and of the original mode of reading it. Besides, I am in hopes I shall be able satisfactorily to account for the strange deviation of the Seventy from the meaning of one part of the passage, and to trace their translation, and the vocalizers' reading of that part, though so much at variance with each other, to one and the same state of the corresponding portion of the original text;—an attempt which, as far as I can find, has never yet been made, and which, in reality, it would have been impossible before now to bring to a successful issue. In the last place is inserted the Latin rendering of this verse in the Vulgate (with its interpretation according to Jerome's view of the subject), on account of the connexion with it of the earlier English translations of the passage. It may, perhaps, be of use here to add that, according to the method of notation I have adopted, the corrected Hebrew lines exhibit the present state of the verse in the sacred text, as well as the corrections of its vocalization which I venture to recommend;—corrections which affect only the mode of reading the original elements of the passage, and remove none of those elements, but, on the contrary, restore one of them six times removed by the old vocalizers.

*Hebrew*, לעגלוֹת בֵּית-אוֹן יגורוּ שְׁכֵנֵי שְׁמֶרֶץ; כִּי אֲבִלְנָה  
עֲלֵיהֶם עֲמֻנָהּ וְכִמְרֵי־דָם עֲלֵיהֶם יִגִּל עַל כְּבוֹד־דָּהֶם.  
כִּי גֵלָה מִמֶּנָּהּ;

The inhabitants of Samaria are alarmed for *the safety* of the she-calf of Beth-hawen; because the people thereof and the priests thereof, *that have hitherto* rejoiced on it for the glory thereof, shall certainly mourn over it, as *that glory* shall certainly depart from it.





this passage,—it is to be observed that כמרי, included in one of the groups of the Hebrew verse, or כמרים, the same noun in the absolute state, is a Chaldee and Syriac word for ‘priests,’ with the Hebrew termination for the plural number annexed to it, which is to be met with only in two other passages of the sacred text besides that before us, and is in all three places used contemptuously to denote ‘priests of idols,’ to whom the inspired writers disdained to apply, in those instances, the proper Hebrew term for ‘priests.’ With this foreign word the composers of the first Greek version appear not to have been familiar: for, on its first occurrence (2 Kings, xxiii. 5), they passed over its meaning, and merely recorded its sound, τοὺς χωμαριμ;<sup>a</sup> and, on its last appearance (Zeph. i. 4), where it is united with the proper Hebrew noun for ‘priests,’ in the expression עם הכהנים, ‘the Komarim along with the priests’—they avoided to give any separate interpretation of it, and lumped together their translation of the two words under the common designation τῶν ἱερέων. It is, then, no wonder that, when the original group, וכמרי, was presented to their observation in the place before us, they overlooked the circumstance of the entrance of the foreign term כמר into its composition. Hence has resulted the very striking difference that exists between the reading of this group prescribed by its present vocalization, and that indicated by its Greek rendering; while, notwithstanding, both readings can be deduced from one and the same original series of letters. On the one hand, the old vocalizers read the group just specified (as shall be presently shown when I come to examine the affix

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<sup>a</sup> The above term, as written in Hebrew, כמרים, has been pointed by the Masorets for the pronunciation K'MaRIM, with the vocal sound of the first syllable that of an *E* scarcely perceptible; while, on the contrary, this sound is recorded both by the Seventy Jews and the Syriac translators to have been the open, full one of either *O* or *U*. This shows, as far as one example goes, that the Jews preserved the vocal sounds of foreign appellative words, just as imperfectly as they did those of uncommon proper names, whether national or foreign.

of the third person singular after nouns plural) *WeKoMeRēHu*, ‘and its priests;’ they then substituted a *Waw* for the *He*, in accordance with their erroneous notion of the affix being masculine, and through this alteration, combined with the insertion of a *Yod* before the substituted letter for the purpose of denoting the plural number of the foreign noun, they reduced the compound to its present state, *וּבְמֵרָהֶם*. On the other hand, the Seventy decomposed the very same original group, *וּבְמֵרָה*, into the component parts *וּ*, *Wē*, *kai*; *כִּ*, *Kē*, *καθὼς*; *מֵרָה*, *MēRēHu*, *παρεπικράναν*; and construed the following group (in its original state *עֲלֵה*) *αὐτὸν* instead of *ἐπ’ αὐτὸν*, thus leaving the preposition *עַל* redundant. It will, no doubt, here strike the Hebrew scholar that the verb *מֵרָה*, which borrows the significations of *מֵרָר*, ‘to be bitter,’ should be read, in the third person plural of the preterite of its *Pihel* modification, *MēRu* instead of *MēRēHu*, and consequently that there is in the above group, *וּבְמֵרָה*, a letter too much (*ה*) to admit of its being decomposed in this way. But it will be made out, I trust, satisfactorily in the chapter after the next, that the ellipsis of the third radical of verbs ending in *He* is entirely the work of the old vocalizers of the text; that, for instance, *הָיָה* could originally have been read either *HaYaH*, ‘he was,’ or *HaYeHu*, ‘they were;’ and that, whether the sound of this word with the latter signification was, or was not, contracted before their time from *HaYeHu* into *HaYu*, they, at all events, in their mode of vocalization, contracted the writing of it from *הָיָה* into *הָיָה*. But although the original compound, just analyzed, admitted, in the abstract, of the decomposition of its ingredients which serves to convey the meaning, ‘and according as they exasperated,’ yet it could not be here so dealt with consistently with the context; as this meaning does not, in combination with any fairly assignable interpretation of the remainder of the verse, yield an intelligible sentence. Besides, from their treatment of the compound, the further evil would appear to have resulted, that they having looked upon its final part, *מֵרָה*, as a preterite with the ordinary reference of that tense to the

past, were obliged to employ the two real preterites of the passage, אָבַל and נָלַח, with a like reference; and so were precluded from perceiving the true bearing of those Hebrew preterites as prophetic futures. Some uncertainty, I admit, is thrown upon the latter part of the result here arrived at, by the Greek tense of the verbs with which they translated the three specified preterites, namely, the first aorist, the exact bearing of which is, I fear, no longer completely known for all its applications, so as to enable a modern reader to ascertain, beyond a doubt, when it is employed with a past, when with a present, and when with a future reference. The most usual acceptation, however, of this aorist is that which I have assigned to it of a past tense, while interpreting the Greek translation of the above verse; and it depends upon the correctness of the application so made of that acceptation whether the Seventy have conveyed the sense, in point of reference to time, as erroneously as I have represented them to have done, of the two verbs in the form of preterites that really occur in the original passage.

The Syriac translators having been perfectly familiar with the group כֹּהֲנִים, as the designation of 'priest,' or 'priests,' correctly interpreted the Hebrew compound of which this group forms part; and they also correctly represented the lay and sacerdotal worshippers of the idol at Bethel as joined in the same feelings in common with regard to it, whether of grief or of joy. But, trusting too much to the close affinities of the two languages, they translated the Hebrew tenses by Syriac ones corresponding in form, though by no means consequently corresponding in reference to time: and this appears to be the chief cause of their having failed to arrive at an intelligible construction of the passage. After the age in which they wrote, and a space next ensuing of about 130 years (during which, as I hope to have an opportunity of fully showing in a supplementary volume, the orthodox Christians laboured under the disadvantage of total ignorance of the original language and writing of the Old Testament), the

Fathers of the Church, who, resuming the study of the Hebrew text, undertook to explain the verse before us, had to contend with not only its inherent difficulties, but also the adventitious ones superadded through the mistakes or designed misrepresentations of the old vocalizers. It is, therefore, no way surprising that the rendering of this verse should be still more incoherent and unintelligible in the Vulgate than that presented to us in the Peshitah. Jerome's commentary on this rendering deserves notice: the principal part of it may be construed as follows:—"In Bethaven, then, that is in Bethel, the inhabitants of Samaria worshipped golden she-calves, which [the prophet] called, not male, but female calves, through derision; namely, that Israel might *be taunted* as worshipping not only gods, but also goddesses, of the bovine race. And, in order to show that by the she-calves of Bethaven a single male calf in Bethel was to be understood, he introduced not *the expression*, the people mourned 'over them,' but 'over it,' that is, over the golden he-calf. But if the people mourned, why did its priests exult on it? Hebraists transmit the account that the golden calves were furtively removed by the priests; and that brazen and gilded ones were substituted in their stead. While, therefore, the people were lamenting, in time of need and distress, that the golden calves were also sent, in addition to other gifts, by the King of Israel to the Assyrian kings, and chiefly to King Sennacherib, the priests were exulting, because their fraud could by no means be proved *against them*, or detected *to their prejudice*. And this is *the meaning of* what he says: 'the priests of it,' that is, of the calf, 'exulted over it in the glory of the people,' that is, in the calf which they considered as glory; because it had departed from them,"\*

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\* In the Hebrew text, the verb signifying 'to depart,' is exhibited in a masculine form, גָּלוּהוּ; so, must not be referred to the feminine noun לַעֲנִיּוֹת, but to the masculine one, כְּבוֹד. What, therefore, is here predicted, is not, as was supposed by Jerome, the departure of the calf from the Israelites, but the departure of glory from the calf. The deportation of this idol, indeed, is

that is, from the people, and had been transferred to the Assyrians."<sup>a</sup>

Here, some reason, indeed, is given for the wrong gender attributed to the animal represented by the idol at Bethel, but none whatever for the wrong number assigned to it, nor any valid one for the series of inconsistencies, with respect to both gender and number, introduced between this noun and the pronouns referred to it in the same sentence. A mistatement hazarded in the former respect was obviously intended as a jeer which could deceive nobody, but one offered in the latter respect might lead into error, if not the contemporaries of the prophet, at least those who should in after-ages come to read his work; and the true way to prevent any such mistake was to give, from the first, the grammatic number of the noun in question correctly, instead of in vain trying to counteract the effect of a mistatement on this point, by the subsequent introduction of incoherencies between this noun and its pronouns, which, whether they bore upon gender or number, served to destroy all connexion between the parts of the sentence, and so to render it, taken as a whole, utterly unintelligible. The main point, however, of Jerome's comment

also predicted in the same passage, but not till we come to the part of it contained in the beginning of the next verse.

<sup>a</sup> "In Bethaven igitur, id est, Bethel, vaccas aureas coluerunt habitatores Samariæ, quas cum irrisione non vitulos sexus masculini, sed vaccas, id est, feminas appellavit; ut videlicet Israel non solum deos vitulos, sed deas vaccas coleret. Et ut ostenderet vaccas Bethaven, unum in Bethel vitulum sentiendum, non intulit: luxit 'super eis' populus, sed 'super eo,' id est, vitulo aureo. Si autem luxit populus, quare æditui ejus super eo exultaverunt? Tradunt Hebræi vitulos aureos à sacerdotibus furtò esse sublato, et pro his æneos et deauratos repositos. Quum igitur lugeret populus tempore necessitatis et angustiae, etiam vitulos aureos inter munera cætera Assyriis regibus et maximè regi Sennacherib ab Israel rege esse directos, exultabant æditui, quòd fraus eorum nequaquam posset argui vel deprehendi. Et hoc est quod ait: 'Æditui ejus,' id est, vituli, 'super eo exultaverunt in gloria populi,' hoc est, in vitulo quem habebant pro gloria; 'quia migrasset ab eo,' id est, à populo, et translatus esset ad Assyrios."—*Hieron. Opera*, Ed<sup>o</sup>. Benedict. tom. iii. p. 1303.

relates to the silly tale imposed upon him by the persons he calls Hebraists, and to the reasoning grounded upon it, which is just as contemptible as the tale itself. For, of whatever material the idol of Bethel may have been formed, no set of men could be consistently deemed its worshippers, and at the same time represented as rejoicing at the extinction of its glory, or at its removal from them to a hostile nation. Here, then, our author, while interpreting a passage of Scripture under the arbitrary dictation of certain Hebraists of his day, is exhibited sanctioning, not only an idle story destitute of all foundation, but also a manifest self-contradiction. The picture thus laid before us of his abject submission to the absurdities of Rabbinical teaching, is worth considering: for he was a man of extraordinary talents and unwearied diligence; and where he, notwithstanding, showed himself so helpless and eager for external support, even of the frailest kind, how could others engaged in similar inquiries look for more success, without better aid than was placed within his reach? This view of the subject puts in a very prominent light the vast importance of the Masoretic pointing, introduced after his day, during a period in which the Christians had a second time relapsed into total ignorance of the ancient Hebrew tongue, and had besides sunk so low in all other branches of literary knowledge, that the Jewish priesthood, looking upon them as incapable of ever rising from that state, took no pains to conceal this pointing. The consequence is, that when the Christians, upon the revival of learning in Europe after the Dark Ages, resumed the study of the Hebrew Scriptures, they found themselves in a far better condition for its successful prosecution than Jerome ever was; and the Masoretic system, together with the grammars, dictionaries, and concordances, in a great measure thereon founded, having rendered them independent of Rabbinical instruction, and capable of exerting their own judgment in the analysis of difficult Hebrew passages, thus supplied the first great step towards a result to which, it would appear, a benevolent Providence had all along intended they should

eventually be conducted,—the detection of the fraudulent treatment of the sacred text by the Jewish vocalizers of the second century.

The effect of the additional aid afforded to Hebrew investigations, by the means above alluded to, is made visible, in the case of the verse under examination, through a comparison of its modern and ancient renderings. The Authorized English Translation of this verse, though very obscure and confused, still shows two decisive improvements on the older ones. In the first place, while a comparison of the different passages in Scripture in which the verb וַיִּירָא occurs, discloses the fact that Jerome was quite deceived by his Jewish instructors when they led him to attribute to it the sense of ‘worshipping,’ the same method of inquiry will enable us to see that it may be employed to signify, either ‘taking up a temporary residence,’ according to which interpretation it has been translated in this verse by the writers of the Septuagint and Peshitah, or ‘fearing,’ the construction here assigned to it by the framers of our Authorized Version. But although this verb admits, in the abstract, of either signification, it is clearly limited to the latter one by the context of the place before us. For the particle כִּי, ‘because,’ which connects the two clauses of the verse, indicates that the second conveys the ground of the statement made in the first; but the dangerous situation of the idol at Bethel, described in the latter of those clauses, afforded no reason whatever to its worshippers for going to reside in the defenceless country in its neighbourhood, and quitting their stronghold, Samaria, yet, on the other hand, supplied them with a very urgent one for entertaining fears for the safety of this object of their veneration. In the next place, to point out the second improvement, it is requisite again to advert to the authorized English rendering of the second clause:—“For the people thereof [that is, of the idol] shall mourn over it, and the priests thereof *that* rejoiced on it for the glory thereof, . . . . . because it [namely, that glory] is departed from it.” Here may be detected, notwithstanding

some obstructions in the way, an approach to an intelligible construction of the clause, which gives this rendering a very striking superiority over all the ancient ones. This melioration has been effected, first, by the insertion of the relative pronoun; ‘that,’ in *Italics* between the verbs expressive of grief and joy, on the supposition of an ellipsis of the corresponding pronoun in the original text, such as occasionally occurs therein; and, secondly, by rendering those two verbs in different tenses; through the combination of which expedients they both are made applicable in common to the same persons. The second of these expedients, however, the framers of our version appear to have carried too far, by assigning to the latter verb a reference purely to the past, as the form of its Hebrew inflexion regularly includes only modifications of the future or the present tense;<sup>a</sup> and one of the latter class of tenses would have served just as well as a purely past tense to distinguish it, in point of reference to time, from the first verb, which is written in the Hebrew form of the prophetic future. Moreover, if we inquire into the cause of the very unnatural derangement of the parts of the English sentence, in consequence of which its purport still remains involved in much obscurity, we shall find this evil produced by the desire of the translators to adhere strictly to the existing state of the Hebrew clause, in which the verb expressive of mourning is exhibited in the singular number. Hence they would not allow the corresponding English verb to be preceded by more than one noun in the nominative case, viz., the collective term ‘people’ treated by them as a word in the singular number. But, through the same inquiry we shall also find that they here abandoned clearness of interpretation, without attaining the object for which this sacrifice was made. For,

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<sup>a</sup> The above Hebrew inflexion cannot be regularly extended to purely past references without the aid of a *Waw conversive of the future*, or of some adverb of time, such as *אז*, ‘then,’ *עוד*, ‘not yet,’ or *בטרם*, ‘before;’ none of which are employed in the place in question.



upon examining the above adduced rendering, we shall perceive, that the second subject mentioned in the clause,—“the priests thereof *that* rejoiced on it for the glory thereof,”—has no verb expressed after it to which it can stand in the relation of a noun in the nominative case. In order, then, to make sense of this clause, it is absolutely necessary to understand the statement,—“shall mourn over it,”—as inserted again, with its verb in the plural number, in the place where I have intimated something wanted to complete the sentence by leaving a blank space ; so that the adherence of the translation to the original upon the point in question is merely apparent. Great allowance, however, is to be made for any failure here of our translators, on account of the perplexing difficulties with which they were beset in their efforts to reconcile with sense an exact rendering of this clause,—difficulties which could not be surmounted without the help of the present discovery.

These observations should, in strictness, be applied rather to the parties from whom the framers of our last Authorized Version borrowed the above improvements (together with the specified serious deductions from the value of the second) than to themselves. Searching, then, in conformity with this principle, we are carried back, through the Geneva Bible, to that published by Miles Coverdale in the year 1535, the first printed English edition of the whole Bible, as well as the first that was sanctioned by the authority of our branch of the Catholic Church. In that version the passage under examination is thus rendered :—

“They that dwell in Samaria haue worshipped the calfe of Bet-hauē : therfore shall the people mourne ouer them[it ?]<sup>a</sup> yee and the prestes also, that in their welthynesse reioysed with them : and why ? it shal passe awaye from them.”

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<sup>a</sup> The expression, ‘over them,’ is, I submit, in the above place an obvious misprint for ‘over it.’ For, surely, it cannot be supposed that Coverdale would correct the number of the noun denoting the idol at Bethel, in order to give consistency to the parts of his translation of the verse, and yet imme-

In the Geneva Bible, which came out twenty-five years after, from the pen of the same Miles Coverdale, assisted by other translators, this passage is construed as follows :—

“The inhabitants of Samaria shall feare because of the calfe of Beth-auen : for the people thereof shall mourne over it, and the Chemarims thereof that rejoyced on it for the glorie thereof ; because it is departed from it.”

Upon a comparison of these two, and the present Authorized English rendering of the verse, it will be seen that, when Miles Coverdale made his first translation, the discovery had not yet been arrived at, through Hebrew researches, that the meaning attributed in the Vulgate to נָחַר, of *colere*, ‘to worship,’ was utterly unfounded. Moreover, it was not then as yet perceived that Jerome’s interpretation of the last words of his own Latin construction of this verse was quite erroneous. Hence the oldest of the three English translations of the passage in question is, upon those points, inferior to the two derived from it ; but in other respects it seems preferable to both of them, more especially on account of its being less obscure ; while, on the other hand, the last one would appear to be the worst of all three, from the relapse it betrays of the word ‘calf’ into the plural number, in violation of all sense. Surely, the strictest fidelity of interpretation could not have required from the very learned authors of this version a closer adherence to the Hebrew text, in its existing state, than was compatible with the intelligibility of their translation of this passage and with the coherency of its parts. With this condition they might, I submit, have fully complied, by here inserting ‘she-calf’ in the body of their version, and subjoining in the margin, as a note thereon, ‘Heb. *she-calves*.’ Had they so

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diately after destroy that consistency, by assigning an erroneous number to one of the pronouns referring to the same noun. Accordingly, we may perceive this misprint removed in the second translation of the verse, which, though not composed solely by Coverdale, was written under his superintendence.

acted in this and similar cases, the attention of a greater number of thoughtful persons would have been drawn to this subject ; and the discovery now at last made would in all probability have been much sooner effected.

Here I should observe that, although we have no older authority than that of Miles Coverdale for the improved construction which has been just described, yet there are ancient authorities for all the separate corrections which constitute this improvement, and when once those corrections, shown to rest on sufficient grounds, are brought under notice, the adoption of their combined bearing is unavoidably forced upon us by the context. I now turn to a more detailed view of the errors of vocalization in the Hebrew verse under discussion, which led me to select this example for the illustration of my subject.

לעגלֹת] Before the sacred text was vocalized, this group could be read either *LeHeGLaTh*, in the singular number, or *LeHeGLoTh*, in the plural ; but since the insertion of the *Waw* therein, it has been confined to the latter number. The actual interpolation of the mater lectionis in this place is proved, not only by the inconsistencies it produces in point of grammatic number between a noun and six pronouns referred thereto in the very same verse, but also by the oldest testimony available upon the subject, that of the Seventy Jews, who translated the group containing this noun τῶ μόσχῳ : nor is their testimony on this point in the slightest degree invalidated by their misapprehension in some respects of the literal meaning of the verse ; for at any rate they could not have been mistaken as to the manner in which the above group was written in their time ; and it certainly did not then exhibit the *Waw* which now appears in it, as they construed the name therein contained in the singular number<sup>a</sup>. Thus the spuriousness of this

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<sup>a</sup> The testimony of the Syriac version cannot be in like manner appealed to on the above point ; because, from a defect of the species of writing therein employed, the number is ambiguous of the noun with which its authors trans-

*Waw* is established by a very powerful combination of internal and external evidence; and it is further evinced, *ex abundanti*, by the utter futility of every attempt to account for the incoherencies it occasions which has been made on the supposition of its being a genuine element of the original text. The unwarrantable shifting here betrayed from one grammatic number to another has been termed an *enallage*; but in this way nothing more is gained than a mere technical name for the change in question, without any explanation whatever of its cause. Again, it has been asserted that the Hebrew noun for ‘calf’ was here written in the plural number, not for the purpose of denoting a plurality of idols, but in order to intimate that the one at Bethel was very large, or very remarkable in some way or other: just as if this copious language afforded no means of expressing greatness of size, or what might be otherwise extraordinary, except by confounding the grammatic distinction of numbers! In the third place, it has been attempted to sustain the abuse here committed, by instances of the same abuse in other passages of Scripture, as at present written. But upon examination it will, I think, be found that the ground of the disturbance of coherency is, in each of those instances, just as inexplicable as in the case before us, on the supposition of the disturbing letters being genuine; and that the only cause free from absurdity that can be assigned to it is the interpolation of those letters by a set of persons quite distinct from the inspired authors of the sacred text. Thus, two passages have been appealed to, which are rendered in our Authorized Version as follows:—“Wisdom crieth without; she uttereth her voice in the streets”—Prov. i. 20; “Wisdom hath builded her house”—Prov. ix. 1;—and in each of which

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lated the Hebrew one in question, and is restricted to being singular only by the context of the Syriac rendering of the verse. But that rendering is to some extent erroneous; and, therefore, no consequence deduced from its context can be depended on. At the same time, it is material to observe that the evidence of the Peshitah is, at any rate, not here opposed to that of the Septuagint.

the Hebrew for wisdom is at present exhibited in the plural number, חִכְמוֹת, while the verbs and pronouns connected with this noun are all of them singular. Surely, now that another way has been got of accounting for these incoherencies, it is not for a moment to be admitted, that Solomon could have thus outrageously violated the plain dictates of common sense. The passages, therefore, here referred to, instead of giving any countenance to the erroneous notion they are quoted to support, might be themselves adduced as very striking proofs, not only of the interpolation of the sacred text by the old vocalizers, but also of the great haste and giddiness with which this operation was conducted. The mater lectionis, by which the above word is made plural, most unquestionably should not have been therein inserted in either of the specified verses; and to this fact the common consent of mankind may be shown fully to agree: for although it has been hitherto unknown how exactly the error was produced, yet a consciousness of something wrong in the Hebrew of each verse is betrayed in, as far as I can find, every translation that has been made of the Old Testament since the original text was put in its present state. In no one of these versions is the meaning of the word in question represented by a plural noun in either place of its occurrence; and in none that ever got into general use is there joined to the term expressive of 'wisdom' any epithet for extraordinariness of some kind or other, by way of giving the singular noun in the translation an equivalence to the plural one in the original.

Here I am bound to observe, with respect to the two original verses referred to in the Book of Proverbs, that all inaccuracy is not removed from them by marking the *Waw* as otiose in חִכְמוֹת, and reading it KhōKMαTh in the singular number: as it is thus put in what is technically called 'the construct state,' and gets a termination that, in strictness, it should have, only when followed by another noun, holding the connexion with it which is expressed in European languages by means of a genitive case. But this irregularity shows

merely inattention to a form arbitrarily adopted in particular languages, which is a very different thing from a direct violation of sense : the word so read still agrees fully with the verbs it governs, and likewise with the pronouns referred to it, though it has no other noun coupled with it in the relation implied by its final syllable. Instances of the like inattention to this point of form are occasionally to be met with in other parts of Scripture also ; as, for example, in Ps. viii. 8 ; Isa. xxxv. 2 ; and Hos. xiv. 2 ; in the first of which places שד' , the Hebrew for 'fields of,' is substituted for שדים or שדה ; in the second, גילת, 'joy of,' for גילה, each word being put in the construct, instead of the absolute state ; and in the third, the expression פרים שפתינו—translated in our Authorized Version 'the calves of our lips,' but by St. Paul 'the fruit of our lips,'—exhibits *vice versa* its first word in the absolute, instead of the construct state. Irregularities of these kinds are so few that they may possibly have been occasioned by the injuries of time or oversight of copyists ; but, even supposing them to have been committed by the authors of the sacred text, they prove nothing more than the great antiquity of the Hebrew Scriptures, which were written before any system of grammar was ever composed, or even thought of. On the other hand, concords with respect to number and gender more or less pervade all languages alphabetically written ; and their neglect constitutes a violation, not only of the grammatic rules that relate to them, but also of the common sense of mankind, upon which, through the aid of alphabetic writing, those rules are founded. Such irregularities as these—at least where the words in which they occur come so near each other as to render them at once obvious—cannot be imputed to any of the authors of the Old Testament, and they are by far too numerous to be accounted for by mere faults of transcription, or the effects of time. They have, in consequence, hitherto sorely perplexed both translators and commentators ; and one of the great advantages of the present discovery is, that it relieves us from all embarrassment upon the subject, by shift-

ing the blame of the faults in question to the right shoulders. Thus—to revert to the case of the group here proposed for examination—the scribe to whom was committed the task of secretly vocalizing the Book of Hosea with as much deviation from the Septuagint, and as little delay as possible, observing, while engaged in the hurried execution of this work, a word denoting the molten calf at Bethel written in a form which admitted of its being read in either the singular or plural; and finding it translated by the Seventy for the former number, he in consequence vocalized it for the latter, without waiting to try first whether such acceptance of it was compatible with the context; and, further, having been accustomed to the masculine form of this word for calf, when employed to signify an idol, he giddily vocalized for that form the affixes referring to it in the subsequent portion of the same verse, without looking back to the group upon which he had just operated, or considering that the noun therein contained was restricted by the author himself to the feminine gender.

[בֵּית־אֵל] This name is properly written בֵּית־אֵל ('house of the Lord'), which Hosea changed to בֵּית־אֵל ('house of iniquity'), on account of the idolatry practised in the town referred to. From the sarcastic style indicated by the employment of this nickname, as well as by the application of a wrong gender to the noun contained in the preceding group, it would appear that, besides the principal scope of the passage before us—which was to announce to the Samaritans the fate that awaited their favourite idol—there was the subordinate one of turning this people into derision for worshipping a molten image, which was so far from being able to protect them that it could not even defend itself, and of whose utter helplessness they actually showed themselves conscious, by the fears they betrayed for its safety. The Greek transcription of this name serves to illustrate the disadvantage arising from the want of a distinct mode of writing proper names in the sacred text; in consequence of which the Seventy fell into the mistake of supposing the first syllable of this one to be here used

as a distinct significant word. From their having transcribed the remainder of the name Ων, instead of A-*veν*, it results that the *Waw* of ון must have been lost from the copy of the text consulted by them.

יִנְרֶי Of the two senses of which this verb is susceptible, it has been already shown that only one—‘to fear’—is consistent with the context. It is, however, objected to the application of this meaning to the verb in the place before us, that the preposition מן (from), or equivalent prefix מ, ought to follow it when so used, which is not here done. But the omission can be easily accounted for; as the object mentioned in connexion with this verb is not the one ‘from’ which danger was apprehended, but that ‘for’ whose safety fears were entertained; and a proper prefix to the noun denoting the latter party is obviously the very one, ל (for), which is here employed.

[שכננ] This group in its present state might, before the sacred text was vocalized, have been read either *SheKaN*, ‘the inhabitant of,’ or *ShiKNe*, ‘the inhabitants of;’ but afterwards it was confined to the former acceptation, and could not be used in the latter without the addition of the mater lectionis which I have subjoined to it. Our vocalizer, then, availing himself of the original ambiguity of the above group, and finding it translated in this place by the Seventy for the plural number, so dealt with it as that it should be here read ever after in the singular. Were it not for this coincidence of effect with that produced in more obvious cases of fraud, one might be inclined to attribute his failing to insert a *Yod* at the end of this group to the force of habit, combined with the great haste with which he was compelled to work, and divested of any intention of deceit. For it is to be borne in mind that, up to the date of the vocalization now brought to light, the Jewish scribes were accustomed to meet with but very few vowel-letters in their ordinary writings (as is shown by extant specimens of coins issued by the princes of the Asmonean race), and none at all in their Scriptures; so that the particular scribe here referred to may possibly have intended that שכן in the passage under



examination should be read *ShiKNe* in the plural number, although he omitted the introduction of the additional letter which was requisite in order to its being thenceforward taken in this sense and read in this manner. Cases, therefore, of erroneous omissions in general supply not as clear proofs of fraudulent design against the old vocalizers, as do those of positively erroneous insertions; but where, as in the present instance, they contribute to the same effect—of tending to give the Septuagint a false appearance of inaccuracy—we are, I submit, fully warranted in ranking them under the same head in common of intentional misrepresentations.

[שֹׁמֵר] Our vocalizer here merely adhered to the corruption of the word introduced by his co-operators in other parts of the sacred text. The case of this noun has been already considered; and from its treatment by the vocalizers of the second century—in tampering with it, which they never ventured to do but with such as they conceived to be scarcely known—the inference has been drawn that they must have resided in some quarter very remote from Palestine, where the term *Samaria* or *Shamari* was then still in use, as the designation of a district occupied by a particular tribe. In this instance their attempt to represent the record of a name in the Septuagint as inaccurate entirely failed; and the only effect of their substituting *Shomeron* for *Shamari* has been to deprive their own nation of the true sound of this name.

[אָבַל] We have here presented to us a practical illustration of my theory, that, before the sacred text was vocalized, the Hebrew verb in its primary form might have been read in either the singular or the plural number, according to what the reader conceived to be required by the context. For this group is, in the two versions that were written previously to the vocalization of the Hebrew Bible, construed in such a manner as to show that it was actually read in those different ways by the two sets of translators; it having been rendered ἐπένθησεν ('has grieved') by the Seventy, and אָבַל אָבַל ('have dwelled in grief') by the framers of the Peshitah. But

after the introduction of vowel-letters into the sacred text, a *Waw* was wanted at the end of verbs in the above form, wherever the context required them to be read in the plural number ; and it was the omission of this supplement, in the case of the verb before us, by the scribe commissioned to vocalize the book of Hosea, that so completely misled Jerome, and so sorely perplexed all subsequent translators in their respective attempts to arrive at the meaning of the passage under consideration. It is, however, but right to add, with respect to this omission, that it is to be attributed merely to precipitation, together with the force of previous habits, and not to any unfair design on the part of our vocalizer ; since the reading it occasions of the above verb in the singular number agrees with that indicated by the translation of this word in the Septuagint.

The six remaining corrections consist merely in the restoration of the affix of the third person singular to its primitive state, in which, I grant, it could originally have been read with either a masculine or feminine reference ; but unquestionably the inspired author did not, in any of those cases, use it with a reference of the former kind, as the Hebrew text in its present condition represents him to have done in all of them. He himself gave the noun at the beginning of the sentence, through derision, a feminine termination, which, from its not being that commonly applied to the word, was the more calculated to arrest his attention ; and it cannot be supposed that he immediately afterwards forgot or intentionally abandoned his own choice, and, before he came to the end of the verse, referred repeatedly to the very same noun, as if it had been written by him in its usual masculine form ! Before the present discovery, indeed, was made, we could not venture to criticize this passage, but were compelled to refrain from exercising our judgment thereon, and to remain, with regard to it, inert under the pressure of the most distressing perplexity. How gratifying, then, must it not be to the pious reader, to be relieved from this state of coercion, and find the inconsis-

tencies here betrayed, which are so utterly irreconcilable with steadiness of thought or coherency of expression, due to a person quite distinct from the inspired author of the text ! This example, therefore, I submit, affords not only a very striking proof of the reality of my discovery, but also a most satisfactory illustration of its value.

Before closing my remarks on the passage just analyzed, I have to examine an objection which may possibly occur to the reader. He may observe that the first clause of the next verse is in reality the final one of this passage, though at present separated from it by a full stop, and that the noun feminine at the beginning of the entire sentence is, through the intervention of a pronoun, referred to in this clause by a verb in a masculine form given to it, independently of its vocalization, by the original author ; and he may, in consequence, be led to ask, if there be a violation of concord in point of gender between the above noun and a verb compared with it, why may not such violation equally subsist between the same noun and the several pronouns therewith connected ? This objection, which, if valid, would throw back examiners of the passage into the state of embarrassment from which I have represented them as relieved, is fortunately deprived of all weight by the circumstance of the received reading of the verb in question, on which it is grounded, being quite erroneous. To place the incorrectness of this reading in a clear light, I here subjoin,—1st, the Hebrew clause with the requisite corrections marked in the same manner as in the two preceding ones ; 2ndly, the Authorized English Translation of it ; 3rdly, that translation altered in accordance with the adduced corrections of the original ; 4thly, the Greek rendering of it, accompanied by a literal interpretation ; and 5thly, the Syriac rendering, in like manner interpreted :—

|                            |                                                                                         |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Hebrew,</i>             | גַּם אוֹתָנָהּ לְאַשּׁוּר יִבְלֹנָה מִנְחָה לְמֶלֶךְ יָרֵב.                             |
| <i>Authorized English,</i> | } it shall be also carried into Assyria <i>for</i> a present to king Jareb.             |
| <i>Altered English,</i>    |                                                                                         |
| <i>Septuagint,</i>         | καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσσυρίους δέσαντες ἀπήνεγκαν, <sup>b</sup> ξένια τῷ Βασιλεῖ Ἰαρείμ.       |
|                            | it also shall they binding carry away to Assyrius <i>as</i> presents to the king Yarim. |
| <i>Peshitah,</i>           | וְגַם אוֹתָנָהּ לְאַשּׁוּר יִבְלֹנָה מִנְחָה לְמֶלֶךְ יָרֵב.                            |
|                            | and also it shall they carry away to Assyria <i>as</i> a present to the king of Yareb.  |

Upon the misvocalization of the pronoun in the adduced Hebrew line it is unnecessary to offer any observation, after what has been already stated respecting the same violation of concord committed six times in the preceding clauses of this passage. But with regard to the treatment of the verb in the same line, it is to be remarked that, before the text was vocalized, this verb could have been here read, either *YoBiLu*, 'they shall carry away,' or *YuBaL*, 'it shall be carried away;' and that, as the Seventy translated it for the former reading, our Jewish scribe confined it from his day forward to the latter, by avoiding to subjoin to it a *Waw*. The two readings, indeed, differ only in form, and yield virtually the same meaning, so that neither is excluded by the context; but still our

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<sup>a</sup> Also, that is, as well as they had previously carried off to Assyria its fellow-idol from Dan. The persons or people who were to bear away the idol of Bethel are not expressly named by Hosea in the above place; but it may, in some measure, be collected who they were, from two intimations. First, they would appear to have been subjects of King Yareb; and, secondly, it seems hinted that they were the same individuals, or belonging to the same nation, as those who shortly before took off with them the molten calf that had been worshipped at Dan.

<sup>b</sup> We have above an instance in which the Seventy certainly employed a first aorist with the force of some species of future tense.

choice may be decided between them even by means of internal evidence alone, namely, by the structure of the Hebrew sentence. For, on the one hand, the second reading is censurable in two respects, namely, that it renders the pronoun of the clause superfluous, and that it attaches thereto the bearing of a nominative case, which this pronoun, whether written אֹתוֹ or אֹתָהּ, holds, as far as I can find, nowhere else in the sacred text ; while, on the other hand, the first can be charged with neither fault, as it makes the pronoun in question requisite to complete the sense, and exhibits it used in its regular acceptation of an accusative case. Accordingly, we may perceive that the Seventy Jews and Syriac interpreters, however otherwise differing in their translation of the Hebrew line, have fully concurred in translating its verb conformably to the first of the above readings. There can then, I submit, be no doubt but that a reading so powerfully sustained ought to be restored ; and this reading entirely removes the objection here proposed for discussion ; as it shifts the noun which stands in the relation of nominative case to the verb of the clause—and which should, in consequence, agree with that verb in gender—from the calf of Bethel to the persons who were, according to the prediction of Hosea, to carry off that idol to Assyria.

An instance of the affix ה' misunderstood, when preceded by an epenthetic *Nun*, occurs in the final clause of a verse of the Book of Judges, which is translated in our Authorized Version as follows:—"And Jephthah came to Mizpeh unto his house, and, behold, his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances: and she *was his* only child; besides her he had neither son nor daughter."—Judg. xi. 34. Of the close of this verse another rendering is given in the margin,—"*he had not, of his own, either son or daughter,*"—while the remark—"Heb. *of himself*"—is there added as a note upon the words, 'besides her,' through a mistake of the editors; as it is obviously not applicable to those words, but to the expression in the second rendering, 'of his own;'—a mis-

take, however, which is as old, at any rate, as the Cambridge edition of the year 1629. The Hebrew of this clause with its literal interpretation annexed, and its Greek, Syriac, and Chaldean translations, with their literal meanings likewise subjoined, stand thus:—

*Hebrew,* . אין לו ממנו בן או בת

*In some copies,* ממנה

there was not to him, *sprung* from himself, son or daughter.

*Sept.* οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ ἕτερος υἱὸς ἢ θυγάτηρ

there was not to him ——— other son or daughter.

*Pesh.* כון וס כולן לב, מעס

and there was not to him ——— son or daughter *besides her*.

*Targum of* } לית ליה מניה בר או ברת  
*Jonathan,* }

there was not to him, *sprung* from himself, son or daughter.

It has hitherto been taken for granted that the group of the Hebrew line written in some copies ממנו, and in others ממנה, conveys different meanings for its different terminations; but this may now be clearly seen to be an erroneous assumption. In fact, ממנו, pointed by the Masorets for the pronunciation MiMmeNnU, and signifying 'from him,' is a vocalized form of ממנה, which admits of being read and translated, according to the demands of the context, either MiMmeNnuH,<sup>b</sup> 'from him'

<sup>a</sup> From comparing the above Syriac line with the Authorized English Translation of the Hebrew one, it would appear that the framers of our version consulted the Peshitah in this place. If they did so, they must, I submit, have mistaken the relation of the last two words of the Syriac clause to the original; as I endeavour to make evident in the subsequent part of the paragraph. But, at any rate, their rendering of ממנה, in the examined clause, by the expression 'besides her,' affords a very striking instance of the old affix 𐤍 after an epenthetic 𐤍 being misunderstood.

<sup>b</sup> According to the reasons usually assigned for the dageshing by the Masorets of the two middle letters of ממנו, I ought, through my notation, to have above represented the pronunciation of the original group ממנה, for the

(with exactly the same meaning and very nearly the same sound as have been just assigned to the former group), or *MiMmeNnaH*, 'from her.' In the present instance, the original form *ממנה* is confined by the tenor of the narrative, as much as *ממנו* is by its vocal termination, to a masculine reference; for the inspired historian, surely, could not have deemed it necessary to inform us that Jephthah had no children sprung 'from her;' as the female referred to was his own daughter, and a virgin. In the renderings of the Hebrew line in its original state given in the Septuagint and Peshitah respectively, the group *ממנה*, 'from him' (that is, in the application here made of it, '*sprung* from himself,' or 'of his own'), is passed over as redundant; while a supplement is introduced to reconcile this clause with the preceding part of the verse, in which mention is expressly made of a daughter of Jephthah. The word *ἔτερος* is obviously applied to this use in the former version; and the expression *מחוץ* serves the same purpose in the latter. For though *מחוץ*, which, according as it is read *MeNeH* or *MeNaH*, signifies 'from him,' or 'from her,' is by itself perfectly equivalent to *ממנה*; yet, when it is combined with *לחוץ*, *LeBaR*, 'outside,' its meaning is thereby quite changed. The combination, therefore, of the two Syriac groups could not have been intended to convey the sense of

masculine gender, by the form *MiMmeNHu*. For while the reduplication of the *Mem* is held to compensate for the omission in rapid utterance of one of the letters of the double preposition *ממנו*, that of the *Nun* is looked upon as a compensation for the elision of the initial element of the affixed pronoun. But the latter part of this explanation is proved erroneous by the Masoretic pointing of *ממנה* for the feminine gender so as to yield the sound *MiMmeNnaH*; where, we may observe, there is no elision of the *He* to account for the dageshing of the *Nun*. I have, therefore, while conforming to the Masoretic pointing, preferred at the same time to exhibit the sound of the original group in an analogous manner for the two genders; and have left the doubled utterance of the *Nun*, in the case of the masculine gender, to be explained in the same way as it is in that of the feminine gender; namely, as occasioned by the use of an epenthetic *Nun* before the affix.

the Hebrew one just specified, and must be looked upon merely as a supplemental expression. The same consequence follows also from the separate meaning of the Hebrew preposition which forms part of this group, namely מן, M<sub>i</sub>N, which denotes 'of,' 'from,' or 'in comparison of,' but *never* 'besides;' the sacred text affords no instance of this preposition, whether in the reduplicated or single form, yielding, when taken by itself, the last-mentioned signification. The Greek and Syriac renderings, therefore, of the Hebrew clause afford no evidence either way upon the point in question: but its Chaldee construction directly supports the bearing of the context in confining the sense of מִמֶּנָּה (supposing the group to have been so written in the copy of the sacred text consulted by Jonathan) to a masculine reference. For this group is translated therein מִנִּיהָ, which might indeed, if written without the *Yod*, be read and interpreted either M<sub>i</sub>NnēH, 'from him,' or M<sub>i</sub>nNāH, 'from her,' but is by means of this vowel-letter strictly limited to the former pronunciation and meaning. As, then, מִמֶּנָּה, if employed in the Hebrew line in the present state of the text, is proved by ancient testimony as well as by the context to be used in this clause with exact equivalence to מִמֶּנּוּ, it is perfectly immaterial in which way the group is written in an amended edition of the Hebrew Bible. I may here, by the way, observe that the equivalent original group מִנָּה has been sometimes vocalized by the addition of a *Waw*, instead of its substitution for the affix. This, however, is a very unusual treatment of the group by the first set of vocalizers; and the consequence is that, in the few instances in which it occurs so vocalized, the second set have shown themselves at a loss how to deal with it. Thus מִנָּהוּ, 'from him,' or 'from it,' has been pointed by the Masorets so as to be pronounced M<sub>e</sub>NHU in Job, iv. 12, and M<sub>i</sub>NNēHU (as if the affix came after a noun plural instead of after a preposition) in Ps. lxxviii. 24.

In a new English version the examined clause would admit but of one translation. There might, indeed, be some variation in the form of the supplemental words introduced for the



purpose of removing all appearance of inconsistency between the different parts of the verse; but a difference of this sort would not justify the insertion of a second rendering in the margin. The whole second member of this verse might be construed in one or other of the two following ways:—

“and she *was his* only *child*; he had, of his own,<sup>a</sup> no son or daughter *besides her*.” <sup>a</sup> Heb. *out of himself*.

“and she *was his* only one; he had, of his own,<sup>b</sup> no *other child*, *whether* son or daughter.” <sup>b</sup> Heb. *out of himself*.

The affix ׁ was originally employed in common not only for both masculine and feminine references, but also after nouns in both numbers; and, with a feminine reference, it still maintains its ground after nouns in the plural, as well as in the singular number; its sound being in my notation represented, after nouns singular by *aH*, and after nouns plural, on account of its then usually following a *Yod*, by *EHa*. In a few instances, however, which were overlooked by the second, as well as by the first set of vocalizers, the *Yod* has been omitted in the latter position; where this affix should, notwithstanding, be read *eHa*, with the same sound as before, according to the analogy of Masoretic practice in cases of the like omission between nouns plural and other affixes. Had the instances here alluded to (of which one has been adduced in the preceding part of this chapter) been earlier noticed, this affix to nouns plural would, for its feminine as well as its masculine references, have been distinguished by grammarians into ‘full’ and ‘defective,’ according as the *Yod* was expressed or only understood before it. This *Yod*, I may here observe by the way, is in strictness no part of the affix in question (but merely the indication of the plural number of the preceding noun); yet it is considered as belonging to that affix when used with a masculine reference, in consequence of its being closely united in pronunciation with the *Waw*, which is most commonly then substituted for the *He*; and it obviously should

be viewed in the same light when this *He* is referred to nouns feminine, as the gender of the affix produces no difference in its general nature.

When the masculine affix ה comes after nouns plural, a *Waw* is sometimes subjoined, but much more frequently substituted for it; and in each case it may be found exhibited either 'full' or 'defective,' according as it is, or is not, immediately preceded by a *Yod*. Hence there are four varieties of this affix: 1st, יהו, EHU; 2nd, יה, eHU; 3rd, יו, AW; 4th, י, aW; all of which are, in the present improved state of our language, to be rendered 'his,' or 'its,' according as the English translation of the masculine Hebrew noun referred to is a word in the masculine or neuter gender. The first form is evidently the best; as it expunges not any genuine element of the sacred text, but retains the very one by which this affix was originally represented, and adds other letters serving to give a full representation of the vocal part of its sound. Yet this form is, of the whole set, that which is most rarely to be met with;—a circumstance which completely accords with the supposition that the old vocalizers were cramped in their operations, by having to deal with copies of their Bible previously in existence, instead of introducing the *matres lectionis* into new ones, in which vowels and consonants were all to be written at the same time. And, what still further supports this view of the matter, is, that the form in question occurs only in the poetic books of Scripture (on which account it has been termed a poetic affix); but it is obvious that, the lines in poetry being shorter than in prose, the letters might naturally be expected to be therein written further asunder, and so to yield more room for interpolating additional characters between them. An example of this form is presented to us in the following group, extracted from Job, xxiv. 23, וְעֵינָיו, WeHENEHU, 'yet his eyes.' The second form is the next best, as it participates with the first in exemption from the serious abuse of effacing an original element of the sacred text, when not quiescent; yet still it is also the next rarest in use. And

this again accords with the representation just given of the subject : for while there was more opportunity of employing the second than the first on account of its occupying less room, there was, for the opposite reason, less facility of introducing it than the third. The relative rarity, however, of the second form, in comparison of the third, cannot be accounted for exclusively in this way ; as, on the one hand, יָי, though seldom affixed to nouns, is often annexed to verbs, and it cannot be supposed that more space was left for augmenting the original affix י after the latter class of words than after the former ; and, on the other hand, the third form יִ takes up scarcely less room than יָי, since the *Yod*, though smaller than *He*,<sup>a</sup> requires as much blank space on each side of it in order to the distinct appearance of the writing. There must, therefore, have been some additional reason for the preference given by the old vocalizers to the third form over the second ; and this could have been no other than the difference in their effects, that יִ expresses the plural number of the preceding noun, which יָי fails to do. Hence it appears that those scribes very inju-

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\* That the *Yod* was the smallest letter of the Hebrew alphabet, at the period when the sacred text was first vocalized, is shown by the specimens of Palmyrene inscriptions deciphered by Swinton, which exhibit the earliest known approach of the elements of a cognate system to the modern square character of the Jews. Fac-similes of two lines of these inscriptions, in which *Yod* appears four times, are given in the plates of the first volume of the second part of my work on the "Ancient Orthography of the Jews;" whereof the earlier one was written at a date corresponding to the year of our era 135, that is, very shortly after the above-mentioned period. The comparative smallness, indeed, of the letter in question may be traced still further back, even to the time of our Saviour's ministry upon earth ; as can be plainly collected from the manner in which he incidentally speaks of it in Matt. v. 18. Nor is it any objection to this inference, that the *Yod* is as large as the other letters on the Jewish coins dug out of the ruins of Jerusalem : for those coins must have been above 150 years old at the period when he alluded to its diminutive size in the passage just specified, the Jews having so long before lost the right of coining as an independent state ; and during this interval there was quite sufficient time for the introduction of a change in the shape of the Hebrew characters.

ditionally attached greater weight to this advantage than to the counter-disadvantage of expunging an original element of the Hebrew text ; and the same advantage, unalloyed by the same abatement in reference to the fourth form, must have made them greatly prefer the third thereto ;—a circumstance which sufficiently accounts for that fourth being more rarely used than the third, notwithstanding that it occupies less space.

The second of the adduced forms  $\text{הוּ}$ , *eHU*, has been hitherto deemed an affix to nouns singular ; a classification of it which Hebraists have attempted to establish by such examples as  $\text{שדהו}$  (or rather  $\text{סדהו}$ ), *SaDeHU*, ‘his field.’ In cases, however, of this sort the affix is not  $\text{הוּ}$ , but simply  $\text{ה}$ , which is substituted for an expunged  $\text{ה}$  ; and the introduced letter should regularly be pronounced *O*, but, being uttered along with the third element of the noun, which happens to be a  $\text{ה}$ , their combination is pronounced *HU*. The specified group in its original state was  $\text{סדהה}$ , *SaDeHoH*, ‘his field ;’ but its final  $\text{ה}$  having been erased to make room for the  $\text{ה}$ , and the  $\text{ס}$ , for reasons explained in a preceding chapter, changed to  $\text{ש}$ , the entire came out  $\text{שדהו}$  ; in which the grammarians, having no clue whereby to ascertain whether the retained  $\text{ה}$  belonged to the noun or to the affix, made the wrong choice respecting it. On the other hand, the portion of the group  $\text{פיהו}$  (*PIHU*, ‘his mouth’) which constitutes the affix, I admit, is  $\text{הוּ}$ , though the noun it follows is in the singular number ; it is not, however, pronounced, as the second of the foregoing forms, *eHU*, but simply *HU*, and is here employed on account of this noun singular having taken, after vocalization for the construct state, a form similar to that of nouns dual or plural in the same state. For  $\text{פה}$ , *PeH*, ‘mouth,’ being read when in regimen *PiH*, the vocalizers, to express the latter sound of it, interpolated a *Yod*, to make room for which they expunged its second element ; and it thus became  $\text{פיה}$ , to which *He* being affixed was vocalized  $\text{פיהו}$ , in the same manner as if it followed a noun in the dual or plural number. Thus the original group

פִּיהוּ,  $PiHoH$ , 'his mouth,' was vocalized פִּיהוּ,  $PIHU$ ; that is, in parts of the sacred text where there was room for the addition of the *Waw*; but, where there was not, this group took the vocalized form פִּי, after the erasure of the second *He* as well as of the first. In the latter case the vocalizers, or subsequent scribes, changed the pronunciation of the group from  $PI-U$  to  $PIW$  (for the purpose of avoiding, what is repugnant to the genius of the Hebrew language, the occurrence of a sound not commencing with a consonant), and this again in after times to  $PIV$ , on account of the difficulty of pronouncing a *W* after the vowel *I*. The form פִּי is far more objectionable than פִּיהוּ, on account of the extinction, not only of a quiescent *He*, but also of a sounded one belonging to the original group; yet it is more frequently to be met with in the sacred text,—a circumstance which, surely, could not have occurred, if there had been everywhere room for the fuller form. And, what still further accords with the view here given of this subject is, that both forms are to be found in the very same passage, as exhibited in the different editions of the Hebrew Pentateuch. Thus, in *Exod. iv. 15*, the group in question is vocalized פִּיהוּ in the Jewish, and פִּי in the Samaritan edition of that record;—a variation which fully harmonizes with the supposition of the letters of the original group in the specified place having been written not so close to each other in the copy first vocalized by the Jews, as in that similarly operated upon by the Samaritan scribes. This difference, however, between the two editions is not of necessity to be traced to the cause just assigned for it; as it might likewise have been occasioned by the greater familiarity of the latter set with the process of vocalization at the time when they were engaged in this task, they having then had the advantage of previously reading a copy vocalized by the former set; and it is obvious that the vocalizers, who were more habituated to the erasure of a quiescent *He*, would feel less compunction and greater boldness in expunging it, where it was a sounded letter, and where, consequently, there was less excuse for its removal.

A real specimen of the second form of the masculine affix ה after nouns plural is presented to us in the final part of the group לְמִינֵהוּ, *LeMINeHU*, ‘after its (or his) kinds,’<sup>a</sup> which occurs in verses 12, 21, and 25, of the first chapter of Genesis, as well as in other passages of the Pentateuch. Modern Hebraists, indeed, are not agreed as to the number of the noun in this group, it being, according to the letters, in the singular, but, according to the points, in the plural state; and the framers of our Authorized Version adopted the former representation of the subject; while the elder Buxtorf, in his *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*, published four years before the first edition of their work came out, adhered to the latter. It will, however, now be seen that the question at issue is not between any genuine elements of the sacred text and the Masoretic points, but merely between the first and second set of vocalizers; and that it is to be decided, not by the comparative weight of their respective shares of authority, but by the context and the tenor of the narrative. Judged by this criterion, the latter set of scribes will be found to have been here clearly in the right, and to have corrected a defect of the older vocalization, in like manner as they did in innumerable other instances. By the same criterion also it can be shown that the noun in question should be read in the plural number, and translated ‘kinds,’ wherever it has been employed in the first chapter, even in those places in which both sets of vocalizers have concurred in representing it as singular. Thus, for instance, in verse 11 of this chapter we are told that, on the third day of the first week after the Chaos, the earth was commanded to bring forth “the fruit-tree yielding fruit,” a generic expression of very extensive application, the Hebrew for which is immediately followed by a group at present written לְמִינֵי, which is thus supplied with vowel-letters for the reading

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<sup>a</sup> The above reading of the group is that assigned to it by its Masoretic pointing; if the letters alone were to be taken into consideration, it would be read *LeMINHU*, ‘after its (or his) kind.’

LeEMINO, 'after its kind,' and is likewise pointed by the Masorets for that reading and signification. But the same group might equally, in accordance with the principles of the Masoretic system, have been pointed so as to be read LeMINaW, 'after its kinds;' and it is quite plain that the later set of vocalizers ought to have thus corrected the defective vocalization of the earlier set here, in like manner as, we have above seen, they did in the next ensuing verse. For the perfect conformity of the execution recorded in verse 12, with the command given in verse 11, is expressly asserted in the words connecting the two verses, "and it was so." The qualities, therefore, which, giving rise to the distinction of 'kind,' are, through the use of the original of that term, involved in the notion conveyed by the לְמִינֵהוּ of the one verse, must have been exactly the same as those similarly included in the לְמִינֵי of the other; so that, although those groups, in the present state of the Hebrew text, differ by a letter,—a difference which most probably arose merely from the accidental circumstance of there having been more room for the retention of this letter in the one place than in the other,—they yet have precisely the same meaning in the specified places; and, consequently, as the Masorets vocalized the noun in one of them for the plural number, they ought likewise in consistency to have so dealt with that in the other. This view of the subject, however, I admit, supplies only an *argumentum ad hominem* against those critics; but we are led quite conclusively to the very same result by the context. For, surely, it cannot for a moment be imagined that the inspired historian intended here to intimate that only one kind of fruit-tree was produced at the time referred to. The very reverse of this, indeed, is not only implied by the general tenor of the narrative, but is also expressly stated in the next chapter, where we find it related that God made then to spring from the ground "every tree that is . . . . . good for food." But it may perhaps be asked, —in consequence of the original words for the compound term 'fruit-tree' being used, like a noun of multitude, in a plural

sense, though written in the singular number,—why may not the Hebrew noun denoting ‘kind’ be here employed with the same latitude?—to which I reply, that it might, if it had been put in a form abstracted from all consideration of the grammatic distinction of numbers. Accordingly, on the first occurrence of one of the groups containing this noun, it is paraphrased in the Septuagint *κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ’ ὁμοιότητα*, ‘according to kind, and according to similitude,’ which, I conceive, may be further interpreted to intimate that the living substances respectively compared in the place referred to were framed with such a degree of similitude as caused those of each set to be of the same kind. But, whether this be the correct signification, or not, of the adduced paraphrase, it is at all events obvious that the term *γένος* is therein employed unrestricted by any reference to number, just as much as is *ὁμοιότητα*. And although the latter term is afterwards for brevity sake omitted, the former continues to be used in the same abstract form, constituting in combination with *κατα* an expression (‘according to kind’) equivalent to merely an adverb, till, in stricter conformity with the original, the circumstances of the case are particularized through the introduction of a pronoun corresponding with an affix in the Hebrew group; and then the number of the Greek noun in question immediately comes out plural. Thus, in verse 21, *לְמִינֵהֶם*, which, according to the letters of this group, may be read *LeMINHeM*, ‘after their kind,’ and according to the points *LeMINeHeM*, ‘after their kinds,’ is translated in the Septuagint, not *κατὰ γένος*, but *κατὰ γένη αὐτῶν*, ‘after their kinds.’<sup>a</sup> As far, then, as the testimony of

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<sup>a</sup> To the effort above made to restore the consistency of the Greek translation upon the point referred to, it may be objected, that in verse 25 the expression occurs, *κατὰ γένος αὐτῶν*. But the last word of this expression is omitted in the Alexandrian copy of the Septuagint; and, when a corresponding correction is made in the Vatican copy, it will be found that, in every place in this chapter in which the Greek noun in question is written in the singular number, it is put in an abstract form, without any pronoun subjoined to it.



this ancient record bears upon the point under discussion,<sup>a</sup> it concurs with the evidence of the context in supporting the representation here made of this subject; and ׀ subjoined to a noun is to be considered as, in general, an affix to nouns plural, differing from the masculine affix ׀ only in the circumstance of being less fully written.

Before quitting the consideration of the example discussed in the last paragraph, I take the opportunity of noticing, by the way, the intimation it supplies to the effect that the Samaritan scribes had the vocalized text of the Jews under inspection, while they were vocalizing their own copies of the Hebrew Pentateuch. The original group לַמְּנָה admitted, when the final *He* was intended for a masculine affix, of two modes of vocalizing that affix, by either substituting for it, or subjoining thereto, a vocal *Waw*. The choice, in each instance, made between those different modes appears to have depended, either on the mere arbitrary caprice of the vocalizers, or on a difference of room, in the copy, or copies, first operated upon, between the characters in different parts of the text, which allowed space, in some places and not in others, for the interpolation of an additional letter. Such a want of uniformity in the collocation of the characters may very possibly have existed in extremely ancient writing; but it is utterly improbable that the greater or less, than usual, distances between the letters should have in general occurred in exactly the same passages respectively of copies written by scribes who held no intercourse with each other. Now the group in question is only three times found differently vocalized in the same verses respectively of the two editions referred to;<sup>b</sup>—namely, in each

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<sup>a</sup> Upon the above point the translation of the first chapter of Genesis in the Peshitah tells the opposite way; but in this instance the Septuagint is entitled to more weight, not only on account of its greater antiquity, but also because of the agreement of its evidence with that of the context.

<sup>b</sup> There are three instances of a difference, with regard to the vocalization of the above group, which do not bear upon the case under inquiry. First, in Gen. vi. 20, besides the occurrence of לַמְּנָה in both editions, this form

of the sites, Lev. xi. 16 and 29, it is now written *למינהו* in the Jewish, and *למיני* in the Samaritan set of copies; and *vice versa* in Lev. xi. 22, it presents to us the shorter vocalization in the former, and the longer one in the latter set;—while, on the other hand, in no less than twelve places it is shifted from the shorter to the longer form, or from the longer to the shorter one, exactly the same way in the two editions;—viz., in both editions, it is exhibited, first in the shorter form, in Gen. i. 11, then seven times successively in the longer form, to wit, in Gen. i. 12 (bis), 21, 25; vi. 20; vii. 14 (bis); then in the shorter form in Lev. xi. 15; then twice in the longer form in Lev. xi. 22 (bis); and finally, in the shorter one in Deut. xiv. 14. So near an approach to exact coincidence of variation, surely, could not, under the circumstances of the case, be expected in the vocalization of the two editions, unless the set of scribes who later undertook this operation had the use of the earlier work, while they were engaged in the performance of their task. This proof, I grant, is not by any means, when taken by itself, decisive on the question at issue; but as it can be repeated in an endless number of other instances with results of the same kind, the accumulation of evidence, thus afforded, to the same effect, can hardly be resisted.

of the group appears a second time in the Jewish edition, but *למיניהם* in the corresponding part of the specified verse in the Samaritan edition; where, through the fault of the one or the other set of copies, the original groups operated upon are not the same. Secondly, in Lev. xi. 22, while the group in question is vocalized twice in the same, and once in a different manner in the two editions, it occurs a fourth time in this verse, written *למינהו* in the Jewish copies, and *למינה* with its affix untouched and left without any vocalization in the Samaritan copies; so that the last pair cannot be stated to have their final elements vocalized in either the same or in different ways. Thirdly, in Deut. xiv. 15, *למינהו* occurs in the Jewish copies, and *למינה* in the Samaritan ones, but not in the same part of the verse, so that most probably the above group, however written, has been once dropped from this passage in each set of copies; and it is impossible now to determine whether, supposing the dropped groups to be restored, those of each pair would be found vocalized in the same, or in different manners.

With respect to the third and fourth forms of the masculine affix for the third person singular after plural nouns, there is no difference of opinion as to their meaning or application, and consequently no use of entering into any discussion about them, except as to the origin of the modes in which they are now written and pronounced. The fourth form, ך, which is that also of the same affix after nouns singular, only differently uttered, is obviously the third one, ך, defectively written (the *Yod* having been omitted, either from want of room for its insertion, or from a mistake of the old vocalizers as to the number of the preceding noun, or from oversight, owing to their having been previously accustomed to read the text of the Hebrew Bible without the aid of *matres lectionis*); accordingly, the two forms are pointed in just the same way by the Masorets,<sup>a</sup> and the one inquiry will answer regarding the ingredients and sounds of both. The third form, ך, differs from the first or complete one, ך, by the omission of the letter ך, which was originally the sole representative of the affix in question for every variety of circumstance;—an omission which cannot, like that of a *mater lectionis*, be attributed to mistake or oversight, but must be ascribed to the design of making room for indications of the gender of this affix and number of the preceding noun. Now, when the old vocalizers were compelled by want of space to forego the employment of one of the ingredients of the complete form, it appears, at first view, rather strange that they should have selected for omission the only one of the three that was a genuine element of the sacred text, and that too in a position in which it was sounded, as placed at the commencement of a syllable. But if we closely examine their initiatory steps, we shall find that they did not all at once proceed to so very objectionable an extreme of hardihood, but that they began with erasing the

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<sup>a</sup> The instances of the affix ך pointed by the Masorets for the pronunciation *aW*—the same as that attached by them to ך, when affixed to plural nouns—are too numerous to require here the production of any examples.

ו only where it was, or where they thought it was,<sup>a</sup> at the end of a syllable, and looked upon it as quiescent; in consequence of which it is more in proportion retained in the first chapter of Genesis than in any other part of the sacred text;—a circumstance which gives this chapter the appearance of being written in a peculiarly antiquated style. But after they had removed this ו, under the specified restriction, about a dozen times, they became bolder in the performance of their task, and at length ventured to expunge it at the beginning of syllables, in the seventh verse of the second chapter; where this group וּבְאֵפֶסֶת, *BeHaPpeHu*, ‘into his nostrils,’ was vocalized by them בְּאֵפֶסֶת. As to the sound of the transformed affix וּ, in this group, one might naturally suppose that, being derived from וּוּ, *EHU*, by the omission of the middle ingredient it would be uttered *E-U*; and so it probably was at first; but in all likelihood it soon after came, as it has since continued, to be pronounced *AW*,—not, however, universally, as there is, even up to the present day, much uncertainty and disagreement among Hebraists upon this subject. To confine myself, however, to the more usual pronunciation of this affix,—the capricious change herein made of the phonetic value of *Yod* from *E* to *A* is just as unaccountable as the opposite one now prevailing in the English language, whereby *A* is most frequently deprived of its proper sound, and shifted to that of *E*. But the Hebrew alteration referred to was adopted at a very remote period; and ו is not the only affix before which, or its substitute, the *Yod* indicative of the plural number formerly had, under certain circumstances, its pronunciation changed, although the only one in whose case that corruption still maintains its ground. Thus, in the illustration of the

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<sup>a</sup> The very first time of their erasing the affix ו was in vocalizing the original group לִמְנוּחַ in Gen. i. 11, which ought to have been read by them, as has been already shown, in the same way as it actually was in the very next versè, *LeMiNeHu*; but from their mode of vocalizing it in the former place, לִמְנוּחַ, we may perceive that they there read it *LeMiNoH*, with the ו at the end, instead of where it should be, at the beginning of a syllable.

mode of reading Hebrew in the time of Jerome, which is quoted from his works in the first chapter of this volume, we may observe SARACH given by him to denote the sound of צָרִיךְ, 'thine enemies,' which is now read šaREKa; and the *Yod* of אֱלֹהֶיךָ (HeLoHEKa, 'thy God,' in which the noun is exhibited in a plural form, though understood in a singular sense) was in like manner pronounced *A* by Chrysostom in his commentary on the forty-fifth Psalm, at the eighth verse of which he has represented the sound of this group by Ελωαχ.<sup>a</sup>

With respect to the change which has taken place in the phonetic value of the other element of צִי, though more violent (as not being from one vowel to another, but from a vowel to a consonant), it yet can, I apprehend, be accounted for with a high degree of probability. For the old vocalizers having left the second syllable of this affix without a consonant at its commencement, subsequent scribes were compelled, for the purpose of avoiding this anomaly, to reduce its two syllables into one through the transmutation of the second vowel into a *W*. If the Jewish priests had not resorted to this artifice, before they allowed the means of learning the ancient Hebrew tongue to be placed within reach of Origen (the first orthodox Christian who, after the commencement of the second century, attained to this knowledge), they would have run great risk of his detecting what they were most anxious to keep secret, the improved mode of spelling they had got introduced into the sacred text. Accordingly, the altered pronunciation under discussion can be traced as far back as his day. Thus Chrysostom, in his commentary on the forty-sixth Psalm, when he comes to the fifth verse, adduces Φαλαγαῦ—the sound of the group צִלְגָּי alone—in such a manner as to have the appearance, at first blush, of having been given by him as that of the Hebrew for the entire expression in the Septuagint, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ ὀρμήματα, which includes another group besides

<sup>a</sup> 'Ο δὲ Ἑβραῖός φησι τὸ, ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός σου, Ελωειμ, Ελωαχ.—*Chrysostomi Opera*, Ed<sup>o</sup>. Benedict., tom. v. p. 172.

this one.\* But whether ignorance of the original text to this extent can be fairly imputed to him or not, at all events the degree of inaccuracy here betrayed is quite sufficient to prove that he did not bring forward the specified pronunciation from his own knowledge of the language, but from the second column of the Hexapla, wherein the sounds of the Hebrew groups were recorded in Greek letters; so that the sound AW of the affix ו, can be shown to have commenced, at any rate, before that celebrated work of Origen was written. In fine, I have only to add, that my analysis of the pronunciation of this affix has not been undertaken with any desire of restoring a mode of reading it more conformable to the phonetic values of its separate elements, but merely for the object already stated, of tracing the corruptions of those values as near as I could to their origin, and of accounting for the more extraordinary one of the two, whereby a vowel-sign has been changed to a consonant; which, however, when that consonant is equivalent to V (the affix in question being by many pronounced AV instead of AW), is closely analogous to an alteration adopted by the modern Greeks, of pronouncing their *Upsilon* after *Alpha*, or *Epsilon*, as a V or F. Thus, for instance, the words αὔριον and αὐτός are read by them with the sounds respectively of *avri*on and *af*tos. As to the other corruption of the same affix, by which the value of its first ingredient has been shifted from the sound of E or I to that of A, I confess myself unable to assign for

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\* Τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ ὀρμήματα, ἄλλος, διαίρεσεις. ὁ δὲ Εβραῖος, φαλαγαῦ.—*Chrysostomi Opera*, Ed<sup>o</sup>. Benedict. tom. v., p. 184. The original Hebrew for the Greek expression here commented upon is נהר פלגיו, NaHaR PeLaGAw. ‘As to the river, its impetuosities, (that is, its torrents):’ so that, while our author gives the sound of only one of those groups, he would, at first sight, appear to attach to it the signification of both. As, however, the interpretation, διαίρεσεις, quoted from another version, can be compared with no more than the second term of the above expression, φαλαγαῦ may possibly be understood to have its meaning confined by him to the same term, though this restriction is not expressly stated; yet, even so, he still was guilty of great inaccuracy as a commentator; since, if the group read φαλαγαῦ be considered by itself, its correct rendering is not τὰ ὀρμήματα, but τὰ ὀρμήματα αὐτοῦ,—a distinction to which he does not make the slightest allusion.

it any rational ground ; but it can be illustrated, or at least kept in countenance, by changes introduced into other systems of writing, which, though fully as capricious and unwarranted, are yet sanctioned, each of them, by the general practice of an entire nation.

The masculine affix *He* after verbs is to be seen in the sacred text, as at present written, either changed to ם or ם, or left in its original state ם; and so has been treated in the same variety of ways, and nearly in the same manner, as after nouns singular ;<sup>a</sup> with this difference, however, that it has been less frequently expunged in the process of vocalization. Whether it was that the first vocalizers deemed this affix a more important ingredient of a sentence when standing for a personal pronoun governed by a verb than when denoting a possessive one connected with a noun, or by whatever other view of the subject they may have been guided, they certainly took less liberties with it after verbs than after nouns ; so that the *Waw*, which is more usually found substituted for the original *He* in the latter sites, is in general only subjoined to it in the former ones. The ם thus produced has the sound HU attached to it by the second set of vocalizers after verbal inflexions ending in a vowel, but has been pointed by them after all but one<sup>b</sup> of those ending in a consonant so as to be mostly read, either *a*HU, or *e*HU, according as the inflexion to which it is annexed belongs to the preterite tense or other parts of the verb. On the other hand, in the comparatively few cases in which the original *He* has been erased, the substituted *Waw* has been pointed so as to be read *O*, when it immediately follows a consonant, just in like manner as after nouns ; but when it is immediately preceded by the sound *I*,

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<sup>a</sup> Although ם is in general an affix of only nouns plural, yet in a few instances it is affixed to nouns singular, as, for example, in the case of ם, 'his mouth,' as has been already explained.

<sup>b</sup> After the ם of the feminine inflexion of the verb for the third person singular of the preterite tense, the affix HU immediately follows without any intervening union-vowel.

its phonetic value is—to avoid the anomaly in Hebrew writing of a syllable commencing with a vowel—changed to a *W*, and that again to a *V*, on account of the difficulty of pronouncing the former consonant after *I*; precisely in the same manner as we have seen these alterations made under like circumstances after nouns. These variations of the affix in question are to be met with after the same inflexions of the same verbs, not only in different passages of the sacred text, but also in the very same verses, as written in the two editions of the Pentateuch;—a point for the illustration of which the following examples are adduced:—

| Jewish Edition.      | Samaritan Edition.                                   | Authorized Eng. Vers. |
|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
|                      | Gen. xxvii. 27.                                      |                       |
| ברכך, BeRaKO,        | ברכה, BeRaKaHU, hath blessed it. <sup>a</sup>        |                       |
|                      | Gen. xxxvii. 20.                                     |                       |
| אכלתה, HaKaLaThHU,   | אכלת, HaKaLaThO, hath devoured him.                  |                       |
|                      | Gen. xxxvii. 21.                                     |                       |
| ויצלה, WaYyaSsiLeHU, | ויצל, WaYyaSsiLO, and he delivered him.              |                       |
|                      | Num. xxiii. 8.                                       |                       |
| לא קבך, LoH QaBboH,  | לא קבך, LoH QaBbO, hath not cursed him. <sup>a</sup> |                       |
|                      | Gen. xvii. 16.                                       |                       |
| וברכתה, WuBeRaKTIHa, | וברכתך, WuBeRaKTIV, yea, I will bless her.           |                       |

As far as these examples go, they serve to show that the Samaritan scribes resorted more freely than the Jewish ones to the very objectionable step of expunging an original element of the sacred text;—a circumstance which accords with the supposition of their having vocalized that text at a later period, and when they were more familiar than their Jewish predecessors had been, with this operation. The fourth example clearly exhibits, in its Jewish portion, the affix in question, as originally written; the group ending with which has been

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<sup>a</sup> In each of the examples above marked, the pronoun after the verb, being redundant, on account of the preceding relative, is omitted in our Version, to avoid a Hebrew idiom that could not with propriety be introduced into an English sentence.



pointed by the Masorets *QaRboH*, they having been prevented from applying to it the fuller and more regular pronunciation *QaBbaHu*, by the oversight of the first vocalizers in failing to subjoin to it a *Waw*.

The last of the above examples not only serves the more immediate purpose for which it has been adduced, of illustrating the curious transformation of a mater lectionis from a representative of the vowel *O* or *U* to a sign of the consonant *V*, but also supplies a valuable correction of the Jewish reading of the group therein quoted; with an examination of which, as well as of the whole passage to which it belongs, I shall close the present chapter. This group, in its original state *וּבֵרַכְתָּהּ*, admitted of being read either *WuBeRaKtiHa*, 'and I will bless her,' or *WuBeRaKtiHu*, 'and I will bless him:' but it is limited to the latter reading by the context; and that limitation, which is powerfully supported by the joint and independent testimonies of the Septuagint and the Peshitah, is also sustained by the evidence of the Samaritan Pentateuch, as soon as a manifest self-contradiction, which now appears in its text, is thence removed. The Authorized English Translation of the entire verse containing the group under discussion is, according to the more literal rendering given of part of it in the margin, conveyed in the following words:—"And I will bless her, and give thee a son also of her: yea, I will bless her, and she shall become nations [or, still more literally, she shall be into nations<sup>a</sup>]; kings of people shall be of her." But, according to the Samaritan text, cleared of the inconsistency just

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<sup>a</sup> The above second construction enclosed within brackets is scarcely intelligible English, and is not adduced with any view of recommending its adoption, even in the margin of an amended version, but merely for the purpose of enabling an English reader to compare more exactly the Hebrew verse with the corresponding Greek and Syriac ones. The strict closeness of these translations to their original is thus put in a very conspicuous light; and, where translators show such scrupulous fidelity of interpretation, even upon points relating to mere form of expression, their evidence, surely, is entitled to the more weight in regard to its substance.

alluded to, the second part of this verse should be translated: "moreover, I will surely bless him, and he shall surely become [literally, be into] nations, and kings of nations shall be *descended* from him." Now, with regard to the demands of the context, in the first place, it is evidently more suited to the notions that prevailed in ancient times, as well as to the language of the Bible, to speak of a man, rather than of a woman, as the origin from whom nations and kings of nations were to be derived. Secondly, it is more natural to refer the pronoun at the end of the above group to the person mentioned immediately before, namely, the son, than to a remoter antecedent, the mother. And thirdly, it is far more in keeping with the simplicity of the style of Moses, that this group should have been employed by him to convey an additional piece of information, than that it should have been superfluously inserted for the mere purpose of repeating a second time, without any variation,<sup>a</sup> what had been already stated in the beginning of the very same verse. In complete accordance with these views,

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<sup>a</sup> There is, however, a slight variation in the original, which could hardly be transfused into a version, and which rather strengthens the objection against the Jewish vocalization of the passage. After the first prediction therein contained of a blessing comes a pronoun in a detached, separate form, to bring more strongly under notice the person who was to be blessed, through a distinctness of expression that evidently rendered it the less necessary to repeat this prediction. On the other hand, in the case of the prediction of a second blessing, its object is referred to only in the more usual manner, through the fragment of a pronoun amalgamated with the verb in the shape of an affix; as it would have been superfluous to have more prominently pointed out an individual to whom attention was sufficiently drawn by the declaration immediately following, that he should be the origin from whom nations and kings of nations were to be descended. The difference is somewhat analogous to that which would be produced in a correct English translation of this passage, by reading it with a short pause between the verb and pronoun, and some emphasis on the latter word, in the case of the prediction, 'I will surely bless her,' but without resorting to either part of this expedient in the case of the second one, 'I will surely bless him,' the emphasis in the latter instance being reserved for the pronoun in the subsequent declaration, 'and he shall surely become——.'

the first Greek and Syriac renderings of the entire verse are worded as follows ; while a literal interpretation is subjoined to each.

*Septuagint*, Εὐλογήσω δὲ αὐτήν, καὶ δώσω σοι ἐξ αὐτῆς τέκνον<sup>a</sup>  
καὶ εὐλογήσω αὐτὸ, καὶ ἔσται εἰς ἔθνη, καὶ βασιλεῖς  
ἐθνῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔσονται.

And I will bless her, and will give thee out of her a child;  
moreover, I will bless it, and it shall become [literally,  
be into] nations, and kings of nations shall be from it.

*Peshitah*, . . . .  
 . . . .  
 . . . .

And I will bless her, and also will give thee out of her a  
son: moreover, I will bless him, and he shall become  
[literally, be into] nations, and kings of nations shall be  
from him.

The original verse, with two requisite corrections, indicated by marks inserted according to my method of notation, stands thus :—

*Jewish Ed.* וברכת' אתה, וגם נתת' ממנה לך בן; וברכת' ידיו.  
והיתה לגוים, ומלכ' עמים ממנה ידיו.

The two corrections here marked, each of which is wanted in order to restoring the application of the second clause to Isaac, are both of them evidently supported by the context, as well as by the joint bearing of the above translations of the verse ; and the first of them is still further sustained by the express evidence of the Samaritan edition of the text, as far as depends on the first group of the second clause therein written וברכת', in respect to which alone there is any differ-

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<sup>a</sup> The Hebrew term בן, BeN, may be translated *viós*, 'a son,' where no limitation with respect to age is put upon its meaning, or *τέκνον*, 'a child,' if confined to young persons; and the Seventy appear to have, in the above passage, given a preference to its more restricted sense, for the purpose of marking in a stronger manner the greatness of the promised transition from a single individual, when a child, to nations and kings of nations.

ence between the Jewish and Samaritan representations of this verse, and, therefore, it is needless to adduce separately the latter, in addition to the former one which has been just quoted. There is, indeed, another difference which holds in part between the two representations: the ך before מלכ, which is preserved in, I believe, all the Samaritan copies that have reached Europe, and must have been so in the Jewish ones till after the Septuagint and Peshitah were written, has disappeared from most of the latter set that are now extant. But as the letter in question is retained in seven of the ancient Jewish MSS. consulted by Kennicott (viz. those numbered by him 9, 69, 80, 89, 109, 150, 157), it is unnecessary to consider the two records as differing with respect to this element, or to mark it as a modern restoration by enclosing it within brackets, in an amended edition of the Hebrew text. In borrowing the first of the above corrections, or that of the first group of the second clause, from the Samaritan scribes, I have avoided the extreme liberty they took therewith, and have resorted to the more usual and far preferable mode of confining the affix *He* of a verb to the masculine gender, by subjoining to the final element of this group, instead of substituting for it, a vocal *Waw*. The second correction, which, by marking the *Taw* in the next group of the verse as spurious, limits the verb substantive in that group to a masculine form, is of more importance than the first, as having a reference to the original writing of the sacred text, and should not be adopted till after the most careful scrutiny. But the combination of internal and external evidence against the genuineness of this letter is so very powerful, that I do not see how it can be resisted. Besides these two corrections, no other is wanted, with respect to either the original or the subsequently added vocal elements of the writing of this verse: for, where the context requires it, the group ממנה, I have already shown, can be read MiMmeNnoH or MiMmeNHu, 'of or from him,' as well as MiMmeNnaH, 'of or from her,' without any change of its letters.

With respect to the date of the interpolation of the spurious *Taw*, it could not have crept into the Jewish copies of the Pentateuch till after the Syriac version was written ; while, on the other hand, it must have found its way into them before they were vocalized ; as otherwise the Jewish scribes would have had no ground whatever for vocalizing, in the manner they did, the first group of the second clause. This corruption, therefore, must have got into the Jewish set of copies within the first thirty years of the second century ; and the high antiquity thus made out for it sufficiently accounts for the circumstance of no manuscript copy of that edition now extant having been found exempt therefrom. The same corruption could not, for the very opposite reason, have got into the Samaritan edition till after it had been vocalized ; but still was most probably introduced into it at a very remote period. There is one omission in the Greek and Syriac renderings of the examined verse which appears to me rather strange in translations that are, in other respects, so extremely literal. In neither of them is any distinction expressed between the ordinary and the prophetic futures of the original passage ; perhaps from a want of such distinction in Greek and Syriac. The same want exists in English likewise, but may be supplied by the frequent use of an adverb ; though, I admit, the tautology so occasioned ought to be avoided, if the same effect could be produced in any other way. But, however this may be, a translation of the verse, framed according to the expedient just alluded to, is here submitted to the judgment of the reader :—" And I will surely bless her, and also will surely give thee out of her a son ; moreover I will surely bless him, and he shall surely become nations, and kings of nations shall be *descended* from him."

## CHAPTER IV.

CONTINUATION OF THE ARGUMENT DERIVED FROM THE  
STRUCTURE OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

ORIGINAL USE RECOVERED OF THE *PARAGOGIC HE*—*HALEPH* AND *HE* OFTEN MISTAKEN ONE FOR THE OTHER IN THE SACRED TEXT—ORIGINAL FORMS OF THE HEBREW AND CHALDEE PRONOUNS OF THE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR—ORIGINAL FORMS OF WHOLE HEBREW PRONOUN, AND ITS AFFIX, OF THE FIRST PERSON PLURAL—ORIGINAL FORMS OF THE PARTS OF THE PRONOUN OF FIRST PERSON SINGULAR USED AS AFFIXES—ORIGINAL AMBIGUITY OF *HE* AFFIXED TO NOUNS, ILLUSTRATED BY EXAMPLES—FORMERLY A HINT NOT ALWAYS GIVEN OF *I* OR *U* SOUND AT THE END OF WORDS—A DIFFICULTY CLEARED UP IN THE EXISTING STATE OF THE *PESHITAH*—THE *PARAGOGIC HE* AFTER *A* NOW USED OFTENER THAN IS COMMONLY SUPPOSED—*PARAGOGIC HE* FORMERLY USED AFTER VERBS ENDING IN *I* OR *U* SOUND—MODE PROPOSED OF ASCERTAINING POETIC USE OF THE HEBREW TENSES—MANY DIFFERENCES CAN BE REMOVED FROM THE TWO COPIES OF 18<sup>TH</sup> PSALM—INSTANCE OF ERRONEOUS MASORETIC CHANGE OF AN OLDER VOCALIZATION.

BESIDES the pronominal affixes of the third person singular masculine, those of the first person singular and plural are at present written, either wholly or in part, with vowel-letters. The integral pronoun also of this person in both the singular and the plural number, and various inflexions of words, are now terminated with such letters. It is, therefore, desirable, in order to the more satisfactory development of my discovery (though not absolutely requisite to the establishment of its truth) to ascertain how those affixes, or parts of affixes, and terminations of integral words, were distinguished before the introduction of *matres lectionis* into the sacred text. The investigation of this point has led to—what I conceive to be a *desideratum* in Hebrew philology—the detection of the original use of the *paragogic He*. This letter, which is assumed to be invariably preceded, in the course of

enunciation, by the sound of the vowel *A*, and on all sides admitted (as, indeed, is in some measure implied in its technical designation) to cause no alteration in the meaning of the group to which it is subjoined, is yet supposed by the few grammarians who have touched upon its use (for all allusion to this subject has been cautiously avoided by most of them\*), to render the expression of that meaning more emphatic. But this supposition cannot be allowed valid by any one who attaches weight to the united evidence of the pointers and accentuators of the Hebrew text. For the former set of critics have never in any instance inserted their *mappiq* in the *paragogic He*, which they have in consequence left everywhere destitute of all perceptible aspiration, while, on the other hand, the latter set have never (except in a particular class of instances presently to be noticed) changed the site of the tone syllable of a group on account of the addition to it of this character; and it is plain that a letter which causes no alteration whatever in the sound of a word cannot indicate any stress of voice laid upon its pronunciation. In a text, however, of such vast antiquity, the original mode of pronouncing its ingredients is now but very imperfectly known, whereas the sense conveyed by them can, except in the case of some passages still involved in obscurity, be perfectly ascertained. The latter subject, therefore, is far more to be relied on than the former as a criterion for determining the justness of the above notion; and by such test its validity certainly cannot be sustained; as the reader may perceive by a reference to the context of, I believe, any of the passages in which the letter in question is to be met with. Thus, for example, this letter is annexed to the expression *נתת*, 'thou gavest,' thereby

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\* The *He local* is the only one added at the end of words that is in general explained in Hebrew grammars, in several of which it is described under the head of the *paragogic He*—a class of letters to which it certainly does not in strictness belong; since it makes a well-defined addition to the meaning of such words as it may be subjoined to.

altered to נִתְּתָה, in the twelfth verse of the third chapter of Genesis ; where Adam in some degree throws the blame of his violation of God's command upon Eve. But he did not venture to shift this blame further back ; and even if he had dared to do so, he would have laid it, not upon the act through which he obtained a companion, but on the Performer of that act. Supposing him, then, to have adopted such a line of defence, there would, indeed, have been a word of the above verse delivered by him with emphasis, yet still not the adduced one, but the pronoun connected therewith, which should then have been added in a separate form (as in Judges, xv. 18) immediately before the verb, whence the literal meaning would have come out, 'whom thou thyself gavest.' On no supposition, then, can any degree of impressiveness be made out to have been communicated to the utterance of נִתְּתָה, in the specified verse, in consequence of the paragogic letter there subjoined to it ; and in like manner it may be shown in, at any rate, the great majority of places of the occurrence of this letter, that the only use as yet imagined for it is not borne out by the context of those places.

Under these circumstances I venture to bring forward a new explanation of the use of the *paragogic He*, extending to every case of its employment ; and to which the present discovery has led, through a comparison of groups vocalized in some places of the Jewish edition of the Hebrew text, and passed over in others without any alteration, or which have been thus differently treated in the same places respectively of the two editions of the Pentateuch. I shall commence with giving a general view of the result of this inquiry, and then subjoin examples by which the soundness of the investigation may be tested. The letter in question, then, itself unsounded, yet served as a mark to notify to the ancient reader that the last element of the word to which it is annexed was not to be united to the preceding one in the expression of a compound, or, as it is by some called, a mixed syllable, but to be read by itself as a simple or pure syllable, the vocal part of which was



to be determined by the context ; or, according to the improved conception of the subject which was arrived at, after men had distinctly resolved syllables into their component parts, the above letter served to apprise the reader that it was immediately preceded in the course of enunciation by a vowel-sound—by no means invariably that of *A*—which he was left to select in accordance with the demands of the context, but in the choice of which he was so far assisted by this notification, inasmuch as that, by being put upon his guard as to the want of a vowel, and the necessity of searching for it, he was more likely to perform the operation with correctness. This use, in the earlier conception of its nature, is just the reverse of one effected by a different expedient in the Ethiopic species of writing. For, whenever in that species a letter at the end of a word is not to be read by itself as a pure syllable, but to be joined to the preceding one in the representation of a compound or mixed syllable, a particular modification of its shape is employed, namely that found in the sixth column of the syllabary it belongs to, and which, for this application of it, drops the vocal part of its syllabic value. With regard to the above use, in the later and fuller conception of it, two particulars are to be noticed in the practice of the vocalizers of the second century. First, whenever they, in compliance with the suggestion of a *paragogic He*, inserted a *mater lectionis* in the text, they omitted the older element, as its service was more directly and efficiently performed by the introduced letter, and they could not venture to let both signs appear together ; for the redundancy thus occasioned would have led to the suspicion of the spuriousness of one of them ; it being most unlikely that the original authors employed anywhere two signs for the same sound. Hence it follows that the occurrence of this *paragogic* character in the Hebrew text must have been much more frequent before the introduction into it of vowel-letters, though not so much so as we might at first view of the matter be led to imagine ; since the inspired writers of the Old Testament very often withheld the aid

afforded by the letter in question, in suggesting what words were to have their pronunciations terminated by vocal sounds. Secondly, the vocalizers abstained from erasing this letter where the vowel-sound thereby suggested is that of *A*; as they did not consider it necessary in such sites to insert any vowel-letter; whence it has resulted that in the great majority of instances in which the *paragogic He* still remains in the text, it immediately follows the *A* sound—a circumstance which has given rise to the erroneous notion that it was always, in reading out, preceded by that sound. Respecting the use I assign to this letter, I have further to observe, that it is analogous to that on all sides conceded to the *matres lectionis*, in reference to the exertion of thought it required in order to the attainment of any benefit from its assistance. For a *Yod* or a *Waw*, employed as a vowel-letter, does not directly inform a reader what vowel it expresses in each place of its occurrence. He still must consult the context of that place, and the inflexion thereby required of the word in which it is inserted, before he can determine whether it there stands, if the former letter, for an *E* or *I*, or, if the latter, for an *O* or *U*. But the *paragogic He*, by intimating some vowel or other to be wanted after the last consonant of a word, calls for an exercise of judgment, of just the same kind, though extended through a wider range of choice. Where, indeed, a *mater lectionis* has been substituted, it facilitates this choice, by contracting the range thereof; but it still leaves the general nature of the requisite mental operation exactly the same as before.

Hitherto I have only considered the class of instances in each of which the vowel-sound intimated by the *paragogic He* closes the pronunciation of a regular inflexion of the word before it or of an affix to that word; so that, according to the pointing and modern way of reading the text, the enunciation of the entire group comes out just the same, whether that letter form part of it, or not. Thus—to revert to an example already touched upon—the group *נתת* must have been pronounced by an ancient reader, as nearly as we now can approach to the

sounds employed by him, *NaThaTti*, if the context showed him that it was used in the first person singular, or *NaThaTta*, if in the second person singular masculine ; and if a *paragogic He* had been added, then **נִתְּתָה**, the group thus increased would have been read by him, for the same two cases, *NaThaTtiH* or *NaThaTtaH*, differing from the former readings only by the addition of a quiescent *H*, and so, virtually yielding the same sounds as before. The addition to the original group of the *paragogic* character would have at once excluded the pronunciation *NaThaT*, and so far have lessened the trouble of the selection he had to make ; yet it would not in the slightest degree have altered either of the combinations of articulate sounds previously arrived at by the aid of the context alone. But, to include every case, I must notice another class, though not referred to in the ensuing course of investigation, in which the suggested vowel belongs not to any regular inflexion of the preceding word, or to any affix thereof ; and where, though the letter in question has no effect on the sound of the syllable composed of that vowel and the preceding consonant, it yet, through the intervention of that syllable, perceptibly alters the sound of the entire group. Thus, for example, **אֶזְכֶּר**, 'I will remember,' is in some places of the sacred text written **אֶזְכֶּרָה**, whereby the pronunciation of the group is altered, according to the present mode of reading it, from *HeZKaR* to *HeZKaRaH*, and the tonic accent shifted to the addition so made to it. Here undoubtedly there not only is, but also must always have been, a change of sound, produced immediately by the *paragogic* syllable, and mediately by the *paragogic* letter which indirectly suggests the vowel part of that syllable. Yet, tried by the context of the places in which it occurs, the *paragogic He* is found in this way of employing it, just as in the one before examined, to communicate no impressiveness whatever to the meaning of the word to which it is attached. The above specified forms of the inflexion of the verb **זָכַר** for the first person singular of the future tense occur, both of them, in the verse of the 77th Psalm which is translated in our Au-

thorized Version as follows :—"I will remember the works of the LORD ; surely I will remember thy wonders of old." The simple regular form appears in the first, and the irregularly augmented form in the second clause of the original verse : but the act of remembering is not at all more forcibly expressed in the latter place than in the former, being interpreted by the very same words in both places ; and, consequently, if the second clause be the more impressive one, it is rendered so by the introduction of the adverb and the repetition of the act referred to, but not in the slightest degree by the form of the word through which that act is conveyed. The efficacy, therefore, which is attributed by grammarians to the letter in question seems to be as untenable in the present class of cases as in that previously noticed. But, with respect to the changes of pronunciation occasioned by this letter in the set of instances now before us, irregular forms of words are employed in most languages ; and even though we should not be able to ascertain for what end those here alluded to were intended, still it is desirable at all events to adhere as nearly as we can to their original sounds. But for this purpose the use I assign to the *paragogic He* was, before the text became pointed, quite indispensable. In the cases previously considered, wherein the forms of the words are all regular, the ancient reader could have arrived, though not without some additional trouble, at those forms, and, consequently, at the correct pronunciation of the groups, to which they belong, through the sole aid of the context ; but in the cases now brought under consideration he could never have determined that pronunciation without the further aid of the letter in question, which thus appears to have been still more wanted for this service in the latter class of instances than in the former ;—a service which in those different degrees continued needful, till the fuller vocalization of the text was effected by means of the Masoretic points.

As far as this preliminary description is borne out by the ensuing analysis, it must, I think, be admitted that the *para-*

*gogic He*, as originally employed, is not to be considered in strictness as a letter denoting a power of its own, but as a sign or mark of a different kind, indirectly turning attention to, and suggesting something quite alien from itself, namely, the vowel-sound that ought, in the course of reading out, immediately to precede it. The service of this *quasi* letter having been more directly and distinctly performed by the *matres lectionis*, they, in a great measure, banished it from the text, and superseded its use ; and this application of it, which appears to have been entirely put an end to upon the introduction of the Masoretic points, was most probably soon after lost sight of, and at all events has long since become quite effaced from the memory of Hebrew readers. Of course, no one could now approve of restoring the *paragogic He* in the sites from which it has been erased, or of returning to a mode of reading which had, in part, to depend on the imperfect aid of the service formerly yielded by so indirect a sign ; but still the recovered knowledge of the ancient employment of the character in that service is not only interesting as a matter of antiquarian research, but also valuable to the Hebrew student ; as it contributes to account for several mistakes in the text of the sacred volume, and thereby leads to their correction.

Before entering on the proposed investigation, I must briefly advert to a second subject,—the frequent interchange of the letters *Haleph* and *He* which is observable in the Hebrew Bible. Many instances of mistakes of this sort in the sacred text are already well known ; and I here adduce a few additional examples, to show how much the stock of them might be increased through a comparison of the Jewish and Samaritan copies of the Pentateuch. These instances are taken solely from the Book of Genesis, from which alone more than double the number might easily be quoted ; and such only are selected as exhibit a direct opposition between the two editions in respect to the letters in question, and so render obvious an erroneous use of them in one or other edition.

|                   | Jewish Edition. | Samaritan Edition. | Authorized Eng. Ver. |
|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Genesis, xix. 29, | החפכה           | האפכה              | the overthrow.       |
| xxiv. 25,         | מספן            | מספה               | provender.           |
| xxv. 15,          | תִּמָּה         | תִּמָּה            | a proper name.       |
| xxxviii. 1,       | חִירָה          | חִירָה             | a proper name.       |
| xli. 13,          | תלה             | תלא                | he hanged.           |
| xli. 25,          | הגיד            | אגיד               | hath showed.         |
| xlili. 12,        | משגה            | משגא               | an oversight.        |
| xlvi. 21,         | גרא             | גרה                | a proper name.       |
| xlix. 9,          | וכלבִּיא        | וכלבִּיה           | and as an old lion.  |
| l. 17,            | אנא             | אנה                | I pray thee.*        |

The numerous instances in which these letters were mistaken, one for the other, by the copyists of each edition of the Pentateuch, in the manner here exemplified, appear to indicate a close similarity of shape formerly subsisting between them, without which they could hardly have been so often confounded : and, as the effect is common to both editions, so in all probability was likewise its cause ; whence it would further appear that this similarity commenced before the very remote period when the Samaritan set of copies was derived from the Jewish one. But this inference admits not of being confirmed by actual observation ; since the oldest known remains of ancient Hebrew writing are upon coins, and these go no farther back than the year B. C. 140, when the Jews, under the government of the Maccabean Simon, first obtained permission from the Greeks to have a coinage of their own.<sup>b</sup> The

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\* In the place above specified, the rendering, ‘we pray thee,’ is required by the context, instead of ‘I pray thee.’ But this violation of grammar in the Authorized English Version does not extend to the original text, in which the particle of entreaty made use of, אָנָּה, is applicable indifferently to either number ; just in like manner as is in English the single word, ‘pray,’ elliptically used. Our translators appear to have been led into the mistake here committed by them, through a desire to avoid tautology ; as they have employed the expression, ‘we pray thee,’ in a subsequent part of the same verse, where the same Hebrew word occurs, in the contracted form אָנָּה. But, surely, they might have effected this object more correctly by introducing a corresponding contraction into their rendering of the passage ; namely, by translating the full particle, ‘we pray thee,’ and its abbreviation, ‘pray.’

<sup>b</sup> See 1 Mac. xv. 6.

difficulty, therefore, of distinguishing between the letters *Haleph* and *He*, it is most likely, began several centuries before the date of the oldest specimens of them now extant;—a length of time abundantly sufficient for pointing out the cause of this evil, and so leading to its gradual diminution. Still, it is to be noted, that the above letters upon the coins alluded to approach much nearer to mutual resemblance than their modern equivalents;—a fact which accords with the supposition that, if we could get them of sufficient age, we should find them nearly identical in shape. They cannot, however, be supposed to have been to this degree similar at first, by those who admit the divine origin of the Hebrew alphabet; for a gift from our beneficent Creator, in the state in which it immediately came from him, could not have had any faults of a positively injurious kind like that here brought under consideration, though it might, faults of mere defect, such as man is made capable of removing, and which, accordingly, he has been left to remove through the exertion of his own faculties.

In order to trace to the original state the two forms of the Hebrew pronoun of the first person singular, אֲנִי and אָנֹכִי, as also the single Chaldee form of the same person אַנִּי, I select the following examples:—

|               | Jewish Edition. | Samaritan Edition.    |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Gen. xlii. 2, | הִנֵּה behold.  | אֲנִי I.              |
| Ex. xviii. 6, | אֲנִי I.        | יִהְיֶה behold.       |
| Ex. iii. 13,  | אָנֹכִי I.      | אֲנִי I.              |
| Dan. ii. 8,   | אַנִּי I.       | Dan. ii. 23, אֲנִי I. |

In the first and second of these examples we may perceive that the groups now written אֲנִי and הִנֵּה were at a remote

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<sup>a</sup> In the Samaritan manuscript which has been printed in Bishop Walton's Polyglot, the above word is exhibited אֲנִי, the same as in the Jewish edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch; but this is the only copy of the Samaritan text in which Dr. Kennicott found it so written. In the notes to his edition of the Bible he has specified fourteen other Samaritan MSS.—numbered by him 61, 64, 65, 66, 127, 183, 197, 221, 333, 334, 364, 503, 504, 670,—in all of which the group in question has been preserved הִנֵּה.

period confounded with each other ; for which, as far as respects their initial elements, one can easily account by the close similarity that formerly subsisted between the shapes of these letters ; but not by any possibility in respect to their terminations, unless it be conceded that the former group was, before its vocalization, written אנה. The original state of the form of this Hebrew pronoun is more directly laid before us in the third example, wherein the group vocalized אנכי in the Jewish edition of the text, was overlooked in the very same spot of the Samaritan edition, and left in its primitive state, אנכה. It thus turns out that both forms were at first ended with a *paragogic He*, which (as soon as distinct conceptions were obtained of the component parts of syllables) served in these examples indirectly to suggest the vowel *I* ; and that the vocalizers, having in compliance with this suggestion inserted a *Yod* directly to denote this vowel, erased the *paragogic* sign whose service after each form of the pronoun was so much better effected by means of the introduced mater lectionis. In like manner the fourth example shows that the Chaldean form of this pronoun אנא, HāNA, was originally written אנה, and read HāNaH ; as also that the *paragogic* termination of the older form, which served indirectly to suggest the vowel-sound *A*, was erased by the vocalizers, as soon as they had more distinctly represented that sound by means of an *Haleph*.

The first example is extracted from an observation of Jacob to his sons, the introductory part of which is written, in the Jewish edition of the Pentateuch, הנה שמעתי, 'Behold, I have heard,' but in the Samaritan edition אני שמעתי, 'I myself have heard.' Some degree of emphasis is attached to the latter exhibition of this part of his speech, by the repetition of the pronoun (which is given first separately, and then in a connected state at the close of the inflexion of the verb) ; but its former representation evidently agrees much better with the context ; and is, besides, supported by both the Septuagint and the Peshitah. Here, then, the Jewish reading of the



initial word must be deemed correct, and the Samaritan one be consequently rejected. On the contrary, in the second example, the Samaritan reading is the true one, and that adopted by the Jews fallacious; as can be shown by a very powerful combination of external and internal evidence. To make this plain to the reader, I commence with laying before him the Jewish and Samaritan readings of the Hebrew clause which contains the disputed word; also the Greek and Syriac translations of this clause; and the literal meanings of the four lines subjoined to them respectively:—

*Hebrew,* ויאמר אל מֹשֶׁה, אֲנִי חֹתֶנְךָ בֵּא אֵלַיךְ, —  
And he said to Moses, I thy father-in-law Yithro *am*  
coming unto thee, —

*Samaritan,* — ויאמר למשה, הנה, חתנך יתרו בא אלך.  
And it was told to Moses, Behold, thy father-in-law Yithro  
is coming unto thee,—

*Greek,* Ἀνηγγέλη δὲ Μωυσῇ, λέγοντες,<sup>a</sup> ἰδοὺ ὁ γαμβρός σου  
 Ἰοθὺρ παραγίνεται πρὸς σέ,—  
 And it was told to Moses, saying, Behold, thy father-in-law  
 Iothor is coming unto thee,—

*Syriac,* —. ܝܬܪܝܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܨܝܐ ܕܝܬܪܝܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܨܝܐ.  
And it was told to Moses, that behold, thy father-in-law  
Yithron is coming unto thee,—

The various pronunciations here exhibited of the name of the father-in-law of Moses, *Iothor*, *Yithro*, and *Yithron*, have been already canvassed, and the discrepancies between them

<sup>a</sup> The false concord in the above Greek sentence is avoided in three MSS.—numbered, in the notes to Holmes's edition of the Septuagint, 53, 58, 72—wherein the first word is written ἀνγγειλαν. The irregularity of the received reading may, in a great measure, be accounted for by the discovery unfolded in this volume. Before the original text was vocalized, the initial group of the corresponding Hebrew sentence could have been read in either the singular or plural number, and must have been taken in the latter num-

accounted for, in a preceding chapter. But, with respect to the main point for which these lines are at present adduced, it will be seen, upon a comparison of the last three, that the reading of the word under examination, **רִנֵּה**, 'behold,' is supported, and consequently the other, **אֲנִי**, 'I,' rejected, by the so far perfectly concurrent, though quite independent attestations of the Samaritan, the Greek, and the Syriac records: and, besides this powerful evidence against the latter reading, its correctness is further disproved even by the sole consideration of the context. For as, on the one hand, it was very natural for messengers to specify the name and quality of a person whose approach they were announcing, and to state that he was coming, while he was yet on the way; so, on the other, it is wholly unaccountable that Jethro, when arrived in the presence of his son-in-law (after a separation of scarcely more than a year following the space of forty that they lived together), should think it necessary to tell his name, or how he was related to the Prophet, and that he should say he was 'coming,' after his actual arrival. In our Authorized Version, indeed, **אֲנִי** is construed, 'am come;' but, to justify this tense of the English verb, the Hebrew one should have been put in the inflexion **בֹּאֲנִי**. The corruption, however, of the Jewish reading of the Hebrew line is even still more clearly evinced by comparing its drift with that of the next verse:—"And Moses went out to meet his father-in-law, and did obeisance, and kissed him; and they asked each other of *their* welfare; and they came into the tent."—Exod. xviii. 7. According to the representation of the matter produced by combining the contents of the two verses, Moses went out to meet his father-in-law,

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ber, by those who connected *λέγοντες* with their translation of it. The meanings, however, are perfectly equivalent of the two expressions, 'they' (that is, some persons) 'announced to Moses,' and 'it was announced to Moses;' and if, in consequence, the rendering of the Hebrew verb came to be *ἀνῆγγειλαν* in only some copies of the Septuagint, and *ἀνῆγγελεη* in others, the supplementary word *λέγοντες*, which was consistently used in the former set, may, through the ignorance of copyists, have been transcribed into the latter.

and had his first interview with Jethro just after this same Jethro had already been speaking to him ! So preposterous a statement, surely, could not have issued from the pen of the inspired historian. As long, indeed, as the *matres lectionis* were thought to be original elements of the sacred text, the pious reader hesitated to question their authority, or to trust his judgment in too closely sifting their correctness ; but, now that they have been shown to be the interpolations of fallible, uninspired men, they must be considered as forming merely a human commentary on the text of the Bible ;—a highly useful one, I admit, but still not to be implicitly relied on in every instance, and especially not in such as that before us, where the colouring given to the original clause is utterly at variance both with the internal evidence of the case and with the unanimous testimony of the Samaritan editors, and the Greek and Syriac translators of that passage. In the first, then, of the above quoted lines, the word under examination should be written, according to my notation,  $\text{אָנִי־נִרְאָה}$  ; or, on account of the double correction, it would perhaps be better to restore  $\text{הִנֵּה}$  in the text, and to remove  $\text{אָנִי}$  to the margin. Moreover, the name of the father-in-law of Moses should be exhibited with a mark of censure over its final element,  $\text{יֹתָרֹ}$ . Besides these corrections no further one is required in an unpointed text ; since the initial group,  $\text{וַיֹּאמֶר}$ , can be read  $WaYyeHaMeR$ , ‘and it was said (or told),’ just as well as  $WaYyoHMeR$ , ‘and he said.’ In fine, the English translation of the examined clause, no more altered from that given in our Authorized Version than is absolutely necessary, will come out as follows : “And it was told to Moses, Behold, thy father-in-law Yothor is coming unto thee.”

I have already remarked in the second chapter, that in a fragment of Aquila’s translation of the verse immediately before the clause above examined, his transcription of the name of the father-in-law of Moses is preserved  $\text{Ιεθρῶ}$ . This single instance of agreement, as to the main part of the expressed sound, with the present state of the sacred text wherein the

same name is now written יְתָרִי, does not, I grant, afford sufficient ground for concluding that he made his version from a vocalized copy of that text ; because there are some well-ascertained cases of the Jews having adopted fallacious pronunciations of the vocal part of Scriptural names, before they were enabled to give stability to those misrepresentations through the introduction of vowel-letters into the writing of the Hebrew Bible. But there are several more examples preserved of his accordance in sound or sense with the vocalized text, and of his consequent deviation from the Septuagint, quite enough to render it evident that he must have made use of a vocalized copy ; and it was most probably eagerness to have such a copy in readiness to place within his reach that was one of the chief causes of the great precipitation with which the old vocalizers appear to have executed their task. To this precipitation must be attributed their overlooking the gross perversion of sense produced by changing הָנָה in the above clause into אָנִי,—a perversion which, combined with others of the same kind, was calculated in the most efficacious manner to lead eventually to the detection of their fraudulent treatment of the sacred text. But the Jewish priests must before long have perceived the blunders thus committed by the scribes in their employment, as well as the peril of exposure thence resulting ; and in the hundred years that intervened between Aquila and Origen there was abundance of time to get rid of this danger, before they allowed the orthodox Christians to recover possession of the Hebrew Bible. But, upon turning attention to the subject after we are once put upon the scent, the fact stares us full in the face, that, notwithstanding all their sagacity and cunning, they actually failed to avail themselves of this opportunity of effecting the object they must have had nearest to their heart ;—a fact which places in so strong a light the interposition of the Deity for the protection, through natural means, of his Holy Word, that I cannot forbear noticing it by the way, though I must leave this, and its more immediate cause, together with some other points,

for fuller consideration in another volume, if a gracious Providence should grant me life and health sufficient to add a brief supplement to this treatise.

I have not met with the integral Hebrew pronoun of the first person plural in its primitive state ; but an oversight of the Jewish vocalizers, corrected by the Samaritan scribes, brings to light the original form of the part of this pronoun used as an affix ; whence may be deduced the corresponding form of the unmutilated integer. The discrepancy to which I allude, between the two editions of the Pentateuch, is as follows :—

Exod. i. 10.

Jewish Edition.

וְתִקְרָאנֶךָ, TiQRaHNaH.

Samaritan Edition.

וְתִקְרָאנֶךָ, TiQRaHeNU, or TiQRaHeNuU.

The pronunciation subjoined to the Jewish exhibition of the group here referred to is that conveyed by its actual Masoretic pointing, according to which it has the signification, ‘there happeneth, or may, or shall happen.’ On the other hand, the pronunciations annexed to the Samaritan exhibition of this group are yielded by pointings of the same system that might be applied to it, and serve, each of them, to denote, ‘there happeneth (or may, or shall happen) unto us ;’ but the former is preferable, as it is free from ambiguity, while the latter bears a second signification,—‘there happeneth (or may, or shall happen) unto him,’—which is excluded from the specified place by the context.<sup>a</sup> On the one side, then, we find this group overlooked by the Jewish scribes, and left in its original state, with its final syllable written נָךְ, while, on the other, we

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<sup>a</sup> The reader is requested to bear in mind that I do not claim for the Masoretic system of pointing the credit of preserving exactly the ancient Jewish pronunciation of Hebrew, but merely that of supplying us, when it is correctly used, with the means of ascertaining the sense of the Hebrew text, which is all that is absolutely requisite for us to know respecting it; and the same remark equally warrants the application of this system in like manner to the old Samaritan pronunciation of the language and extant edition of that text.

may perceive, it was vocalized by the Samaritan scribes so as to change that syllable into נַ, which, whether it was in its enunciation connected with the preceding verb by means of the sound *e* or *en*, was itself pronounced *NU*, and signified ‘us.’ As, then, the fragment נַ was in the last chapter proved to be the primitive form of the affix of the third person singular after an epenthetic *Nun*, so from the comparison here made it results that the same fragment presents to us also the affix of the first person plural in its original state ; and this consequence is valid, whether the Samaritans were right or not in the meaning which, their vocalization shows, they attached to the entire group ; as they could not here have vocalized it for this meaning, unless it admitted in the abstract of such vocalization. They were, however, perfectly warranted in the alteration here made by them ; and as this point needs but a short discussion, and leads to a requisite correction of both the Hebrew text and the English version, I shall state the grounds on which it rests. Let us, then, look to the clause containing the above group, which, with the exception of the final letter of that group, is the same in both editions, and written in the Jewish edition **בִּי תִקְרָאנָה מִלְחָמָה**. This line is in our Authorized Version rendered, in accordance with its Masoretic pointing, “when there falleth out *any* war ;” which, altered no further than is necessary to suit it to the Samaritan reading of the middle group, comes out as follows,—‘when there falleth out unto us *any* war.’ The latter translation far better agrees with the context ; since the Egyptian king is described, in the place referred to, as speaking not at all of the occurrence of wars in general, but of the chance of one assailing his own people, the persons whom he was then addressing. But there is a still more cogent reason for preferring the Samaritan line, namely, that it is strictly grammatical, while, on the contrary, the Jewish one, as pointed by the Masorets, betrays a gross violation of concord, the verb being, according to that pointing, in the plural number, though the noun immediately after it, by which it ought to be governed, is in the singular. Now

I admit there are some grammatic irregularities in the sacred text,—a work composed long before rules of grammar were ever thought of,—but those irregularities are much fewer than they would at first blush appear to be. Thus, for example, the false concord before us belongs not to the original writing of the above line, but solely to the Masoretic pointing of the principal group in that line : it cannot even be traced as far back as the first vocalizers, who may have read that group correctly *TiQRaHeNzH*, with its verb in the singular number followed by an affix, and most probably did so read it, as there is no reason to suppose them inferior to the Samaritan scribes in knowledge of the sacred language. Their omitting, therefore, to insert therein the vowel-letter that would have excluded the violation of grammar in question, is in fairness to be attributed to mere oversight, occasioned by their having been previously in the habit of reading the Hebrew text without the help of any vowel-signs. At the same time, the blunder here committed by the Masorets is to be ascribed to ignorance on their part, not of the original language of the Bible, but of the nature of the *matres lectionis*, which they erroneously looked upon as genuine elements of the writing of the inspired volume, and in consequence paid too much deference to the absence of the one omitted in this place. No argument, therefore, against the internal evidence of the case can be drawn from the treatment of the group in question by either set of vocalizers ; while, on the other hand, this evidence is corroborated by a most powerful weight of testimony ; as the Samaritan vocalization of the clause under examination is fully sustained by its oldest Greek and Syriac translations, which are as follows :—

*Septuagint*,                    ἡνίκα ἂν συμβῇ ἡμῖν πόλεμος,—

When there may happen unto us war,—

*Peshitah*,                    —:ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

Lest by chance there should happen unto us war,—

Upon this example I have only further to observe, that after the Samaritan scribes had here inserted the mater lectionis, to the want of which, as required by the context, attention was loosely pointed by the *paragogic He*, they, in conformity with the invariable practice of both sets of old vocalizers in such cases, erased the letter whose service was more effectually performed by the introduced one ; so that, had not the Jewish set overlooked the group just analyzed, we should now have no direct evidence that it was originally terminated with a *paragogic* element. To remove the present defect of this group, as exhibited in the Jewish copies of the Pentateuch,<sup>a</sup> it should, I conceive, be written in an amended edition of the sacred text, **תִּקְרָאנֵנוּהָ** ; and in the English translation of the verse, the supplementary expression, ‘unto us,’ should be inserted immediately after the words ‘falleth out ;’ or perhaps it would be better to render anew the entire clause thus : “when a war may befall us.”

The group **נָה** having now been proved the original form of **נִי**, the final part of the Hebrew pronoun of the first person plural used as an affix, it will be seen that, if the initial part of this pronoun, which remains still unvocalized, and consequently has undergone no change, be added on both sides, **אָנֹהנָה** must upon the same ground be the original form of the integer **אָנֹהנִי**.

As **אָנֹה** has been shown to be the original form of **אֲנִי**, the Hebrew pronoun of the first person singular, it follows that **הָ** and **נָה** must be those respectively of <sup>ה</sup> and <sup>נִי</sup>, the parts of this pronoun used as affixes. But this inference can be arrived

<sup>a</sup> Before the text was vocalized, the above group was ambiguous, and could be read in accordance with the representation given of it in either the Jewish or the Samaritan copies of the Pentateuch ; but after the introduction of vowel-letters into the sacred record, this group could not be read according to its Samaritan exhibition without the insertion of a *Waw* in its last syllable. In a pointed text, indeed, the defect might be supplied by means of a *Qibbus*, but in an unpointed one due correction can be made only in the way above recommended.



at independently of what has been already proved on the subject, through the sole consideration of the affixes themselves, as differently treated in the same passages of the two editions of the sacred text, or in different passages of the same edition. Thus, in order to ascertain the original state of י, the present form of the affix of this person, after nouns and prepositions, let us look to the following example:—

## Gen. xliv. 32.

Jewish Edition.  
יָאֲבִי, HəBI, 'my father.'

Samaritan Edition.  
יָאֲבִי, HəBIV, 'his father.'

The passage of the original text in which this discrepancy occurs is translated in the Authorized English Version, in accordance with its Jewish vocalization, as follows:—"For thy servant became surety for the lad unto my father, saying, If I bring him not unto thee, then I shall bear the blame to my father for ever." In the beginning of this verse, Judah, speaking of himself to Joseph in the third person, ought of course to have said 'his father,' whether he used the possessive pronoun in reference to himself, 'thy servant,' or to the more immediate antecedent, 'the lad;' though he correctly employed the expression 'my father' in the latter part of the same verse, because he was there telling what he had said in the first person. The mere context, therefore, is quite sufficient to decide the question here at issue between the two sets of old vocalizers in favour of the Samaritan set.<sup>a</sup> Accordingly, the compound expression יָאֲבִי, on its first occurrence in the specified verse of the Hebrew text, as vocalized by the Jewish scribes, ought in an amended edition thereof to be written

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<sup>a</sup> The older Greek and Syriac versions afford no assistance in the determination of the above point; as the group in question is rendered in one of them τοῦ πατρός, 'the father' (whence it would appear to have been written simply אֲבִי without any addition in the copies consulted by the Seventy), and is construed in the other (אֲבִינוּ), 'our father,' a rendering which can scarcely be accounted for, except by some corruption either of the Syriac version, or of the copies of the original from which it was derived.

אֲנִי ; and the possessive pronoun, 'my,' should be changed into 'his,' in the corresponding place of the English translation of this verse.

In reference, however, to the more immediate subject of my inquiry, it is wholly immaterial which set of vocalizers were in this instance right. From what has been already explained in the preceding chapter respecting the analogous form אֲנִי, it is plain that the original state of the group here vocalized by the Samaritan scribes אֲנִי was אֲנִי, which was read *HabiHu* before its vocalization, and afterwards successively, for the reasons stated in the previous case just referred to, *HABI-U*, *HABIW*, and finally *HABIV*. The original group, then, which the Jewish scribes here transformed into אֲנִי, turns out to have been אֲנִי ; their vocalization of which shows that they read it *HabiH*, and that, having inserted therein a *Yod*, in conformity with the suggestion of the final letter which they looked upon as a paragogic element, they then dropped this element, its service being more efficiently performed by the introduced mater lectionis. But, whether they were right or not, in taking the *He* at the end of this group for an indirect indication of the sound of the pronoun possessive of the first person singular, it evidently must have been employed to convey this intimation in other parts of the sacred text, or they could not have assigned to it such a use in this place. Hence it results that, in the primitive state of the Hebrew text, the letter *He*, employed as a pronominal affix at the end of a group, was ambiguous, and served to denote, according to the demands of the context, either the third, or, less directly, the first person, it being derived in the former case from an intrinsic element of אֵל, *HuH*, and in the latter form a paragogic element of אֲנִי, *HaNiH*. Between the ways in which the old vocalizers treated the two affixes, this difference is to be observed, that they frequently retained the original affix of the third person singular masculine along with the *Waw* introduced to distinguish its gender ; whence the probability is that they would have always, or at least much oftener, so retained

it, if not prevented by want of room : but there is not, as far as I can find, any instance of their having suffered to remain in the text, along with the introduced *Yod*, the more ancient affix of the first person singular ; which, consequently, they must have voluntarily removed, as one cannot suppose that there was not occasionally room for both letters in the vocalized text, if they had wished to retain this one. But there is an obvious reason for the difference here pointed out : not only was the *Yod* a more direct and definite sign than the *paragogic He* of the vowel to be in this case pronounced, but also it would have been quite superfluous to have kept together in the text two different signs of one and the same vocal sound ; and besides, it is to be considered that the redundancy produced by the retention of the second sign would have seriously endangered the preservation of the secret of the old vocalizers, and have had a strong tendency to lead to the exposure of the interpolation of the *matres lectionis* in the writing of the Hebrew Bible.

As the affix *Yod* is at present read after nouns plural, by the utterance of the diphthong *AI* instead of the vowel *I* ; it may be as well to exemplify a case of this kind also, whether the distinction thus indicated did, or did not, always exist in the pronunciation of the sacred language. Now the circumstance of the preposition **אל** taking the form of a plural noun before affixes gives me an opportunity of bringing such a case under notice, through the comparison of a clause of a prophecy of Zachariah which contains this preposition, followed by *Yod*, with the translation thereof in the Gospel of St. John. The two passages here referred to, with their literal interpretations subjoined to them respectively, stand thus :—

Zech. xii. 10, — **והביטו אלי את אשר דקרו,**

‘and they shall surely look upon me, the very one whom they pierced,—’

John, xix. 37, **ὁψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν.**

‘they shall look on him whom they pierced.’

There is no difference between these lines, in the substance of their respective meanings, further than except that between לָהֶם and its translation, which, it now turns out, was occasioned by the ambiguities of the Hebrew group as originally written. From what has been already explained upon the subject in the preceding chapter, it will be seen that, as St. John applied to this group an interpretation signifying 'on him,' its form in his time must have been לָהֶם, which he read *HaLeHu*, 'on him,' and which the vocalizers of the second century, if they had read and understood it in the same way, would have put in the form לָהֶם. But from their actual vocalization of the original form לָהֶם, we may perceive that they read it *HeLaiH*, 'upon me,' and that, after having inserted therein a *Yod* to denote the diphthong *AI*, they dropped its final element, which they conceived to be a *paragogic He*, and to have less directly suggested the same diphthong. This exposition of the matter is, I conceive, sufficient to account for the discrepance at present subsisting between the compared lines, without entering into any inquiry whether לָהֶם has been rightly vocalized, or not, in the Hebrew line. The latter question, however, I should add, is set quite at rest by St. John's construction of the clause; and, even independently of his authority, the incorrectness of the vocalization adopted in this instance is proved by its violation of the context; for, in consequence of the meaning, 'upon me,' thus given to the above group, the English translation of the sentence is deprived of any antecedent to which we could refer the pronoun in the expression 'for him,' which twice occurs in the subsequent part of the verse.

The translations of the Hebrew line in the Septuagint and Peshitah, though here of little use, are in themselves interesting. After annexing to each of them a literal interpretation, they are presented to observation as follows:—

*Septuagint,* καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μέ, ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο.—

‘and they shall look to me, on account of what they have insulted;—’

*Peshitah*, —:ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ

‘and they shall look to me through (or in) him whom they pierced.’

The copy, or copies, of the Hebrew text consulted by the Seventy Jews must evidently have been here inaccurate. A part of the error of their translation of the clause is accounted for by the very similar appearance, in Hebrew writing, of the verbs דקר, 'to pierce,' and רקד, 'to mock in the mode of dancing,' or 'to insult.' But neither is there anything in the rest of the clause, as it stands at present, which, when put in its original state, could have driven those translators to a violation of the context, the same as that committed by the first set of vocalizers; nor does the particle את admit of the interpretation *αυτι*, 'on account of.' For both these reasons it would seem that there was some further inaccuracy in the Hebrew line, as written in their copies, besides the interchange of similar letters in its final group. The Syriac rendering of the same line yields good sense, and avoids any violation of the context; but it is open to the objection of assigning to the particle את a meaning (viz. 'through,' or 'in,') which, in like manner as that attached thereto in the Greek version, is found nowhere else applied to it in the sacred text. Happily, the aid of those versions can, in the present case, be dispensed with, in consequence of the information transmitted to us upon the point in question by St. John. Fully warranted by the authority due to his interpretation of the adduced Hebrew line, I would recommend the alteration of the group אל into אל, in an amended edition of the sacred text, and the substitution of the pronoun 'him' for 'me,' in the English translation of the line. The reader will bear in mind that by this alteration no change whatever is made of any of the original elements of the Hebrew text, but merely a correction introduced into the

mode of reading a group containing two of those elements,—a group to which the first set of vocalizers are clearly proved by indisputable authority to have attached an erroneous sense, and in consequence an incorrect pronunciation.

The final part of the verse, which includes the clause just examined, affords by the way an opportunity of illustrating the usefulness of the present discovery by an example, which it may be worth while here to bring under notice. The rendering of this part of our Authorized Version is as follows:—“And they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for *his* only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for *his* first born.” This translation is in substance correct, according to a mode of reading the original elements of the Hebrew passage which, it now appears, they clearly admit of, but not at all according to that to which their treatment by both sets of vocalizers has confined them. The original of the expression, ‘and they shall mourn,’ is correctly exhibited in the Hebrew text וַיִּסְפְּדוּ, WeSaPheDU, with its verb in the third person plural of the prophetic future (that is, of the preterite substituted for the future, to indicate the certainty of the fulfilment of the prediction) of the active voice of this verb in its simplest form. In like manner the original of the expression, ‘and (they) shall be in bitterness,’ which was overlooked by the first vocalizers, and left in its original state וַיִּכְזַר, ought to be read for this signification of it, which the context indispensably requires, WeHuMaRu, with its verb in the third person plural of the prophetic future of the passive voice of the causative modification of כָּזַר, ‘to be bitter;’ and, no doubt, it was so read by the first vocalizers. But they having been accustomed to read the group in this manner, without the help of any vowel-letters, overlooked in their haste the circumstance that, after the introduction of *matres lectionis* into the sacred text, men would not any longer attach to this group its correct pronunciation and sense without the insertion of one *Waw* in its second, and another in its fourth syllable. This oversight of the first set of vocalizers the second set might have remedied

by means of their *Qibbuṣ*; but, referring the omission of the two *Waws* to the inspired writer of the prophecy, they dreaded to deviate from such high authority, and in consequence pointed the group for the reading *WeHaMeR*, 'and to embitter;' thus sacrificing the sense of the passage to what they conceived to be strict adherence to the original form of expression, and passing over the consideration that the meaning of this form is here utterly excluded by the context. The substitution in this place of the infinitive mood for a definite inflexion of the verb is defended on the ground of its being an idiom of frequent occurrence in the Hebrew record; and, undoubtedly, such anomalies are sometimes to be met with in the sacred text in its present state;—anomalies which grammarians have hitherto attributed to the inspired writers, because unable otherwise to account for them; but which, it now turns out, are not at all to be laid to the fault of those writers, but ascribed to the giddiness of the first set of vocalizers of the Hebrew Scriptures, and to the great precipitation with which they executed their task. Let us, however, for a moment suppose the received explanation of the subject in this instance correct, and that Zachariah really wrote the above verb in the infinitive mood, though he intended it to be understood in the sense of the third person plural of the prophetic future tense; yet even this monstrous concession will not suffice to remove all the difficulties of the case. For the irregularity still remains of the verb being read in the active voice of the causative modification, in consequence of which it yields a meaning quite at variance with that which the prophet intended it to convey; as what he predicted was evidently, not that the Jews should embitter the lives of others with grief, but that they should have their own lives so embittered,—not that they should inflict, but that they should suffer the bitterness of grief. The framers of our Authorized Version were certainly here placed in a very embarrassing situation; as they were compelled to deviate, either from the true meaning of the prophecy, or from what they conceived to be the

true reading of the passage which contains it. This dilemma is now removed ; and what must be abandoned, for the sake of adhering to the sense of the prediction, is now found to be, not the true reading of the examined group, but a false reading of it, occasioned by an oversight of the first set of vocalizers, and the ignorance, on the part of the second set, of the real nature of the first vocalization of the Bible. This group, I submit, should be written in an amended edition of the sacred text כְּהִמָּר; but its translation in our Authorized Version requires no alteration. Part of the same observations may be applied to the group כְּהִמָּר in the same sentence, which is pointed by the Masorets for the reading *KeHaMeR*, ‘like the embittering,’ or ‘like the inflicting of bitter grief;’ where the verb above analyzed appears a second time in the sentence. The inflexion of this verb is here in one respect correctly given, as the infinitive mood is sometimes employed in Hebrew as a noun ; but it is exhibited in a wrong voice, as can be shown in the same way as in the previous instance. The whole group should, therefore, be read *KeHuMaR*, ‘like the being embittered,’ or ‘like the bitter grief endured;’ and for this reading and sense it should be written in an amended edition of the Hebrew text, כְּהִמָּר. The interpretation of this group in our version is substantially correct ; though, perhaps, the Hebrew form of expression might be here more closely adhered to, without any injury to the language of the translation.

In order to trace נִי, the fuller form of the affix of the first person singular (which, according to the nature of the word it follows, is read *NI*, *aNI*, or *eNI*) to its original state נִי, I select an example supplied by two different exhibitions of the last group of a verse of an inspired Song of David, transmitted to us in two copies of this poem, which occupy the twenty-second chapter of the second book of Samuel, and the eighteenth Psalm. The two representations of the Hebrew verse terminated by the varied group in question, with their authorized English translations subjoined to them respectively,



and with a second authorized rendering also added in the case of that which has two, stand as follows :—

2 Sam. xxii. 23, כִּי כָל מִשְׁפָּטַי לִנְגִדִּי; וְחֻקְתַּי, לֹא אֲסֹר מִמֶּנִּי.

*Authorized Ver-* { “For all his judgments *were* before me; and  
*sion of Bible,* { *as for* his statutes, I did not depart from  
them.”

Ps. xviii. 22, כִּי כָל מִשְׁפָּטַי לִנְגִדִּי; וְחֻקְתַּי לֹא אֲסֹר מִמֶּנִּי.

*Authorized Ver-* { “For all his judgments *were* before me; and  
*sion of Bible,* { I did not put away his statutes from me.”

*Prayer-book,* { “For I have an eye unto all his laws; and  
will not cast out his commandments from  
me.”

Exclusively of the consideration of the two groups here adduced for discussion, the entire of the two lines to which they belong, as well as the entire of the two copies of David's poem, from which those lines have been extracted, are especially deserving of the Hebrew student's attention; not only with respect to the particular branch of the inquiry now before us, but also in reference to the general subject of the spurious nature of the *matres lectionis* in the sacred text. They are so much so, indeed, that if he compare with diligence and an unprejudiced mind all their corresponding ingredients respectively, the investigation, confined even within those limits, will, I have no hesitation to assert, be quite sufficient to convince him of the reality of my discovery. In this inquiry he will be considerably assisted by the Table which, in pages 596–7 of the first volume of Kennicott's Hebrew Bible, is given of the specified portions of Scripture, compared verse by verse with each other; particularly, if he attach some mark to the vowel-letters to distinguish them to the eye from the other elements of the text. This Table he will now find doubly interesting; since he will be able, as he goes step by step along, to shift to the vocalizers a great number of discrepancies which Kennicott attributed to injuries of time or faults of transcrip-

tion ; and he will be aided in correcting the erroneous part of the work of those scribes by a collation of the corresponding verses. This operation, if here undertaken, would draw me off too much from the particular investigation on which I am now going to enter ; but I may, perhaps, find room for it in a subsequent volume, and at any rate I will at the end of this chapter discuss some of the points which the comparison in question suggests ; while I for the present confine myself to briefly touching upon those more immediately connected with the quoted Hebrew lines, just as far as is necessary for introducing the examination of their final groups.

Upon a comparison of these lines, it will be seen that they differ merely in their vocalization, with the sole exception of a variation produced by the loss of a single letter dropped from the commencement of the final group of the under line—a loss which does not occasion the slightest alteration of meaning, as מִנִּי and מִנִּי are perfectly equivalent. With respect to the two English translations of the under line, although that taken from our Prayer-book is in other respects less exact, it is in reference to the choice of tenses by much the better one ; as I hope to be able to show at the end of this chapter. The upper line may be correctly translated as follows :—“For all his judgments *are* before me ; and *as for* his statutes, I will not depart from any of them.”<sup>a</sup> The last part of this line is rendered literally, ‘I will not depart from her :’ wherein the pronoun is read in the same gender as the Hebrew noun for ‘statutes ;’ but in a different number, to intimate (through the use of a Hebrew idiom which occurs sometimes, though not by any means as often as is generally

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<sup>a</sup> The above declaration can with truth be applied only to the prospective intentions of the author at the time when he wrote this poem, and not to the actual course of his external conduct. The Hebrew verb, therefore, with which this declaration is made, although the inflexion in which it is exhibited admits in the abstract of a reference to either the future or the present, is yet here restricted to the former acceptance, and must be translated in the future tense.

supposed, in the sacred text) that it is to be here understood as taken in a distributive sense. The altered vocalization of the verbal inflexion **סר** in the under line is occasioned merely by the altered meaning of the final group in that line; for after this group was made to signify 'from me,' the combination of the same expression of the verb with the altered pronoun—'I will not depart from me,'—was no longer intelligible. To restore, then, the coherence of the parts of this declaration, it became necessary to shift the specified inflexion of the verb from a neutral to a transitive sense, and read it in what is technically called its *Hiphil*, instead of its *Kal* modification, with the pronunciation  $\text{H}a\text{S}i\text{R}$  instead of  $\text{H}a\text{S}u\text{R}$ , and with a corresponding change of the vowel-letter inserted therein. The vocalization, then, of this verb depends on the treatment of the final group; and, consequently, it remains still to be inquired, which of the modes of dealing therewith, adopted by the first set of vocalizers, is the correct one. But the discussion of this question is postponed to the end of the chapter; as its decision is not here wanted, and I wish to disembarass of every unnecessary difficulty the investigation which I now proceed to lay before the reader.

As the final group in question, according to the representation given of it in the upper line, is referred to a noun of the feminine gender, it was there read  $\text{MiMmeNnaH}$ , in consequence of which it escaped all tampering of the first set of vocalizers in that place. The original form, therefore, of this group was **ממנה**; and from the treatment thereof in the under line it is evident that the same set of scribes there read it  $\text{MiMmeNniH}$ , 'from me,' and that they substituted a *Yod* for the final *He*, which they in the latter case looked upon as a paragogic element. But as the pronunciation of the letter of *N* power is doubled in this way of reading the original group, and only the first *N* can be referred to the preposition, the second must belong to the affix, of which, consequently, the fuller form after this preposition was **נה**,  $\text{NiH}$ , that is, the entire final syllable of the pronoun of the first person singular, which was

originally written **אנה** and pronounced **HaNiH**. No inference, however, can, in like manner, be drawn from the former way of reading the same group; because the duplication in that case of the letter of *N* power is arbitrarily made from mere fancy, and is what the grammarians call *euphonic*—an epithet technically applied by them to all pointings for which no satisfactory reason can be assigned. Here it may be worth observing that, when the *He* subjoined to the above preposition was thought to signify the third person feminine, it was constantly retained as an essential element of the pronoun **איה**, and even when the same original group **ממנה** was read **MiMmeNHu**, ‘from him,’ and in consequence vocalized **ממני**, the disappearance of the *He* was compensated for by the doubled pronunciation of the *Nun*. But whenever the vocalizers read this group **MiMmeNniH**, ‘from me,’ they uniformly expunged without any compensation the paragodic element of its affix, upon their inserting therein a *Yod*; and they obviously did so, to avoid the awkwardness of leaving in the sacred text two different signs for one and the same vocal sound. This analysis serves to prove that the group **ממנה** originally admitted, among other pronunciations, of being uttered **MiMmeNniH**, ‘from me,’ whether the old vocalizers were right, or not, in applying this utterance and a conformable vocalization to it at the end of the under line. For, unless it was in the abstract readable with this sound and sense, they could not have so read it in the specified place.

Two opportunities of illustrating the original ambiguity of the affix **יה** after nouns are afforded by the passage of Scripture which, in our Authorized Version, is thus translated:—“When Israel *was* a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt. As they called them, so they went from them: they sacrificed unto Baalim, and burnt incense to graven images. I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by their arms.”—Hos. xi. 1–3. The Hebrew of the first verse of this passage, with the final group restored to its original state, for a reason that shall be presently explained, should be written,

I conceive, in an amended edition of the sacred text, as follows :—

שׁ לְבָנַי כִּי נָעַר יִסְרָאֵל וְאַהֲבָהוּ, וּמִצְרַיִם קָרָאתִי לְבִנָּה.

A mark is placed over the final group referring to the margin, where it is written in the manner in which it is exhibited in the present state of the sacred text ; and in like manner another mark is placed over a restored letter of Israel's name referring to one in the margin which is now erroneously substituted for it in Hebrew writing, but not in the Syriac of the Peshitah, wherein the proper sibilant of this word is still retained. A blank space is left between the second and third groups of this line, to intimate, not any chasm produced by loss of original elements, but an ellipsis in the sentence attributable to the style of the author, which it is of importance to bring prominently under the reader's observation. This line is rendered in strict accordance with the context thus :—‘When Yisrahel *was* a child, then I loved him, and called his descendants out of Egypt :’ that is, I loved Israel even from the earliest stage of his existence, and I brought his descendants out of Egypt. The signification here applied to the final group, which agrees exactly with that given of it in the Septuagint, τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ, not only is adapted to the general tenor of this prophecy, which, in its more open and obvious sense, relates entirely to the Israelites, but also will be found especially requisite to preserve coherence between the first and second verse, as soon as the latter of those verses is restored to an intelligible form. But to warrant this signification of the above group, it must be read LeBaNeHu, ‘his descendants;’ while, on the other hand, to account for the meaning attached to it by St. Matthew (in the translation given by him of its second clause, “Out of Egypt have I called my son”—Matt. ii. 15), the same group must be read LiBNiH, ‘my son.’ The reader may now perceive my reason for restoring this group to its original state ; because it is only in that state that it yields the two readings here required. In general, the suggestion of a second

interpretation of a sentence, in the margin of a version of the Bible, is allowable only when the first is doubtful. Where the open meaning assigned to it is clear, and suited to the context of the place in which it occurs, we have no right of ourselves to add another, and more especially an occult one, at variance with that context ; as such a liberty indulged in might lead to the wildest extravagancies. In the present instance, however, which is a very remarkable one, while the primary sense of the verse is perfectly clear and consistent with the context, the secondary one is equally certain, being sanctioned by the authority of an inspired writer, and its want of coherence with the context only serves to show that it is to be separated from the body of the translation and put in a detached form in the margin.

But the latter sense of this verse rests not solely upon inspired authority, though an abundantly sufficient ground for its support. Upon a closer inspection of the Hebrew line, we shall, I think, be enabled to perceive, that it was all along intended to convey an occult meaning to this effect, whether the prophet, while writing it, was conscious, or not, of its admitting this interpretation. When a translator first turns his attention to this line, he very naturally and correctly interprets the initial group ׀, by a meaning which, though not the primary one, it sometimes bears, that of the conjunction ‘when ;’ as, in fact, without this meaning being here assigned to it, the first clause of the verse (supposing the ellipsis therein to be filled up with the ordinary supplement of the verb substantive) would be senseless. In this manner the plain obvious interpretation of the clause in question comes out :—‘When *Yisrahel was* a child, then I loved him.’ But, if the reader looks back to page 10 of the present volume, in which the principal Greek translations of the entire verse are copied from a specimen of Origen’s Hexapla preserved in the Barberini MS., he will find the above group construed in every one of them by a conjunction (either *ὅτι* or *διότι*) attaching to it in this place its primary signification, ‘because.’ This circumstance,

even independently of the inspired authority of St. Matthew, leads one to reconsider the clause before us, and to try whether the want of connexion, given to its parts by the primary sense of the particle ׀, may not be removed by some modification of the supplement which is to be introduced ;—a remedy which is naturally suggested by the elliptic style of the author. In this way we arrive at a more covert interpretation of the same clause, involving a deeper sense of it than appears upon the surface, and which may be expressed in words to the following effect :—‘ Because Yisrahel *consented to become* a child, therefore I love him.’<sup>a</sup> Conformably to this interpretation, that of the remaining portion of the verse (supposing its final group written in the same manner as in the time of St. Matthew) will come out thus : ‘ and I will surely call *him* my son, *while in that state*, out of Egypt.’ The Evangelist, in quoting the purport of this latter part of the verse, has translated the verb in it literally by a Greek inflexion, signifying, ‘ I have called ;’<sup>b</sup> but it would perhaps be better, for

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<sup>a</sup> With respect to the tense of the verb included within וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, the Masorets have pointed this group, in accordance with the more obvious meaning of the entire verse, WaḤoHaBeHU, with the vowel of the *Waw* conversive of the future lengthened, to compensate for the non-admittance of a *dagesh* into the aspirate *Haleph*; and the framers of our Authorized Version have translated it agreeably to the same meaning, ‘ then I loved him.’ For the initial particle ׀ having in this case the signification ‘ when’ applied to it, the correlative *Waw* must be translated ‘ then,’ and so identifies the tense of the verb to which it is prefixed, with that of the verb substantive ‘ was,’ which is supplied to fill the ellipse of the sentence. On the other hand, when the initial particle is construed ‘ because,’ its correlative *Waw* becomes ‘ therefore,’ and no longer exerts a conversive power on the tense of the following verb; in consequence of which the same group must, for the less obvious meaning of the verse, be read WaḤoHaBeHU, and translated ‘ therefore I love him,’ or ‘ therefore I will love him.’ But to the first of these renderings we are confined by the nature of the case before us; for, as the effect expressed by the verb in the more hidden sense of the passage is not restricted by time, its tense must be understood as indefinite; and for such aoristic application of a verb the present tense is that fittest to be employed in English.

<sup>b</sup> Although the Greek aorist ἐκάλεσα admits of a reference to the future,

the sake of readers unacquainted with Hebrew forms of expression, to render the Greek verb in the body of our version of the New Testament according to the meaning it was intended to convey, 'I will surely call,' and to transfer to the margin its literal translation, under the head of a Hebraism. In fine, it is worth while to observe, how the cunning of the old vocalizers was here made the means of counteracting their own design. For while they unfairly attempted to give the Septuagint the false appearance of an incorrect translation, in order to undermine the credit of the powerful testimony it bears to the truth of Christianity, they were unconsciously helping to establish, by their vocalization, such a detached oracular reading of the sentence just analyzed as was highly corroborative of Christian views. Verily, if those scribes had been as intimately acquainted with the Gospel of St. Matthew as they were with the Septuagint, they would have cautiously abstained from tampering with the ambiguous group of this verse, and have vocalized it **לִבְנֵי**, in accordance with the demands of the context, notwithstanding that their vocalization would have supported the correctness of the Greek rendering applied to it by the Seventy Jews.

The second verse of the Hebrew passage under examination, with two corrections applied to it, and with its Authorized English Translation subjoined, is as follows :—

**קראוּ להם, כן חלכו מפני; הם לבעלים יזבחו, ולפסלים יקטרוּ.**

"As they called them, so they went from them; they sacrificed unto Bāalim, and burnt incense to graven images."

The first step towards the removal of all incoherence between

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yet I assent to the commonly received opinion, that it was, in the place above alluded to, employed by St. John as a preterite tense; but still I maintain that it was so employed by him only in like manner as he must have read the original word (**קראת**, *QaRaHTi*) in the corresponding place of the Hebrew text; that is, as a preterite substituted for a future, to indicate the certainty of the prediction.



this verse and the preceding one has already been taken, by reading the ambiguous group above analyzed so as to confine it to the signification ‘his descendants.’ The two remaining steps consist in marking as redundant the vowel-letter at the end of the initial group of the verse now before us, so as to admit of this verb, put in a singular form, being read impersonally; and in separating from each other the two groups מִפְּנֵי and הֵם, which were united into one by the Masorets, in utter disregard of the context. By means of these two corrections the translation of this verse will come out changed as follows:—

‘As one called them [namely, the descendants of Yishrahel], so they receded from my presence; they sacrificed unto the Bahals,<sup>a</sup> and burnt incense to graven images.’

The separation of the groups מִפְּנֵי and הֵם is not only demanded by the context, but is also supported by the joint and independent testimonies of the Septuagint and Peshitah; as is evident from the commencing part of their respective translations of the verse:—

*Septuagint*, καθὼς μετεκάλεσα αὐτοὺς, οὕτως ἀπώχοντο ἐκ προσώπου μου· αὐτοὶ, κ. τ. λ.<sup>b</sup>

‘As I called them, so they receded from my presence; they,’ &c. &c.

*Peshitah*, אִם כַּד קָרָא הֵם מִפְּנֵי

‘As that they called them, so they receded from before me.’

<sup>a</sup> That is, the false gods who were in common denominated *Bahal*, some of whom are mentioned in Scripture with distinctive titles subjoined, such as, *Bahal-berith*, Judg. viii. 33; *Bahal-zebul*, 2 Kings, i. 2; *Bahal-pehor*, Num. xxv. 3. *Baalim* is employed in our Authorized Version to signify the word *Baal* taken in the plural number. But, as appears to me, this meaning is more naturally expressed in our language by adding to the word in question the English, rather than the Hebrew plural termination.

<sup>b</sup> In the above line we may perceive that the expression, ἐκ προσώπου μου, answers to מִפְּנֵי, and αὐτοὶ to הֵם, of the original sentence; so that the Masorets appear to have quite mistaken the use of the *Yod* at the end of the first

According to the joint representation of both versions, the original line would, if written fully, have commenced with כְּאִשֶּׁר, 'in proportion as.' From the elliptic style, however, of the prophet, he may be easily conceived to have omitted this group, and left it to be understood, as implied by its correlative כֵּן, 'so.' But, with respect to the group with which the Hebrew line at present commences, the evidence of the Septuagint clearly proves that it was written in their time קָרָאת, QaRaHTi, 'I called;' and a corresponding correction of this text is further sustained by the context. For the very next verse commences with וְאֵנִי, 'moreover I myself *did so and so*;' where the particle prefixed to the pronoun indicates that the act there mentioned follows a previous one performed by the same speaker. The action, therefore, denoted by the verb now before us, was also his performance, and should be expressed likewise by an inflexion in the first person. As, however, the correction of the initial group, thus indicated by the context as well as by its Greek rendering, is not likewise supported by the testimony of the Peshitah;<sup>a</sup> and as the sense may be preserved, though not so distinctly conveyed, by treat-

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group (which was there inserted to denote, not the plural number of the noun it follows, but the possessive pronoun of the first person), and to have jumbled together two groups that not only should be kept separate, but even belong to different clauses of the verse.

<sup>a</sup> The want of support from the Syriac version upon the above point does not tell positively against the Greek evidence on the same point, but merely serves to show that the missing ׀ had dropped from the end of the group under examination in the interval between the times when the Septuagint and Peshitah were written. Nor does the testimony of the Syriac translators upon this subject even go to the extent of proving that the letter in question was absolutely lost before their time, but only that it was wanting in the particular copies of the Hebrew text in their possession. The second part of the Chaldee paraphrase, called the Targum of Jonathan, which appears to be erroneously ascribed to the same author as the first, was not composed till many centuries after the Peshitah; and yet the first two groups of the above verse are therein rendered as follows:—שְׁלַחְתִּי נְבִיִּי לְאַלְפָּא לְהוֹדִיעַ, 'I sent my prophets to instruct them;'—a rendering which, however loose

ing the word in question as a verb impersonally used, the adoption of this expedient, which requires the rejection of only an interpolated vowel-letter, appears preferable to an alteration relating to an original element of the sacred text.

The part of the third verse which here comes under examination, with the requisite corrections marked, and the principal English translations of it subjoined in the order of their dates, as also the Greek, Syriac, and Chaldee renderings of this part, accompanied by their respective literal interpretations, are as follows :—

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|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Hebrew,</i>              | וַאֲנֹכִי הִרְגֹלְתִּי לְאַפְרַיִם, [לְקָחַם עַל זִרְעֹתָיו];                             |
| <i>Coverdale's Bible,</i> } | I lerned Ephraim to go, and bare them                                                     |
| <i>Cranmer's Bible,</i> }   | in myne armes ;—                                                                          |
| <i>Geneva Bible,</i>        | I led Ephraim also <sup>a</sup> [as one] should beare<br>thē in his armes ;—              |
| <i>Parker's Bible,</i>      | I gave to Ephraim one to leade<br>hym,† who shoulde beare † Moses.<br>him in his armes ;— |

it may be, yet plainly indicates that the verb here paraphrased must have been in the first person, and that the two Hebrew groups referred to were written קִרְאֹתִי לָהֶם, in the copies of the sacred record consulted by the author of this Targum.

<sup>a</sup> The above conjunction is removed from its proper place, and its application shifted from the act just previously mentioned to the object of that act, apparently for the purpose of avoiding the awkwardness of attributing a second action to the speaker, where, according to the existing state of the Hebrew text, none is expressly ascribed to him in the preceding sentence. But this dislocation is quite inadmissible; as the object here specified is the same as that before mentioned, though recorded under a different designation, the name of a single tribe being substituted for that of the entire nation; and, accordingly, we may perceive, this change of designation is not adopted in the Chaldee paraphrase of this sentence. I notice this error in the Geneva Bible, only because it has been thence transferred into our present Authorized Version; for, as to a separate examination of the older English renderings of the passage in question, it would require a long digression, without any compensating advantage.

*King James's Bible*, "I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by their arms;"—

*Septuagint*, Καὶ ἐγὼ σὺννεπόδισα τὸν Ἐφραὶμ, ἀνέλαβον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονά μου—

Moreover I myself swathed the feet of Ephraim, I took him up on my arm;—

*Peshitah*, סֵן בְּיָדִי לְאֶמְסִי: סִבְכֵּלְא אִנֵּי חַלָּה בְּיָדֵי.

Moreover I myself led Hephrayim, and I took them on my arms [or, on my arm];<sup>a</sup>—

*Second part of Targum of Jonathan*, { ואנא במלאך שליח מן קדמי דברית  
באורח תקנא לישראל ונטלתינן  
כד על דרעון } ס

Moreover I, even I, by a messenger sent from before me, led Yisrahel in the right way, and I carried them, as it were, on the arms.

The translation of the above Hebrew line which accords with the corrections marked in it, and results from the ensuing investigation, runs thus,—

‘Moreover I myself swathed the feet of the Hephrayimites,<sup>b</sup> taking them in my arms.’

The first correction of the Hebrew line is made in conformity with the generally received opinion (of the justness of which there can scarcely be a doubt), that the verb of the first clause, whatever may be its precise meaning, is in the *Hiphil* modification, and consequently should be made to commence with

<sup>a</sup> The noun in the final group of the above Syriac line is at present restricted to the plural number by the *Ribui* mark: but before that mark (which can scarcely be supposed coeval with the Peshitah) was attached to this noun, it, just in like manner as the equivalent one in the corresponding Hebrew group, admitted of being read in either the singular or plural form.

<sup>b</sup> The above noun is, in the original sentence, exhibited in the singular number; but the plural pronoun referring to it evidently shows that it is there employed in a plural sense; and I have in consequence translated it in a plural form, not only for the purpose of adhering to its meaning in this place, but also in order to avoid an incoherence between it and the following pronoun.

a *He* instead of a *Taw*. The two remaining corrections will be accounted for as the investigation proceeds. The utter impossibility of making sense of the Hebrew line in its existing state is strongly marked by the discrepancies between its successive English translations, each of which virtually condemns the preceding one; and, I must add, the last of them is just as vulnerable as any of those previously adopted. To point out an inaccuracy that appears even on the surface of the present authorized rendering of the sentence, and which, on the supposition of the original line being in a correct state of preservation, must be deemed a very gross one, all that is necessary is to compare the expression ‘upon his arms,’ which conveys the literal meaning of the last two groups with that which our translators have substituted for it, ‘by their arms!’

It is, however, much easier to point out errors than to correct them; and in order to effecting a due correction in the present case, it will be requisite to push our inquiries more deeply into the subject. In this investigation two very perplexing difficulties impede our progress. The first is occasioned by the occurrence of a verb in the *Hiphil*, or causative modification, which is nowhere else in the sacred text to be met with in that state. The primary signification of this verb in its *Kal* state is well known, namely, ‘to move the feet,’ that is, ‘to walk,’ or, in a more general sense, ‘to go;’ and if the meaning of its *Hiphil* state were thence derived in accordance with the usual force of this modification, the verb would, in the latter state, bear some such interpretation as ‘to cause to walk,’ ‘to teach to walk,’ ‘to cause to go,’ ‘to lead,’ &c., &c. But in very numerous instances, verbs in the *Hiphil* state are employed in senses quite distinct from any that are usually connected with this state; and in the present instance the *Hiphil* inflexion of the verb in question has a peculiar signification of this sort assigned to it by the Seventy, while it has been interpreted by all subsequent translators with some meaning or other in accordance with the ordinary force of the *Hiphil* modification. Before we can determine which kind of signification will suit the

context of this place, the second of the difficulties in our way must be surmounted, and the point be ascertained, with what affix the final group of the line should be read. This difficulty, however, which has hitherto baffled all inquiry, can now be easily disposed of. From what has been proved in the last chapter, it will be seen that זרועתיו was originally written זרעתה, which, among other readings for the affix of the third person singular, admitted of being uttered ZeRoHōTheHu, 'his arms;' while, on the other hand, from what has been shown in the present chapter, it equally follows, that the original זרעתה might also be read ZeRoHōaThiH, 'my arm,' or ZeRoHōThaiH, 'my arms;' for each of which readings it would in common be vocalized זרועתו. But the Seventy having translated this group for one of the latter readings, the Jewish scribes of the second century, according to their usual practice, vocalized it for the former pronunciation, without waiting to try whether the sense resulting from this reading could be reconciled with the context. Hence arose the utter incoherency of this sentence; and, consequently, it cannot be restored to an intelligible state, without changing the vocalization of its final group to that required for the reading which is indicated by both the Greek and Syriac renderings thereof in common. As soon as the last element of this group is, for this purpose, marked to be passed over unused, and the antepenultimate group has got its initial element (ל) restored, so as to put its verb in the form of the *Benoni* participle,<sup>a</sup> we shall find the meaning of the second clause of the line to be, 'taking them upon my arm,' or 'taking them upon my arms,' or (substituting for the latter phrase the equivalent English one) 'taking them in my arms.'

We are now at last advanced to a condition in which we can form a just estimate of the various senses assigned to the

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<sup>a</sup> In the present state of the group in question, without the addition above recommended, it signifies 'take thou them,' an expression which is quite senseless in the place referred to.

verb in the first clause ; and the immediate effect of this advancement is at once to show us, that not one of the meanings attributed to it upon the assumption of its primary signification being modified according to the ordinary force of the *Hiphil*, or causative state of verbs, is here admissible. For we cannot be said ‘to cause children to walk,’ or ‘to teach them to walk,’ or ‘to make them go,’ or ‘to lead them,’ while we are taking them in our arms ; we cannot be said ‘to lead children,’ at the very time that we are carrying them : the two statements are quite inconsistent,—they cannot possibly hold at the same time. On the other hand, the meaning given to the above verb by the Seventy—*συνποδιζω*, ‘to tie the feet together,’ ‘to bind the feet in chains,’ ‘to fetter one,’ and consequently, in reference to infants, ‘to swathe their feet,’—is not at all liable to the same objection. For it is the most natural time to take children in our arms, when they are deprived of the power of moving their feet : and although, in the British islands, only new-born infants are thus confined in their limbs, yet even to this day on the continent of Europe children may be seen, as long as they are fed at the breast, swathed with linen or flannel bands, rolled not only round their lower extremities, but also about their arms, so as to render them as motionless as Egyptian mummies. We may, therefore, easily conceive the lesser degree of confinement of the Jewish infants in former times (extending only to their under limbs) which is implied in the old Grecian interpretation of the verb before us. Besides, this interpretation is not only unobjectionable in itself, but it is also positively recommended by the peculiar force and propriety it attaches to the metaphor which Hosea here employs, as a picture of the utter inability of the Israelites to move in a right direction by their own exertions, without the aid of God. According to the writers of the present Authorized English Version, the prophet draws this picture of the descendants of Israel or Ephraim, by comparing them to children who are already entering upon an attempt to make use of their feet ; but, according to the framers of the Septua-

gint, the children referred to for an illustration of the subject were entirely destitute of locomotive power. If from considering the internal evidence, both positive and negative, with which the interpretation just analyzed is supported, we turn our attention to the nature of the testimony on which it rests, surely we can find no authority so high upon the point in question as that of the Seventy Jews. No other witnesses can now be appealed to upon this point, who lived so near the time when Hebrew was spoken as a living language, or who could be so familiar with the customs upon which the peculiar meanings of many of the words of that language must have depended. The great value of the Septuagint has been exhibited in the course of this investigation in a very conspicuous point of view, and is here illustrated, among other ways, by the striking fact which the sentence quoted from the second part of the Targum of Jonathan discloses ; namely, that the true meaning of the verb last examined is obliterated and entirely lost among the Jews, which it could not have become, till after they had abandoned the use of this version.

On account of the importance of the errors produced through the ambiguity of the original affix *He*, I shall add two more instances of the designed misvocalization of this affix by the Jewish scribes of the second century ; taken, one of them from the writings of the Royal Psalmist, and the other from the Proverbs of Solomon. The former example, as exhibited in the present state of the Hebrew text, with the discrepant English renderings of it that are now sanctioned, both of them at the same time, by the authority of our Church, and also its oldest Greek and Syriac translations, with their literal interpretations subjoined to them respectively, stands thus :—



|                             |                                                                        |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ps. lix. 10,                | עוֹ אֱלֹדִי אֲשַׁמְרֶה.                                                |
| <i>Prayer-book</i> ,        | “My strength will I ascribe unto thee.” <sup>a</sup>                   |
| <i>King James’s Bible</i> , | “Because of his strength will I wait upon thee.” <sup>a</sup>          |
| <i>Septuagint</i> ,         | Τὸ κράτος μου πρὸς σὲ φυλάξω.<br>‘My strength will I guard unto thee.’ |
| <i>Peshitah</i> ,           | אֵלֹהִים לִי אֶגְדָּר<br>‘O God, I will glorify thee.’                 |

It being clear, from what has been already proved upon the subject, that the original form of the initial group of the Hebrew line before us was עוֹד, which might, considered by itself, be read either *HuZZoH*, ‘his strength,’ according to its pre-

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<sup>a</sup> An equal discrepancy is observable between the English translations of the above clause which were sanctioned for about forty years before the publication of our present Authorized Version, while Parker’s, or that called the Bishop’s Bible, was in use : but it was then more glaring, in consequence of the discordant renderings being inserted in parallel columns opposite to each other in that earlier version. Brought together for the purpose of immediate comparison, in like manner as those at present authorized are above, they stand thus:—

“My strength will I ascribe unto thee.”

“I will reserve his strength for thee.”

To the latter of these is attached the marginal supplement:—“for to vanquish Saul my cheefe enemie.” The earlier translation of the Psalms, which is the same in our prayer-book and in Parker’s Bible, is, with the exception of some difference in the spelling, taken exactly from Cranmer’s Bible; but, in the case of the clause before us, as well as in some other instances, the older renderings may be traced still higher up to Coverdale’s Bible. The translation of the same clause in the Geneva Bible, from which the later of the two at present authorized is derived, is as follows:—“He is strong [but] I wil waite upon thee;” to which is annexed in the margin this paraphrase or explanatory note:—“Though Saul have never so great power, yet I know that thou doest bridle him.” Now upon a comparison of the three later renderings with the earlier one, it will be found in each instance to have been altered much for the worse; and the like observation applies to a great number of other changes also, of which those before us may be taken as a sample. Yet the

sent vocalization, or *HazzîH*, 'my strength,' according to its Greek interpretation,—the question in which way it should be here taken is plainly decided in favour of the latter reading, not only by the very superior authority of the Seventy Interpreters to that of the Jewish vocalizers of the second century, but also by the context and the very forced nature of the construction to which the framers of our Authorized Version were compelled to resort in consequence of their adherence to the former reading. Through that construction they have ascribed great obscurity, if not actual incoherence of style, to the original composition, by referring the term signifying 'strength' to a person never once mentioned in this Psalm,<sup>a</sup> and, still further, have run counter to the open character and steady loyalty of David, by representing him as darkly writing against his sovereign in a hymn addressed to God.<sup>b</sup> They had, I grant, no

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blame of this deterioration is not to be thrown upon the Protestant translators. They acted with an honest and conscientious determination to adhere closely to what they conceived to be the original text, no matter what the consequence might be; and though their labours were not at once crowned with success, yet those labours prepared the way for, and have supplied the initiatory steps to a result of the highest value,—the detection of the original state of the sacred text and the consequent removal of a vast number of incoherencies with which it has long been embarrassed. The very fact, indeed, of their successive translations being found to betray a greater number of incoherencies, according as they were made with stricter fidelity and care, has assisted in conducting to this result, by pointing attention in the right direction, and showing that there was something wrong to be searched for in the existing state of the original record.

<sup>a</sup> The name of Saul occurs in a short introductory notice, which, though exhibited in the present state of the Hebrew text as part of the above Psalm, is clearly shown by its purport to be not so; and, accordingly, it is translated as a mere heading to this Psalm in the Septuagint and the last three Authorized English Versions, while it is altogether omitted in the Peshitah and the first Authorized English Version.

<sup>b</sup> The above imputation against David, which is more strongly conveyed in the Authorized Version than immediately preceded the one now in use, as well as in the Geneva Bible, is very strikingly refuted by the account given of his conduct with respect to Saul in the twenty-fourth and twenty-sixth chapters of the first Book of Samuel.

alternative but to adopt this very objectionable representation of the subject, or deviate from what they held to be the genuine text of the Psalm, as it came from the pen of its inspired author. How gladly, then, would those learned men have availed themselves of the means at last obtained of escaping from this very distressing dilemma, if the present discovery had come within their reach !

The main point, which of the possessive pronouns is included in the signification of the initial group, having been now determined, the entire clause, as far as depends upon grammatical views, still admits of two constructions. For, if the verb שׁמַר in this clause be taken in its primary sense of 'guarding,' it must be referred immediately to some object different from God ; as it would be a vain and indeed an impious boast of feeble man, to speak of 'guarding' or 'preserving' the Almighty : and, on the other hand, if it be applied directly to God, then we must search for some one of its secondary meanings which is compatible with that application of it, as well as consistent with the force of the preposition לָא. According to the choice made between these two plans of construction, the rendering of the clause will come out equivalent to one or other of the following sentences :—' My strength I will guard unto thee (that is, will keep for thy service).' ' O my strength, I will look unto thee (or will attend unto thee, or will wait upon thee).' Grammar scarcely decides between these two modes of dealing with the clause. But, if we take into consideration the style of language employed by David, according to which he frequently addresses the Deity by the designation, ' O my strength,' and more especially if we reflect on the pious humility of spirit which led him to depend, not at all on his own strength, but on the power of God, we shall, I think, see strong reasons for preferring the latter mode. The Syriac translators, though under the disadvantage of consulting a copy of the sacred text from which the initial group had dropped, appear to have approached nearer to the true

bearing and tenor of the clause than the Seventy.<sup>a</sup> In general, indeed, the Septuagint is our highest uninspired authority for determining the meaning of difficult passages of the Old Testament; but, in the particular instance now before us, its framers allowed their judgments to be fettered and cramped by too rigid an adherence to the primary signification of the verb שָׁמַר. In fine, I submit, there can be no doubt that the initial group should be written עֲנֵנִי, in an edition of the Hebrew text amended according to my plan of notation: and, although there may be some difference of opinion, not as to the tenor of the analyzed line, but as to the best selection of words for its expression, I would, from a desire to keep as close as I could to the present Authorized Version, venture to recommend the following translation of it:—‘O my strength, I will wait upon thee.’

The Hebrew line which supplies my second additional example of the ambiguity under examination, and the translations of this line in the successively Authorized English Versions, as well as in the Geneva Bible, also its oldest Greek and Syriac renderings, and its Chaldee paraphrase, with their respective literal interpretations, are here submitted to the reader's inspection.

Ecc. ii. 25, כִּי מִי יֹאכַל, וּמִי יִחַשׁ חֵץ מִמֶּנִּי?

*Coverdale's Bible*, “For who maye eate, drynke, or brynge eny thige to passe without Him [that is, without the permission of God]?”

*Cranmer's ditto*, “For who will eat, or go more lustely to hys worcke then I?”

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<sup>a</sup> The circumstance of the Syriac interpreters having translated אֲשַׁמְרָה in the above clause by the verb פָּסַח, one of whose significations is ‘to sing praises,’ affords some reason to suspect that the Hebrew word was written in their copies of the text אֲזַמְרָה, ‘I will sing praises.’ Upon the supposition of this being the real state of the case, their translation of the clause, I admit, would yield no assistance in determining the sense of it, as written in any copy now extant.

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|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Geneva Bible,</i>    | “For who could eat, and who could haste to outward things more then I?”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>Parker's ditto;</i>  | “For who wyl eate, or goe more lustily to his worke then I?”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>King James's do.</i> | “For who can eat, or who else can hasten <i>hereunto</i> more than I?”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>Septuagint,</i>      | ὅτι τίς φάγεται, καὶ τίς πίεται πάρεξ αὐτοῦ;<br>For who shall eat, or who shall drink without Him?                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>Peshitah,</i>        | מִלֵּן נִכְסֵּן נִכְסֵּן לִבִּי מִלֵּן<br>Because that who shall eat, or who shall drink without Him?                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>Targum,</i>          | ארום מן הוא די עסק בפתגמי אוריתא, ומן<br>הוא נברא דאית ליה חששא מן יום דינא רבא<br>דעתיד למית, בר מני?<br>Because who <i>is</i> he that has been occupied with the words of the law, and who <i>is</i> that man who has anxiety about the day of the great judgment prepared for the dead, besides me? |

The incorrect vocalization of an ambiguous group, as originally written, is, if possible, still more glaring in the present example than in the preceding one. The point having been already ascertained respecting the final group of the Hebrew line now before us, that its original form was מִמֶּנָּה, which might be read either *MiMmeNniH*, ‘from me,’ *MiMmeNHu*, ‘from him,’ or *MiMmeNnaH*, ‘from her’ (of which, however, only the first and second come here under consideration, as nothing is previously mentioned in the line itself, or the preceding ones, to which the feminine affix of the third reading could be referred); and the effect produced upon the preposition of this group by combining it with the preceding adverb, חוץ, *KhuS*, ‘outside,’ being to change its force into ‘without’ or ‘besides;’<sup>a</sup> it follows that the combination of the last two

<sup>a</sup> The compound expression מן חוץ is not to be found in any other part of the Hebrew Bible except in the above line; but the Chaldee and Syriac combinations by which it is translated (מן and לח) occur sufficiently often in the Targums and Peshitah respectively, to have their significations

groups of the line admits, before any further limitations are brought into view, of four significations, 'without him,' or 'besides him,' for the vocalization of the very last מִמֶּנּוּ, and 'without me,' or 'besides me' for the vocalization of the same group מִמֶּנִּי. But on more particularly considering the circumstances of the case under examination, the last three of these interpretations will be found quite inapplicable to it. For if each of them be in succession placed after the translation of the part of the line whose meaning is perfectly ascertained, and the verb of doubtful sense (which, however, is only supplemental, and affects not the general scope of the sentence) be for the present omitted,<sup>a</sup> the author's question will come out diversified as follows:—

- 'For who can eat . . . besides him (that is, besides God)?'
- 'For who can eat . . . besides me (that is, besides Solomon)?'
- 'For who can eat . . . without me (that is, without Solomon's permission)?'

But in every one of these representations of his query some assertion is implied which is manifestly false. With regard to the first representation, besides that it is very unlikely that a pure Spirit eats—a point beyond our means of discussing with respect to the Supreme Being—it is obviously false that no one else can eat. With regard to the second, it is equally false that no one could eat except Solomon at the period when he wrote; and with regard to the third, it is not only false, but also would have been impious on the part of this monarch to maintain, that no one could eat without his permission.

well ascertained, and to show that it denotes, according to the demands of the context, either 'without' or 'besides.' The same meanings of this Hebrew expression may also be deduced from its Grecian equivalent, the compound preposition *πάρεξ*.

<sup>a</sup> To warrant the rejection of an incorrect translation, no more need be quoted than its objectionable part; but when another comes to be recommended in its stead, the whole of the new one must, of course, be submitted to inspection.

Thus, by the method of exclusions, we are conducted to the first interpretation of the final pair of groups ; and if this interpretation be tried in the rendering of the Hebrew line, the meaning not only will come out free from objection, but also will positively recommend itself to our moral convictions by the soundness of the doctrine it inculcates. This result, I grant, is arrived at only through the general bearing of the sentence (the exact signification of the second verb as therein employed not being perfectly ascertained); but still, I think, it will be found to hold its ground upon our taking the following view of the subject. The inspired author having, in the preceding verse, recommended a moderate enjoyment of the fruits of a man's labour, and observed, "This also I saw, that it *was* from the hand of God," here in the present verse subjoins, in support of this remark, the following query:—"For who can eat, or who can hasten *thereto*, without Him (that is, without His permission)?" This statement, made through the medium of an interrogative form, is, notwithstanding some obscurity in its supplemental portion, well suited to a religious and moral treatise, being to the general effect, that every blessing we enjoy, even of the lowest kind, comes from God, and that his Providence reaches to the minutest circumstances of human life : so that it bears some analogy to the teaching of our Saviour, as conveyed in the following passage :—"Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? yet one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered : fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows."—Matt. x. 29–31. But the meaning of the principal part of the Hebrew line thus deduced from the internal evidence of the case is abundantly confirmed by testimony : its translations in the Septuagint and Peshitah, though made quite independently of each other, are absolutely identical in their bearing. These translations, indeed, do not throw any light on the sense of the second Hebrew verb (and only serve to show that it was a different one, in ancient copies of the sacred

text,<sup>a</sup> from what it has as yet been found in, I believe, any of those now extant); but still the external evidence they afford is perfect and complete with respect to the solution of the main difficulty of the case—the fact that the final group of the above line was read by both the Greek and the Syriac translators with the affix of the third, instead of the first person singular; so that a conformable change of its vocalization is not only indispensably required by the context, but also is actually warranted by the highest combination of uninspired authorities that could possibly be brought to bear upon the subject. There can then, I submit, be no doubt but that, supposing my plan of notation to be adopted in an amended edition of the Hebrew text, the final group of the analyzed line should be therein written מִמְּנֵהוּ.

The value of the correction just established is strikingly illustrated, not only by the failure of every attempt to penetrate, without its aid, the meaning of the Hebrew line in question, but also by the objectionable nature of the means which, for want of it, men were led to employ, in their efforts to make out an interpretation of this sentence in any degree plausible. In this way, it may be observed, the Chaldee paraphraser was here induced to violate truth, deviating altogether from the ascertained part of the meaning of the sentence, and

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<sup>a</sup> The Greek and Syriac renderings of the Hebrew line in question, both of them, in common prove the meaning of its second verb, in the copies consulted by the framers of the Septuagint and Peshitah, to have been, 'can drink;' but the latter rendering proves still further its form in those copies to have been יִשְׁתֶּה, YîShTheH, with which the corresponding word of the Syriac line ܡܡܢܗܘܢ, NeShTheH, is identical in root, and only varied in its inflexion in consequence of the difference of dialect. In respect, therefore, to this word, the Syriac version may be looked upon as more than a mere translation, and rather as, in some measure, an edition of the original record. Yet I would not, in consequence, venture to substitute יִשְׁתֶּה for יִחְיֶה in the Hebrew line: as the Hebrew copies must still be our main guide with respect to the original elements of the sacred text; nor can it be shown that the Jews ever changed designedly any of those elements, except in a very few instances bearing upon Christian views.



attributing to Solomon a foreknowledge of the final day of judgment,—a day which is nowhere mentioned in the whole range of his extant writings. This part, indeed, of the Targum referred to is entitled to attention only on the point relating to the structure of the original sentence, in which the paraphraser agrees with the framers of the Septuagint and Peshitah, viz., that the last two groups should be considered as combined in their meanings, and accordingly be translated together. On the other hand, the English translators are entirely free from any imputation of intentional misrepresentation; but still, unwarrantable steps were taken by all of them to arrive at their respective renderings of the above line. The nearest approach effected by any of them to a correct interpretation of the sentence is that exhibited in Coverdale's, or the first Authorized Version; but it was made on the principle of preferring the Greek rendering of this sentence to its original,—a principle which could not be justified, as Coverdale was unable to show how and where the Hebrew line was corrupted. At the same time, I must add that, considering the circumstances of the case, his attempt displays wonderful sagacity and strength of intellect. Afterwards, however, yielding to the prevailing opinion respecting the 'Hebrew verity,' as it has been termed, or the perfect preservation of the sacred text in its original state, he abandoned this translation; as may be concluded from the subsequent English ones adduced by me, some of which are taken from versions in whose formation he acted the part of superintendent, or at least that of a very important assister. All these, in direct opposition to the so far united decisions of the Greek, the Syriac, and the Chaldee translators, are formed upon the plan of construction whereby the interpretation of the last group is separated from that of the preceding one, without which contrivance it could not be rendered, as it is in each of them, 'more than I,' or by some expression to the same effect. The expedients, however, through which this rendering has been arrived at, not only are at variance with the oldest authori-

ties on the subject, but also can be proved untenable upon intrinsic grounds. For, in the first place, with respect to the Geneva Bible and our present Authorized Version, the penultimate group (וְנִי) has in the former work been separated from the last by interpreting it in connexion with the one before, instead of that after it, ‘could haste to outward things,’—an interpretation of very doubtful correctness, and which, besides, is scarcely intelligible in the place where it is inserted;—while, in the latter work, that with which we are most concerned, the separation in question has been effected in a still more objectionable manner, by translating the above group by the word ‘else’ in an earlier part of the sentence, whence has resulted the form of inquiry, ‘who else can.’ But if we consider the bearing of this form in connexion with the rest of the sentence, we shall find it actually equivalent to the following one, ‘who besides me can;’ so that the planners of this construction virtually translated the last two groups by the word ‘else;’ and, after so doing, they had certainly no right to give a second rendering of one of those groups, and interpret it by the expression ‘more than I,’ at the end of the passage.

In the second place, with respect to all the adduced English translations of this line subsequent to that extracted from Coverdale’s Bible, if we omit what is peculiar to each, in order to judge of the effect common to all of the change of the final words introduced by their respective framers, the general bearing of Solomon’s question will be altered from the immediate sense of the first to that of the second of the following lines:—

‘For who can eat,’ &c., &c., ‘besides me?’

‘For who can eat,’ &c., &c., ‘more than I *can*?’

According to the transition here exhibited, the royal moralizer, indeed, is no longer represented as virtually stating that he was the only glutton among the human beings of his day; but the assertion comes out nearly as objectionable, that he was as great a glutton as any of them,—a boast which, now

that it has been divested of all claim to being a correct interpretation of an uncorrupted passage of the original text, I have no hesitation in pronouncing far more suited to Sardapalus, than to the wisest of men. To this view of the matter it would be in vain to object, that the author is not here boasting of what he could do at the time of his writing, or would thenceforward do, but stating with regret what he had formerly done, and making this admission merely for the sake of obtaining greater weight for his opinion upon the subject, as that of a person speaking from experience. To justify this representation, some words to the effect, 'formerly did,' should have come after the pronoun, 'I,' in the English translation; without which the verb understood after this pronoun must be taken in the same tense as those expressed in the preceding part of the verse. But it is quite plain that the Hebrew text, even in its existing state, does not warrant the introduction of any such supplement. These observations are not made with any intention of censuring the several sets of learned men referred to : in fact, under the circumstances of the case it was impossible for them to succeed in what they attempted, namely, to give a faithful translation of the above Hebrew line in its existing state, and at the same time to produce a sentence free from objection. Surely, then, the blame of their failures should be cast, not on them, but on the Jewish scribes who occasioned the impossibility in question, by misvocalizing the last group of this line, whereby they changed a fine, moral sentence into the disgusting boast of a person represented as indulging in the grossest sensualities. Certainly the hatred the old vocalizers bore against the Septuagint, on account of the support it yields to Christianity, must have been excessive, when, from the eagerness of their desire to fasten on this version an appearance of inaccuracy, they were induced to resort to means which at the same time contributed, in the present instance and that previously examined, to lower the characters of the two most distinguished of their sovereigns. Possibly they were not, while vocalizing the sacred text, aware of the full

consequence of the misvocalizations adopted by them in those instances ; but if this was the case, it only serves to show with what extreme precipitation they must have executed their task.

It remains that I should make a few remarks on the word *שׁוּחַ*, which is in the above line of no very certain signification. The primary meaning of this verb, and the only one in which it is well ascertained to be used in the sacred text, ‘to hasten,’ cannot be applied to it here without much obscurity ; in consequence of which some secondary meaning of it that would suit the context has been sought for among the cognate dialects. This mode of supplying what is here wanted would perhaps be effectual, if we could consult books in those dialects written as far back as the days of Solomon. But the very oldest works of the kind now accessible are dated more than a thousand years after the age in which he flourished ; and, in living languages, the secondary senses of words are liable to a vast amount of change in the course of so long an interval. Hence it appears to me to be a safer mode of proceeding to search for some meaning of the verb, *שׁוּחַ*, which is connected with its primary sense, and at the same time consistent with the general scope of the analyzed sentence ; while, as a check upon the looseness of the interpretation thus determined, the primary sense of this word might be added in the margin. Now the expression, ‘to take a pleasure in,’ conforms to both of the prescribed conditions ; as, on the one hand, it will be found not to alter the general bearing of the sentence ; and, on the other, the act it denotes is naturally connected with that represented by ‘hastening to :’ for we are apt to hasten only to those occupations which are pleasing to us. Upon these grounds I would venture to recommend the following translation of the line just examined :—

“For who can eat, or who can<sup>a</sup> take any     <sup>a</sup> Heb. *hasten* thereto.  
pleasure *therein*, without him?”

The assistance formerly afforded to readers by the paragogic *He* was greater than what it would now seem to have

been : because this letter has been suffered to remain in the Hebrew Scriptures only where it follows the *A* sound ; and the places where that sound should in the course of reading be uttered, have, since the interpolation of vowel-letters, been in a great measure indicated by the mere absence therefrom of *Yod* and *Waw*. With respect to the rate of frequency of occurrence of this paragogic element, the state of the sacred text appears to be exactly the same now as from the first, in the case of groups whose pronunciation is closed with the sound of the *A* vowel ; since we have no ground for supposing that the old vocalizers ever erased it except when they inserted a mater lectionis, and they made no such insertion for the expression of this vowel, in, at any rate, the final syllable of Hebrew words.<sup>a</sup> For the same reason we may conclude that no paragogic *He* was originally employed, where there is not one now to be found at the end of groups which ought to be read with the *I* or *U* sound at their close, but which the old vocalizers failed to mark for such readings by the insertion of matres lectionis corresponding to those sounds.<sup>b</sup> It is, therefore, only in cases where a *Yod* or *Waw* has been actually inserted at the end of a group, that an erasure of the paragogic element in question is to be sought for ; and although the number of such erasures can now no longer be exactly ascertained, yet there is reason to think that it was but small in proportion to the whole number of Hebrew groups at present closed by one or other of those vowel-letters. For, as we have already seen, this element occasionally served to give a hint of the *I* sound of the Hebrew possessive pronoun of the first person singular ; and its aid was certainly

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<sup>a</sup> An instance has been given in the preceding part of this chapter of a paragogic *He* following the *A* sound, which was erased to make room for a vocalic *Haleph*, in the case of the pronoun originally written אֶנֶךָ; but it was when this pronoun was employed, not as a Hebrew, but as a Chaldee word.

<sup>b</sup> The present discovery serves to expose in the sacred text a vast number of the failures above described of the first set of vocalizers ; and some of them are to be seen attested even by the pointing of the second set.

far more wanted by an ancient reader thus to suggest to him the vocal fragment of an addition to be made to the word under his inspection, than merely to intimate a regular vocal termination of that word : yet instances can be adduced of its non-employment for the more requisite service, whence we may fairly infer that it was often omitted in cases where its use was less wanted. I shall here bring forward two examples of the omission of the paragogic *He* in the original state of the Hebrew text, where it would have served to suggest the *I* sound of the above-mentioned affix :—one of them in which a *Yod* was afterwards in like manner omitted by the old vocalizers, and the other where it was inserted by them, for the purpose of denoting that affix. The former example occurs in the Hebrew passage which is, in our Authorized Version, thus translated :—

“For I spake not unto your fathers nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices ;”—Jer. vii. 22.

The part of the original of this extract here to be considered, and the oldest Greek and Syriac renderings of that part, together with a literal interpretation subjoined to each, as follows :—

*Hebrew Text,* ביום הוציא אותם מארץ מצרים

In the day of the bringing of them out of the land of Egypt.

*Septuagint,* ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἀνήγαγον αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

In the day in which I brought them up from the land of Egypt.

*Peshitah,* כסמא דלמסא דלע מלך אנא דמלך

In the day that I made them ascend from the land of Egypt.

The circumstance of the group הוציא (a verb in the infinitive mood used in the above Hebrew line as a noun) having no *Yod* written immediately after it, reveals the fact that

neither was it originally accompanied by a paragodic *He*; as, if it was, it would still retain the same attendant, no cause for the removal of this letter having occurred, as no mater lectionis was here inserted. So much for the omission by the original writer, as well as subsequently by the old vocalizers, of the letters which, in their respective times, would have contributed in very different ways to direct attention to the necessity of reading this group with the sound of the affix of the first person singular at its termination. But it may be worth while to offer a few more remarks on each omission, separately considered. Before the Hebrew Bible was vocalized, the adduced verbal noun could, in an abstract point of view, have been translated either 'the bringing out,' or 'my bringing out,' but was confined to the latter rendering, if not strictly by the context, at any rate by the history of the event, referred to, and the style of language uniformly held respecting it in Scripture. For the person here represented as the speaker is the LORD; and the deliverance of the Israelites from the grasp of their Egyptian oppressors is proved, by a most stupendous miracle wrought upon the waters of the Red Sea, to have been his act, and is constantly insisted upon as such by every inspired writer who has touched upon the subject. It is, therefore, perfectly clear that, although the nature of Hebrew writing in the time of Jeremiah left room for two modes of reading the verbal noun in question, it yet was meant by him to be uttered only in one of those ways, with the *I* sound to denote a possessive pronoun at its end, and must have been for a long time after so read and understood by every one acquainted with the Jewish history under whose inspection it may have come; and, accordingly, we may perceive, it has been translated for this reading both by the Seventy Jews and by the framers of the Peshitah. But, after the introduction of the mater lectionis into the original text, the same word could no longer be read in this place correctly without a *Yod* subjoined to it, which, notwithstanding, the old vocalizers omitted, in pursuance of a plan acted upon with a wonderful degree

of steadiness, considering the great precipitation with which they executed their task. For, wherever the unvocalized writing admitted of being read in different ways consistently with the context, they almost invariably selected the opposite one to that followed by the Seventy Interpreters ; whereby they contrived to give the translation made by these men the fallacious appearance of being very loose and inaccurate. For the most part, indeed, the variations hence arising in the form of expression caused no alteration of the sense or deterioration of the style ; and, consequently, they produced in each instance a reading of the original text unobjectionable in itself, yet very objectionable in the motive in which it originated. But the one adopted in the present instance by the scribes in question, though it does not run directly counter to the meaning of the clause, is still very defective in the expression of this meaning ; and, what further shows the intensity of their desire to throw discredit on the oldest and best version of the Hebrew Bible is, that the correct reading here abandoned by them for this purpose is that which even their national pride must have strongly prompted them to retain. Nor should the circumstance be overlooked, that in a few cases, such as those discussed in some of the preceding examples, they, from excessive eagerness to effect their dishonest object, still more transgressed the bounds of prudence, to such an extent as, by their interpolations, manifestly to violate the context, thereby leaving behind them clear indications of the fraud they committed. Thus, while the benefit of preserving the legibility of the Hebrew Bible was secured by means which were at the same time applied by wicked men to perverting the meaning of some of its most important passages, provision was all along made by the Almighty Disposer of events for the removal of the evil with which this invaluable good was accompanied, as soon as attention should come to be seriously directed to the subject.

To conclude my analysis of the example before me, I have to observe, that several copies of the sacred text are enume-



rated by Kennicott which exhibit a *Yod* at the end of the group in question ; but it is evident, from the manner in which the Masorets have dealt with the case, that they would gladly have availed themselves of the use of such copies, if known to them; whence it is most likely that those now extant were written since their time, accommodated to the correction which their punctuation had suggested. These critics, who did not flourish till many centuries after the secret of the first vocalization of the Hebrew Bible was lost even among the rulers of the Jews, have unconsciously given their support to my condemnation of the treatment of the above group by the set of vocalizers who preceded them ; as is clearly shown by their mode of pointing it,  $\text{סִימָן}$ . The little circle, used by them in this instance to mark a defect, would be more regularly placed, if shifted to the left, just over the site which the wanted letter ought to occupy, and seems to have been thence removed merely by the fault of the printers. In full accordance with the Masoretic correction of this group, I would recommend it to be written, in an unpointed edition of the text,  $\text{סִימָן}$ . The Authorized English Translation of the examined clause requires no alteration ; nor does candour any longer require a marginal note to show how the Hebrew here differs from this translation ; since the want of a *Yod* at the end of the analyzed group is not to be laid to the account of the original writing, but ascribed solely to a fault in its subsequent vocalization.

My second example is supplied by comparing the first two groups of the twenty-second Psalm, now written  $\text{אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי}$  ('my God, my God'), with their translation in the Septuagint,  $\delta \Theta ε ο \varsigma \delta \Theta ε ο \varsigma \mu ο υ$  ('God, my God'). From this comparison, provided the general accuracy of the old Greek version be taken into account, it may be inferred, with a high degree of probability, that the *Yod* now at the end of each of the Hebrew groups did not displace a paragogic *He* previously employed there, but that they were originally destitute of any sign, direct or indirect, of the vowel *I* to be pronounced at their respective

terminations, and that the reader was formerly left to the exercise of his judgment to deduce solely from the context the propriety of uttering that sound after each of them. For, the liberty taken in the Greek version of rendering one of the above groups without, and the other with the possessive pronoun of the first person singular after it, was perfectly fair, provided they were written in the time of the Seventy Jews  $\text{לֵא, לֵא}$ . But if they were then exhibited with a paragogic *He* at the end of each, the same latitude of interpretation would have been utterly unwarranted on the part of those translators. A more convincing proof, however, to the same effect may be deduced from the representation twice given in the Peshitah of the words composing our Lord's exclamation on the cross, which commenced with those contained in the very two groups just examined. But as this proof serves also to give a striking illustration of the more general discovery respecting the original non-existence of vowel-letters in the writing of the Hebrew Bible, and as, through the explanation thus supplied, it clears up a considerable difficulty in the existing state of the Syriac version,—a difficulty which till now was wholly unaccountable,—I trust that, in dwelling at some length upon the subject, I shall not be deemed to trespass on my reader's patience.

In the Gospel of St. Matthew the exclamation above referred to is exhibited as follows :—

$\text{Ηλι, Ηλι, λαμα σαβαχθανι,}$

but in that of St. Mark its first two groups are written  $\text{Ελωι, Ελωι}$  ; with just the same signification of ' My God, My God,' as the corresponding two in the former Gospel, but not in the same language. For  $\text{Ηλι, Ηλι,}$  denote the sounds of the words having this meaning in pure Hebrew, and  $\text{Ελωι, Ελωι,}$  those of the equivalent words in the corrupt dialect of Hebrew spoken in Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion, that is, in the Jerusalem Chaldee, or Syro-Chaldee, which scarcely differed from the ancient Syriac. But that  $\text{Ελωι, Ελωι,}$  are,

as I have already observed in the first chapter of this treatise, a corruption of the genuine writing of St. Mark, is perfectly evident from the next following verse of his Gospel, wherein he informs us that the words thereby denoted were misunderstood by those looking on, which, repeated as they were, and uttered with a loud voice, they could not possibly have been if they were spoken in the language of the surrounding multitude, and consequently written in the form in which they are now exhibited. The same inference may also be drawn from the evidence afforded by the Peshitah on this subject. For the words in question are represented by the very same groups of letters in the two specified Gospels, as translated in this version ; and, besides, there is inserted in the second of them an interpretation of our Lord's exclamation, of which it obviously would have been absurd therein to offer any, if the entire was in Syriac, as it must have been, if its commencement was so. In all probability, some transcriber of St. Mark's original Gospel, finding the latter part of the exclamation to be in this ancient dialect, and assuming that the whole of it was uttered without any diversity of language, altered the initial groups to suit them to this erroneous assumption. But whether the corruption here brought home to this Gospel was or was not thus occasioned, there cannot, I submit, be the slightest doubt, in the first place, that the sounds of our Lord's words referred to are preserved in the original Gospel of St. Matthew,<sup>a</sup> as nearly as they can be conveyed through the me-

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<sup>a</sup> In all those particulars transmitted to us respecting 'the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew,' or 'the Gospel to the Hebrews' (as it has been variously designated by ancient writers) in which it differs from the Greek Gospel ascribed to the same author, the Syriac rendering of his work in the Peshitah agrees exactly with the latter, and differs from the former narrative. Hence, it clearly follows that, even supposing the Syro-Chaldee document attributed to St. Matthew older than the above Syriac Gospel, this translation must at any rate be referred to the specified Greek Gospel as its original; and this evidence to the genuineness of the latter production is of far greater weight than any that has been, or by any possibility could be, adduced on the oppo-

dium of Greek letters ; secondly, that they were originally written exactly the same way in the two Greek Gospels in which they are recorded ; and thirdly, that they were not corrupted in the second of those Gospels till after the Peshitah had been composed. Subjoined are the transcript of the above exclamation, which is common to the Syriac rendering of both of the Gospels referred to, and its interpretation, which is confined to the Syriac of St. Mark's Gospel, together with two modes of reading this transcript,—the one according to the western pronunciation and modern curtailment of the words, which is adduced from Gabriel Sionita's Latin translation of the Peshitah, and the other according to their eastern, fuller,

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site side of the question. The Syriac translators wrote either before the end of the first century or within a very few years after the commencement of the second, that is, at an earlier period than any of the fathers of the Church, and their language was very nearly identical with the Syro-Chaldee; for both which reasons combined they were the best judges that can be appealed to, as to which of the compared Gospels is genuine. Besides, we should bear in mind, in favour of their decision on this point, that it is supported by a long series of subsequent writers, intimately acquainted with the Greek Gospel in question, who, in the manner of their quoting from or speaking of that work, uniformly attest it to be the genuine production of St. Matthew. Nor are we here to overlook the invalidity of the evidence on the opposite side: it rests chiefly on a vague report spread by interested parties, and first committed to writing by Papias, who, as Eusebius informs us, was a man of weak mind, and who, besides, was an incompetent witness from ignorance of the dialect in which he attested the Gospel of this Evangelist to have been originally written. Yet did not Jerome adopt the latter side of the question? True; but this, among many other instances that might be adduced to the same effect, only serves to show a failure of judgment on the part of this learned father, notwithstanding the great power and brilliancy of his talents in other respects. The following passage of his writings forms the commencement of the brief account he gives of St. Matthew in his *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*:—"Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex publicano apostolus, primus in Judæa propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant, Evangelium Christi Hebraicis litteris verbisque composuit: quod quis postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est."—*Hieronymi Opera Martianeæ edita*, tom. iv. pars 2nda, col. 102.

and more ancient pronunciation, as exhibited through my notation :—

ⲁⲓⲙⲁⲛⲁⲥⲏⲗ ⲙⲉⲙⲟⲛⲟ ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲕⲥⲟⲛ  
ⲁⲓⲙⲁⲛⲁⲥⲏⲗ ⲙⲉⲙⲟⲛⲟ ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲕⲥⲟⲛ

*Il Il lemono scebacton.*

ḤĒL ḤĒL LeMaNaH SheBaQTaNI.

From a comparison of the Syriac lines here brought together, it is evident, respecting the first two groups of the upper one, that they alone were in a dialect differing from Syriac, the two remaining groups being exactly identical with their Syriac interpretations; and also that, although written so as to convey, according to the ordinary use of the letters, the articulate sounds *Hēl*, *Hēl*, they yet were intended to be read *Hēli*, *Hēli*, with the vowel *I* denoting the possessive pronoun of the first person singular pronounced at their end; since the groups with which they are interpreted terminate in *Yod*, which represents this vowel and signifies this pronoun in Syriac<sup>a</sup> as well as in Hebrew. Moreover, a comparison of the two subjoined readings of the upper line with the Greek original of that line previously quoted from St. Matthew's Gospel, serves to illustrate the great superiority of the mode of reading Syriac followed in this work to that now prevailing in Europe, in reference to the nearest approach that can at present be made to the ancient pronunciation of the language. But even the reading which comes the nearer of the two to the Grecian memorial of our Lord's exclamation on the cross deviates from it in two particulars which require explanation.

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<sup>a</sup> According to the curtailed pronunciation of Syriac words which now prevails, the above mater lectionis is passed over unsounded. But this is obviously a corruption of the language, to accommodate it to modern tongues in which the final syllables of inflexions are seldom varied; and it is quite plain that this letter would not in ancient times have been written at the end of the words to which it is subjoined, if it was not meant by the writer to be there pronounced.

In the first place, the difference between  $\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha$  and  $LeMaNaH$  may, I conceive, be accounted for by the circumstance that St. Matthew, quoting a foreign word, of itself unintelligible to his Grecian readers, and reserving its interpretation for a second line, gives only its sound in the first one, in consequence of which his representation of this word was not affected by any change of language, and was just the same as if it had been written immediately after the crucifixion of our Saviour: while, on the other hand, the Syriac translator has denoted this part of the exclamation by a significant word of his own dialect, which, as an element of a living language, was subject to alteration. The difference, therefore, which is observable between  $\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha$  and  $LeMaNaH$ , is to be laid to the account of the change which the Syriac word here employed underwent in the interval between the periods when our Lord was crucified and the Peshitah was written: at the former date this word was identical with that of the same signification in the pure ancient Hebrew, though at the latter date it had become perceptibly different from its Hebrew original.

But, in the second place, the difference between  $H\lambda$ ,  $H\lambda$ , and  $H\bar{E}L$ ,  $H\bar{E}L$ —a far more surprising one, and for the elucidation of which this discussion has chiefly been entered upon—is totally unaccountable on any principle which could have been hitherto applied to its explanation; as may be shown from several considerations. First, the latter pair of articulate sounds were in themselves just as unintelligible to the Syriac reader as the former pair were to the Grecian reader; and, consequently, the difference between those pairs could not have been produced by any alteration of the Syriac dialect within the interval of time above specified. Secondly, it cannot be conceded that the two Syriac groups were originally closed, each of them, with a *Yod* (to denote the sound *I*) which has since been erased from the writing: for the uniform practice in this writing has been to retain the final *Yod*, even where it has ceased to be pronounced. Thus, to give an

example somewhat analogous to that under consideration, the words *Kúrie*, *Kúrie* (Matt. vii. 21) are rendered in the Peshitah *ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝ*, *MaRI, MaRI*, 'My Lord, My Lord;' respecting which Syriac groups it is to be observed, that they are pointed by Gabriel Sionita so as to be read *Mar, Mar*; and yet they still retain the mater lectionis *Yod* which is omitted in their modern pronunciation. Thus, again, in the very example before us, though *ܫܒܥܬܢܝ*, *SheBaQTaNI*, is shown by Gabriel's pointing of it to be now pronounced *shebocton* by the Maronites and such other Christians of Western Asia as still make use of Syriac formularies in divine service, yet the *Yod* at the termination of this group has not been in consequence expunged. Thirdly, it cannot be imagined that the Syriac translators, or afterwards any transcribers of their work, omitted the *Yod* at the end of each group through oversight; as such an omission would have been calculated most strongly to force itself on observation, through the losses thereby occasioned of a syllable in the sound of those groups, and of a possessive pronoun in their sense. The insertion, indeed, or omission of a *Yod* serving to denote the vowel *E* in the interior of the noun contained in the same groups, might possibly escape notice for the very opposite reason; as such vowel-letter would have no effect whatever upon that noun, whose meaning and pronunciation remain exactly the same, whether that internal *Yod* be inserted or omitted. But the case is quite different with regard to the external *Yod*, which neither translators nor copyists could have left out, without being conscious of having done so. Lastly, quite exclusively of the consideration of the character of strict honesty to which the Syriac translators are entitled on account of the manner in which they have executed every other portion of their work, they cannot be charged with a misrepresentation here designedly adopted of the initial sounds of our Lord's exclamation; as they have fairly translated the passage of each Gospel succeeding that in which this exclamation is recorded, wherein it

is stated that those sounds were mistaken by some of the bystanders for the name Elias (ܠܝܐܠܝܐ, *HeLiYA*<sup>a</sup>) repeated; and have thus supplied their readers with a proof to the same effect as that furnished, not only in this way by both of the original Gospels, but also more directly by the transcript of the sounds in question still preserved in one of them, namely, to the effect that the vowel *I* followed immediately after the articulation *L* in each of the repeated sounds.

Now if all this be true,—if there be a moral certainty that the Syriac translators wrote each of the groups in question without a *Yod* at its close,—and if, on the other hand, it be equally certain that they intended those groups to be read *Heli*, *Heli*, in accordance with their own interpretation of the meaning of the same groups which requires them to be thus pronounced, and also in accordance with the direct representation of their sounds now given, indeed, in only the one of the Greek Gospels referred to, but which in all probability was at first given in both of them;—how are these conflicting positions to be reconciled? The solution of this difficulty is, I submit, to be found in the state of the Hebrew Bible at the time of the formation of the Peshitah. At that time—as has been already shown to some extent, and will be more fully proved when I come to discuss the age of this ancient version—there were no vowel-letters in the sacred text. The first two groups, therefore, of the twenty-second Psalm (putting

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<sup>a</sup> In both of the Syriac passages above referred to, the name in question is written with a *Lamed* prefixed, which I have omitted for the purpose of exhibiting barely the word itself. In the sacred text this name is still written without any vowel-letter ܠܝܐܠܝܐ, *HeLiYaH*; but in its Syriac transcript ܠܝܐܠܝܐ, if I am not mistaken, the final *Haleph* was inserted to express the vowel *A*, and the *He* was then dropped; while, on the other hand, it continues in the Hebrew group, in which it served indirectly to intimate the use of the specified vowel after the consonant *Yod*, until such application of it fell into oblivion, in consequence of the introduction of *matres lectionis* into the writing of the Hebrew Bible. It is from this view of the subject, as far as respects the Syriac designation, that I have above given, conformably to my notation, the reading of it, *HeLiYA*.



out of consideration for the present whether they were or were not then closed with a paragogic *He*) must at all events have been at that date written without a *Yod* at their termination; and yet the context required them to be read *HeLi, HeLi*, 'My God, My God,' exactly in the same way as if they had been written, just as they now are, *אלהי אלהי*. This Psalm, which was composed above a thousand years before the crucifixion of our Lord, gives as vivid a description of several particulars connected with that awful event as if it had been written by one of those actually present at the scene. To bring this to the recollection of my readers in the case of an inspired composition, with which they must be perfectly familiar, it will be sufficient to quote the following extracts from the translation of it inserted in our Authorized Version:—"My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?"—"All they that see me laugh me to scorn; they shoot out the lip; they shake the head, *saying*, He trusted on the LORD that he would deliver him: let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him;"—"they pierced my hands and my feet;"—"they look *and* stare upon me;"—"they part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture." As our blessed Redeemer evidently appropriated this remarkable series of prophecies to himself, by making use of the identical exclamation with which they commence; so his uttering its initial words in the very language in which they were originally pronounced, was calculated to direct attention to the portion of Scripture containing them, for the edification of such persons as then were, or might at any subsequent period become, acquainted with the sacred text. And the framers of the Peshitah appear, in conformity with the benevolent intention thus shown by our Lord, to have endeavoured to contribute to the same effect, by exhibiting those words, not only in their original language, but also with their original spelling, which, though already at that date obsolete in the ordinary use of Shemitic writing,<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> In speaking above of Shemitic writing in the singular number, I refer to only the kinds of it used by the early Christians and the Jews, which must

was still retained in the text of the Hebrew Bible. There was then, indeed, no prospect of this spelling being ever changed in the inspired volume ; as it was well known that the Jews were violently prejudiced against the introduction of any innovation, and particularly of one of Pagan origin, into the mode of transcribing their Scriptures. The Syriac translators, therefore, very naturally thought that the above groups would always continue to be written in the Hebrew text, without a *Yod* at their close, and yet be read, in accordance with the demands of the context, the same way as if that *mater lectionis* had been annexed to them. In this expectation, indeed, those scribes were mistaken : the Jewish priests, tempted by the opportunity which the employment of the *matres lectionis* afforded them, of perverting the sense of the prophecies relating to Christ, admitted those letters by stealth into the inspired text, not long after the Peshitah was written, at a period when, as I propose to show in a future chapter, all power of reading that text, and all knowledge of the ancient Hebrew tongue, had ceased among the Christians. After the introduction of vowel-letters into the original writing of the Bible, the Hebrew groups

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have been originally the same ; since the first Christians were converted Jews. But as the Samaritan and Jewish kinds, originally the same in every respect, were gradually altered in the shapes of their elements, in consequence of the strong tendency of handwriting to change in the course of time,\* and also to change differently in the employment of different parties who held no communication with each other ; so likewise, for precisely the same reason, the Jewish or Chaldee, and the Syriac kinds, diverging from a common origin in the latter part of the first century, became at length quite different in the forms of their respective sets of letters. These two kinds, however, of Semitic writing would appear to have continued very nearly the same down to a period somewhat later than the middle of the third century, from the Palmyrene inscriptions of that date, which plainly exhibit the origin of the square character of the modern Jewish or Chaldee, as well as that of the curvilinear character of the modern Syriac kind. But in whatever degree their identity may have been continued to the specified epoch, it must at all events have been, *quam proxime*, complete down to the end of the first century, within a few years of which date, as I hope to be able to show in a subsequent chapter, the Peshitah was composed.

under consideration could no longer be read, in their unvocalized state, with the *I* sound at their termination, conformably to the transcription given of them in the first, and the translation of them in both the first and second of the Greek Gospels; but, notwithstanding this, the Syriac translators certainly read them in this way, and, accordingly, meant that their Syriac transcripts should likewise be so read. If now we revert to those transcripts, we shall see that they clearly afford, as the evidence of their framers, that the Hebrew groups from which they were copied, though formerly pronounced with the sound of a fragment of the possessive pronoun of the first person singular subjoined to them, were yet written not only without a *Yod*, but also without a paragogic *He*, at their termination.

The manner in which I conceive the translator more immediately engaged in the framing of this part of the Syriac version to have proceeded is as follows:—His first impulse must naturally have been to transcribe the groups  $\text{H}\lambda\iota$ ,  $\text{H}\lambda\iota$ , into the Syriac ones  $\text{ܠܝܝ}$   $\text{ܠܝܝ}$  with two *Yods* in each; that inside the noun contained in those groups to represent the *Eta*, and that outside the same noun to stand for the *Iota* of their Grecian models. But, referring his Syriac transcripts still farther back to the two Hebrew groups at the commencement of the twenty-second Psalm, and wishing to mark their identity with those groups, not only by their conveying the same sounds, but also by doing this through the same combination of letters, he cut off the external *Yod*, but retained through oversight the internal one (which escaped his notice in consequence of its not affecting in the slightest degree the pronunciation or meaning of the noun it enters), and confined his attention to the omission of the former *Yod*, whose absence from the original groups made the way of reading them in the Bible, with the *I* sound at their end, quite different from that to which he was habituated in his own writing. But what thus commenced with one of the translators may be easily conceived to have passed current with the rest of their body, who, in addition to the natural tendency to receive passively what has

been introduced by an associate, were influenced by just the same causes as he was, to overlook what was usual in their time in the form of those groups, and to mind only what was then uncommon therein. It is, however, possible that the *Yod* inside the Syriac groups was inserted in them, not by the translators, but subsequently by copyists ; as, from the growing familiarity of those scribes with the *matres lectionis*, there was at first an increase in the number of those letters continually going forward in every kind of Shemitic writing employed to denote the words of a living language ; more especially in situations where, as in the instance before us, they altered neither the sound nor the sense of the terms into which they were introduced. In either of those ways all inconsistency may be removed between the appearance at present of the internal *Yod* in the above groups, and the intention I have ascribed to the Syriac translators of writing them in the same manner as they were then written in the original text of the Hebrew Bible ; an intention, on their part, which solves the difficulty proposed for investigation, and without the admission of which it would be impossible to reconcile their own interpretation of the meaning of those groups with the fact of their having left out the external *Yod* at the end of each group.

If this view of the subject be well founded, not only does my exposition remove a serious difficulty with which the text of the Peshitah has been hitherto embarrassed, but it also supplies us with a striking instance of two groups in the Hebrew Bible which the context requires to be read with the *I* sound (to express a possessive pronoun) at their end, and which, notwithstanding, are thus attested to have been originally written without any direct sign or indirect intimation of this vowel in that site. For the Syriac groups just analyzed,  $\text{ܝܠ}$   $\text{ܝܠ}$ , have neither a *Yod* nor a *He* at their close ; and, consequently, the Hebrew groups, the final part of whose original form they may be depended on as correctly representing, must have been at first equally destitute of either termination. They do not, indeed, for the reason above explained, serve to

prove that the groups in question, אֱלֹהִים אֱלִי, had originally no vowel-letter inside the noun they contain ; but no proof of this is wanted, as those groups do not exhibit any vowel-letter in that site even at the present day.

The paragogic *He* after the *A* sound occurs, as has been already observed, with the same degree of frequency in the sacred text now as from the first ; but that degree is, I apprehend, much greater than it is generally supposed to be. For the *He* placed at the end of a great number of Hebrew words which are read with the final sound of the vowel *A*, is proved to be of this nature by the anomalies arising from the present mode of using it, which are removed by an alteration of its treatment conformable to the view of the matter here proposed ; as I will endeavour to show in the instances of nouns feminine, of pronouns masculine or feminine, of participles feminine, and of verbs masculine or feminine. But, to avoid dwelling too long on a point which, though of itself deserving attention, is a digression from my subject, I must confine myself to a single example for each class, and leave it to the learned reader to increase their number, which he can easily do from his own observation. For the illustration of the first class, I select the following expression, to which is subjoined its Authorized English Translation :—

1 Kings, xix. 11, רוח גדלה ורוק

“and a great and strong wind.”

Here the first noun adjective (*GeDoLaH*) is feminine, while the second, according to the present mode of reading it (*KhaZaQ*), is masculine ; and grammarians attempt to justify the contrariety of gender thus exhibited, on the ground of the Hebrew substantive רוח being indifferently masculine or feminine. Now, as gender is but arbitrarily applied to this word, there is nothing strange or objectionable in the circumstance of its being treated in some places as a feminine, and in others as a masculine noun ; still, that it should in one and

the same place be dealt with in these opposite ways, is scarcely consistent, and must at any rate be deemed very incongruous. But, according to my view of the case, the expression before us is entirely free from this anomaly. The inspired author of the book in which this expression occurs employed the *He* at the end of the first adjective, not like the other elements of his writing, as a letter invested with a power of its own, but merely as a *quasi* letter, or a mark to intimate the addition of a syllable to the word it is annexed to (which, after men had got distinct notions of consonants and vowels, had the effect of suggesting, instead of the entire syllable, its final part *A*), whereby that word was put in a feminine form. Such intimations he gave only according as it happened to strike his imagination that they were wanting; and, in consequence, he omitted them in some places where they might, perhaps, have been as useful to a reader, as in those wherein he actually inserted them. In the present instance, however, he had an obvious reason for such an omission after the second adjective: for, as the two are immediately connected at the very same time with the very same noun substantive, they evidently should be read in the same gender; whence, having intimated this gender by the introduction of the paragogic *He* after one of them, he considered it unnecessary to subjoin the same hint to the other. The second adjective, therefore, of the above expression was intended by the original writer to be in this place read *KhăZaQa*; and, accordingly, it ought still to be so read, with a view to conforming, not only to his intentions, but also to the grammatical analogies of the language. This correction requires no alteration of the letters, and merely the insertion in pointed texts of a *Qames* under the third letter, with a corresponding shortening of the pronunciation of the preceding part of the word; to which I should add, that such a reading of groups wanting the final *He* has in many instances been adopted by the Masorets themselves, though not in, I believe, any that belong to the class now under consideration.

In the second class are included the masculine pronouns *אתה*, 'thou,' and *המה*, 'they,' and the feminine ones *אתנה*, 'ye,' and *הנה*, 'they;' but, as the final *He* in the case of each of the last three of these is, I believe, on all sides allowed, on account of the frequency of its omission, to be paragogic, I select an example from the sacred text and its Authorized English Version, in which the first comes under consideration, as follows:—

Deut. v. 27, "Go thou near,—*קרב אתה*—and hear all that the LORD our God shall say; and speak thou unto us—*וְאֵת תְּדַבֵּר אֵלֵינוּ*—all that the LORD our God shall speak unto thee, and we will hear *it* and do *it*."

Here the pronoun in question is by the terrified Israelites twice addressed to Moses, but, being in the second instance written without a final *He*, it is pointed by the Masorets for the pronunciation which belongs to it when spoken to a female; and the reason assigned for the irregularity thus attributed to the speakers is the confusion of mind produced by the state of terror in which they then were. But, surely, this terror could not have led them to express themselves in a disparaging, contemptuous manner to Moses, as if they considered him only as a woman, just at the moment when they were most anxious for his intervention, that they might thereby be relieved from their fears. On the contrary, the repetition of the pronoun in this place,—more especially as, on its second occurrence, it is connected with a verb (*תְּדַבֵּר*) which contains a fragment of the very same pronoun in the preformative of its inflexion; so that its strict translation here is 'thou thyself;'—such repetition of it, I say, is emphatic, and indicates a feeling of earnestness on the part of the Israelites the very reverse of disrespect. It is, therefore, perfectly obvious that this pronoun was intended by the author to be here read in the masculine gender, with the *A* sound at its end; although it is not closed with a paragogic *He*, that would have served to intimate

the addition to it of that sound. Very possibly, he may have deemed such an intimation quite unnecessary in so obvious a case ; or the paragogic letter may have been here inserted by him, and have since disappeared : for this character is no more exempt from the effects of time or of faulty transcription than any other element of the sacred text ; and when that text is said to be in the same state with regard to it after the *A* sound as from the first, such effects are put out of consideration. But, whatever may be the cause of the pronoun in question presenting the bare form **אָתָּ** in this site, it still ought to be here read just in the same manner as if it was written **אָתָּה**, with the sound of *A* at the end of its second syllable ; and for this mode of reading it I might appeal even to the practice of the Masorets themselves against their own treatment of it in this particular instance ; since, as has been noted by grammarians, they have pointed **אָתָּ** for such a pronunciation in five other places,<sup>a</sup> where the context did not in any degree require them to do so, more than in the present case. They have, indeed, in the five instances alluded to, attached to the group of two letters their little circular mark of censure, as if a third one ought to have been added to it. But here again they may be shown inconsistent ; as there are innumerable instances where the second part of this pronoun, used as an affirmative in the inflexion of verbs for the second person singular masculine of the preterite tense, is written solely **אָתָּ**, which they have pointed for the sound *Ta*, just the same as if it had been followed by **הָ**, and yet have never attached to the affirmative so written any mark of censure. The grammarians, I should add, are here as inconsistent as the Masorets : for where the part of this pronoun used as an affirmative is written **אָתָּה**, they admit the final **הָ** to be paragogic ; and yet they maintain the very same **הָ**, at the end of the same pronoun in its integral state, to be an intrinsic and essential element of it. In fact, both parties seem to have determined the nature of this letter,

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<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. xxiv. 19 ; Neh. ix. 6 ; Job, i. 10 ; Ps. vi. 4. ; Eccles. vii. 22.



not by the kind of use made of it in the sacred text, but by the more or less frequency of its occurrence therein : it is almost always found at the end of the integral pronoun masculine just examined, and in consequence they have decided on its being there intrinsic ; on the other hand, it seldom appears at the end of the portion of the same pronoun masculine used as an affirmative, on which account they at once admit it to be in such places paragogic.

As an example of the third class, that is, of the participles or participial adjectives at present erroneously read, the following expression, accompanied by its translation in the Authorized English Version, is adduced :—

Hos. xiii. 8, כִּדְּב שְׂכֹל

“as a bear *that is* bereaved of *her* whelps.”

The second word of this expression is at present read ShaKUL in the masculine gender, although it is connected with the first one כִּדְּב (or, as it is written when vocalized, כִּדְּבָה), a noun which is in this place feminine : and the excuse given for this anomaly is, that כִּדְּב is employed in some parts of the sacred text as a masculine, and in other parts as a feminine noun ; whence the inference is attempted to be drawn that the prophet could with propriety use it here in either gender. But the weakness of this reasoning may be exposed by means of the rendering of the above words in our Authorized Version, wherein the English term ‘bear’ is, through the reference to it of the pronoun ‘her,’ confined to the feminine gender, although it is in general applicable to a male, as much as to a female of the species, precisely in like manner as is the Hebrew equivalent term כִּדְּב. In fact, the subject denoted by the original expression is literally ‘a bear bereaved.’ But as the only possession of a wild beast is its young, which again can be said to belong only to the parent that takes care of them, the dam, ‘a bear bereaved’ must signify ‘a she bear deprived of her whelps.’ The mere statement of the animal’s being robbed suffices to indicate its sex, and shows that the secondary word connected

with the noun which designates it ought to be read in the feminine gender, *SheKULa* ;—a reading which was considered by the inspired writer to be so obviously requisite, that he omitted to give a hint of its additional syllable by means of a paragogic *He* at the end of the group, which appeared to him to be here quite unnecessary and superfluous. According to this view of the matter, the violation of grammar which has been just exposed is not to be imputed to the original writing, but to the mode of reading it which now prevails.

To supply an example of the fourth class, or of inflexions of verbs which I conceive to be erroneously read, I select the following clause of a sentence, together with its Authorized English rendering :—

Isaiah, xlvii. 11, **וְבָא עִלַּי רָעָה**

“Therefore shall evil come upon thee.”

Here the verb **בָּא** (‘there hath come,’ that is, ‘there shall surely come’), is at present read in the masculine inflexion for the third person singular of the preterite tense, *BaH*, although the noun connected with it, **רָעָה** is feminine. The way in which grammarians attempt to evade this anomaly is, by supposing some word understood which can agree in gender with the verb, and whose introduction into the clause will not materially alter its meaning, as, for instance, **יוֹם** placed before **רָעָה**, whereby the only requisite change in the above English rendering will be the substitution of ‘a day of evil’ instead of the single word ‘evil.’ But if a license to this extent be allowed to a grammarian, no irregularity whatever could occur in a passage proposed for examination, which he might not thus account for : so that, in fact, the circumstance of Hebraists having recourse to such an explanation affords their virtual acknowledgment of the existence here of a gross violation of concord, on the supposition of the verb of the sentence being at present correctly read. On the other hand, it may perhaps be objected to a different mode of reading **בָּא** in this place, that a final *He* is an essential element of the feminine inflexion

of a verb for the third person singular of the preterite tense ; as is shown, not only by its nature (it being a fragment of the pronoun **הוּא** introduced for the very purpose of marking the gender), but also by the circumstance of this inflexion being never found written without it. But to the first ground of this objection it may be replied, that the origin here, in accordance with the prevailing opinion, assigned to the usual termination of the feminine inflexion in question, is erroneous ; as the pronoun referred to was at first written **הוּא** without any distinction of gender, and what the whole pronoun did not, a part could hardly serve to distinguish : and, with regard to the second ground, it consists in taking for granted upon one side the decision of the very point at issue ; for if **הָא** can be read in the feminine gender, then a final *He* does not always terminate the inflexion under inquiry for that gender. The impediment, then, to my correction being thus disposed of, I would venture to recommend the reading of the above verb **בָּאָהָא**, whereby all violation of concord is removed from the adduced clause without any change of its writing. This correction, which (as well as similar ones in various other places) is supported by its removal of a difficulty that cannot be otherwise cleared up without an alteration of the Hebrew text, is grounded on the paragogic nature I attribute to the *He* commonly found at the end of the feminine inflexion here required, which the original writer inserted only where he conceived it to be wanted, and which he appears to have thought in this place rendered, by the close proximity of the governing noun feminine, unnecessary for marking the gender of the verb. He inserted, I grant, this paragogic letter in many places where it was not in the slightest degree more wanted than in the clause before us ; but if his omission of it in the present, and other similar instances, be in consequence deemed an irregularity, it is one of a very different kind from a false concord ; and it can with no more reason be censured in this ancient species of writing, than the variability of spelling can, which is observable in the earlier English versions of the Bible. The case of

the masculine inflexion of verbs for the second person singular of the preterite tense has been already alluded to under the head of pronouns, and, even if I had room to spare, requires no more discussion, as the *He* at the end of this inflexion is on all sides admitted to be paragogic. So likewise is the *He* at the end of the first person singular and plural of the future tense. With respect to that which is found at the end of the inflexions for the second and third persons feminine plural of the future tense, and of the second person plural feminine of the imperative mood, I have only to observe, that it is universally allowed to be paragogic at the end of the pronouns from which the affirmatives of those inflexions are derived, and, therefore, ought equally to be deemed so at the end of these affirmatives.

The paragogic *He*, which formerly, in some instances at least, followed the inflexions of verbs ending in *I* or *U* sound, was always erased on the insertion of a *Yod* or *Waw*, for the purpose of more directly indicating one or other of those sounds; but still its original occurrence in such sites may occasionally be detected by a comparison of the different ways in which the old vocalizers treated the same inflexion, in the same place of the two editions of the sacred text, or in different places of the same edition. This point I shall endeavour to establish, first, by means of the following examples of inflexions belonging to the imperative mood:—

|                   | Jewish Edition. | Samaritan Edition.   | Author. Eng. Vers. |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Gen. xi. 3, 4, 7, | הִבָּה, HaBaH,  | הִבָּה,              | go to.             |
| xix. 32,          | לָכָה, LeKaH,   | לָכִי, LeKI,         | come.              |
| xxxviii. 16,      | הִבָּה, HaBaH,  | הִבָּא, <sup>a</sup> | go to.             |

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<sup>a</sup> The *Haleph* of the above group is not a mater lectionis; for, if the Samaritan scribe had vocalized the word, he would have done so with a *Yod*, as in the parallel case of the second example: it is, therefore, merely one guttural substituted for another through a mistake of the copyists,—a mistake which, it has been already noticed, is of such frequent occurrence as to show that there must, at one time, have been a strong resemblance of shape between the characters with which *Haleph* and *He* were written.

The pronunciation of the groups extracted from the Jewish edition of the Pentateuch is here given according to their Masoretic pointing: but it is evident that the verbs employed in the second and third examples, being addressed, each of them, to a female, ought to have been pointed respectively for the sounds *LeKiH* and *HaBiH*; and that the latter verb being, in the series of places specified in the first example, addressed to a number of persons, ought in each of those places to have been pointed for the sound *HaBuH*. Accordingly, we may perceive that, in the case exhibited in the second example, the Samaritan scribes, while correcting the oversight committed by the old Jewish vocalizers in leaving לכה unvocalized, inserted after the two intrinsic elements of this group a *Yod* to express the vowel *I*, and at the same time erased the extraneous letter which had before served less definitely to suggest the same vowel. The requisite corrections, indeed, of the Masoretic pointing in the places referred to in the first and third examples cannot be established in as direct a manner; because those places were overlooked by both sets of vocalizers: but still they are supported by the practice of those scribes in parallel cases. Thus, רבה being in the site, Ruth, iii. 15, addressed to a female, is there exhibited רב by the Jewish set of old vocalizers; and being, in Gen. xlvii. 16, addressed to a plurality of men, is there put in the form רבו by both the Jewish and the Samaritan set. In neither of these two instances, indeed, have we, as in the case of the second example, a direct proof of the paragogic *He* having been originally employed at the end of the group operated upon. But suppose this group to have been רב, instead of רבה, in each instance, and the alterations so made rather tend to strengthen the evidence adduced in support of the above corrections. For, if the old vocalizers, guided by the context, subjoined to רב, in the one instance, a *Yod*, and in the other a *Waw*, without the help of any hint suggested immediately by the mode in which this group was written, they would *a fortiori* have done so, if a paragogic *He* had in

each place drawn their attention to the want there of a vowel, and had so put them to some extent on their guard in the selection of that vowel. The authority, therefore, of both the first set of Jewish, and the only set of Samaritan vocalizers, combines with the grammatical analogies of the ancient Hebrew language to establish the justness of my representation of the matter, and convict the Masorets of incorrect pointing in the instances just noticed. This incorrectness, however, is to be attributed to ignorance, on their part, not at all of the structure of the above language, but of the nature of the *mâtes lectionis*; which they looked upon as genuine elements of the text, and in consequence paid far more deference to, than they ought. In a few, indeed, of the more glaring instances of defectiveness in the older vocalization, they have noticed with their little circular mark of censure the absence of *mâtes lectionis* where those letters ought to have been inserted; but in general they have, as in the instances before us, regulated their pointing by, and made it conform with, those unwarranted omissions. To conclude, then, with reverting to those instances,—the paragogic *He* which has hitherto been assumed never to come after any vowel but *A*, is here proved beyond a doubt to follow the sound of *U* in the three adduced cases of the first example, and that of *I* in each of the two remaining cases.

Instances of the paragogic *He* formerly used to intimate syllables ending in *I* and *U* sounds respectively, at the close of other inflexions of verbs, may be detected as follows:—

Gen. xviii. 19.

*Jewish Edition*, ידעתִי, *YeDaHTIV*, I know him.

*Samaritan Edition*, ידעתִי, *YaDaHTI*, I know.

Gen. xxxvii. 24.

*Jewish Edition*, ויקח[וּ]הוּ, *WaYyiQqaKhUHU*, and they took him.

*Samaritan Edition*, ויקחוּ, *WaYyiQqaKhU*, and they took.

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<sup>a</sup> A vocal *Waw*, which the context obviously requires, has been inserted between brackets in the above group, to make the reading of it correspond with its Masoretic pointing.

Here we may perceive, by a comparison of the different modes of vocalizing the same groups respectively, that what the Jewish set of old vocalizers in each instance took for an affix of the third person singular masculine, the Samaritan set, on the other hand, considered as a paragogic element. From the Jewish treatment of each group it is evident that both were at first terminated by a *He*, and that, in their original state, they were written respectively ידעתי and ויקחה; while from their Samaritan treatment it is equally plain, that the Samaritans read the former Y<sub>e</sub>D<sub>a</sub>H<sub>T</sub>H, and the latter WaY<sub>i</sub>Q<sub>q</sub>aKh<sub>u</sub>H, and that, having inserted in one of them a *Yod*, and in the other a *Waw*, to denote their respective final sounds, these scribes at the same time omitted the *He* which had, in their view of the matter, previously served less directly to express those sounds. Whether the Samaritan scribes here judged rightly or not, it is quite clear, from their vocalization of those groups, that the paragogic *He* was formerly used in some places to intimate syllables ending in *I* or *U* sound; because, otherwise, they could not possibly have imagined the letter in question to have been of this nature, and so employed in the sites under examination. But if we wish to ascertain whether the *He* erased from either site was actually a paragogic one, we must proceed to inquire, further, whether the view taken of it in that site by the Samaritan vocalizers was correct. Now, with regard to the first example, were the declaration contained in it made by an ordinary person, the sense would be just the same, whether conveyed in the series of words, 'I know him, that he will command, &c.,' or in the shorter form, 'I know that he will command, &c.,' since we can form a judgment as to the future actions of a man, only from observation of his past external behaviour, and not from an insight into his internal nature. But unto God each individual is thoroughly known, as to himself and his inmost thoughts and intentions, as also with respect to his future conduct. The longer form, therefore, of the above declaration has, when coming from the Almighty, more meaning than

the other, and must have been that intended by the inspired writer of the text, as more appropriate to the omniscience of the Great Being to whom this speech is attributed. In this case, then, the Jewish reading of the group should be deemed correct, and the Samaritan one rejected as erroneous. But the proper use of the *He* at the end of the second group cannot in like manner be determined by the sole consideration of the context; as the meaning of the clause in which this group occurs is not in the least altered by the different ways of vocalizing it, the two translations thence resulting—‘they took him and cast him into a pit,’ and ‘they took and cast him into a pit’—being completely equivalent. A reference, therefore, must here be made to the structure of the Hebrew sentence: and when the group in question is examined in conjunction with those immediately subsequent, a comparison of the two modes in which it has been dealt with will be found to tell very decidedly in favour of its Samaritan vocalization, and of the briefer of the two translations of it which have been just adduced.

The part of the original sentence which requires examination (after the insertion in its initial group between brackets of a *Waw*, the want of which was obviously overlooked) is vocalized in the Jewish edition of the Hebrew text as follows:—

וַיִּקַּח [וְ]הוּא וַיִּשְׁלֹךְ אֹתוֹ

‘and they took him and cast him.’

Here a circumstance presents itself to observation which it would be extremely difficult to account for, without more aid than is afforded by the Jewish copies of the Pentateuch. The pronoun of the third person singular masculine is in this clause expressed in two very different ways, being intimately connected with the first verb of the extract as an affix thereto, and separated from the second in a detached form. But what conceivable ground can, by any possibility, be assigned for this difference? each exponent of the pronoun stands precisely in the same relation to the verb by which it is governed;



whence we might naturally anticipate that, as the first is attached to its governing verb in the usual form of an affix, the second would likewise be tied to the second verb in just the same manner. But when we substitute the Samaritan reading of the same words, this difficulty at once disappears, and the reason for putting the pronoun at the end of the clause in a detached form is made quite obvious:—

ויקחו וישלכו אתו

‘and they took and cast him.’

In the reading here given of the Hebrew line, the treatment of the first group by the Samaritan vocalizers shows that they looked upon the *He* which they had erased at its close, as intended merely to intimate what, through an improvement then recently introduced into the mode of writing the Hebrew text, they were enabled more directly as well as more definitely to express by means of the substituted vowel-letter; namely, that the verb contained in this group was to be read in the plural number. We might, perhaps, at first view, be inclined to think that the context, which in general indicated without the aid of a paragogic letter the number of a verb in this writing, even while it was as yet unvocalized, must have sufficiently done so here likewise. But still, the additional intimation supplied by that letter was not superfluous; as will, I conceive, be perceived from the mode of dealing with this case resorted to by the Jewish vocalizers. For, having lost the benefit of the hint in question in the line under examination, in consequence of their attributing quite a different use to the letter by which it was conveyed, they actually omitted to put the verb preceding that letter in a plural form; so that, although the Masorets, contrary to their more usual practice, corrected in this instance the glaring fault of the earlier Jewish vocalization, still this group remains up to the present day, in unpointed copies of the Jewish edition of the sacred text, erroneously exhibited in the singular number. Now the restoration of the exact sense of the first group, thus arrived at,

-- through the aid of the Samaritan vocalization, entirely removes the difficulty under consideration. For as the adduced extract really contains but one pronoun, which is governed by two verbs in common, it was requisite, for clearness of expression, that this pronoun should be exhibited in such a state as would show that it stood in the same relation to both of the governing verbs; that is, it was requisite to write it in a detached form, and not as an affix to the second verb. In an amended edition of the Hebrew text, the initial group of this extract should accordingly be printed ויקח<sup>ו</sup> [ו]ה; and the only alteration wanted in the Authorized English Translation of this clause would be to expunge the pronoun 'him' on its first occurrence. Here, by the way, a use which, I believe, has been hitherto passed over unnoticed, of the separate form of a pronoun in the objective case, is presented to view through a comparison of the Jewish and Samaritan editions of the Hebrew Pentateuch. The discovery, indeed, bears but slightly on a translation; yet still, it is, I submit, valuable in reference to the original record, as tending to point out the clearness of the author's style, as far as that quality could be displayed in the primitive species of alphabetic writing which he employed.

To conclude this analysis—only one of the groups just examined, I admit, has been actually traced back to a former state in which it exhibited a paragogic *He* immediately following a syllable ending in *I* or *U* sound, where it must have been employed to intimate at first the whole syllable, and afterwards the final part thereof; but, no doubt, an attentive comparison of the two editions of the sacred text will enable the learned reader to detect, through the same or like modes of investigation, various other instances of this letter giving an indirect hint of one or other of the specified vowels. We are not, however, hence to infer that inflexions of verbs ending with these sounds were formerly always closed with a paragogic *He*. For there are many instances, as I shall take an opportunity in the next chapter of showing, in which the voca-

lizers failed to insert a *Yod* to denote the vowel *I* at the end of the inflexion of the preterite tense for the first person singular, and where, consequently, there is not the slightest reason to suppose a paragogic *He* was ever placed, none being at present found in that site : and the instances are still more numerous in which those scribes omitted a *Waw* to express the vowel *U* at the end of the inflexion of the preterite for the third person plural, and where, in like manner, no *He* now appearing, there is not the least ground for allowing that one formerly existed. The probability, therefore, is that the original writers of the sacred text inserted this letter after syllables ending in *I* or *U* sound, in like manner as after those ending in *A*, just where the thought happened to strike them that the hint thus suggested might be useful to the reader ; but which of the three classes of syllables they most frequently employed it to intimate, can now no longer be ascertained.

I now proceed to examine a few of the points which are brought under observation through a comparison of the two copies of David's inspired composition already noticed, but whose discussion was, on my first reference to those copies, passed over, in order to avoid interrupting the course of the argument, and deferred to the end of this chapter. I shall commence with directing attention to one of the most remarkable of those points, and that which, as I conceive, stands most in need of elucidation ; namely, the actual force and bearing of the Hebrew tenses in the poetic parts of Scripture. The extreme uncertainty which prevails upon this subject (notwithstanding the many learned dissertations that have been written thereon) is very strikingly exemplified by the discrepancies, in respect to tenses, between the two translations of the copy of the above Hebrew poem (as recorded in the Book of Psalms) which are at present sanctioned in common by our Church ; there being above thirty of the verbs of this poem construed as preterites in the Authorized English Version of the Bible, which are rendered in a future tense in the older translation preserved in our Prayer-book. To the uncertainty thus exem-

plified several causes have contributed : first, the very few Hebrew forms employed to express the various modifications of tense, and the mutual convertibility of meaning of the two principal forms, in consequence of which, much consideration and attention to the tenor of the composition are required, to guard us from the danger of confounding the meanings of those forms ; secondly, the imperfect acquaintance of moderns with the ancient use of the Greek aorists, through which, in a great measure, the bearings of the Hebrew forms in question are interpreted in that version (the Septuagint) upon which our chief dependence must be placed, among the means put by a gracious Providence within our reach for arriving at a fuller knowledge of those forms ; thirdly, the apparent discrepancies, in the interpretation of the Hebrew tenses, between the several ancient versions in the cognate dialects ; and, fourthly, the occasional pointing of the Hebrew verbs for wrong tenses by the Masorets,—whether it was that they failed, in those instances, to perceive the right application of the rules of structure of this language, which they must have well understood, or that, perceiving the true sense of the passages operated upon, they yet scrupled to follow their own judgment on this subject, and preferred transmitting the readings of those passages which were sanctioned by the Jewish priesthood of their day. Now, as the removal of any of these causes of uncertainty must contribute to reduce the obscurity in which the poetic use of the Hebrew tenses is involved, it evidently would much contribute to throw light on the nature of that use, if the apparent discrepancies of the tenses in the versions in different ancient languages could be so accounted for, as to give the representations of the subject in those versions the force of concordant testimonies : since thereby evidence of considerable strength would be obtained for the explanation of whatever might be doubtful in the Greek aorists on the one side, and for the refutation of the mispointing of tenses by the Masorets (and that, too, through the attestation of writers of their own, as well as of foreign nations) on the other. But, after

working at this problem for some time, I at last arrived at an exposition of the matter which, I am in hopes, will be found to answer the desired end. I now proceed to lay before the reader the result of my investigation ; and will afterwards give two examples of a mode of testing its validity, as well as showing its use, which may be applied to it in an endless variety of other cases.

Throughout the poetic portions of Scripture, declarations are frequently made, not respecting particular definite acts, but about courses of action ; while indefinite references to those courses are in different languages usually pointed to different parts of them, and take the form of present, past, or future tenses, as they are directed to the middle, the earlier, or the later parts of each course. In Hebrew, for instance, the present, as conveyed by a participle or by a second use of the primary form for the future, is occasionally used in this sense ; but much more frequently the future, as represented by its own primary form, or by the secondary form of the preterite, is thus applied. In the Greek language, as written by the Seventy Jews, the two aorists are, each of them, more commonly so employed than present or future tenses, except in the Book of Proverbs, in which the present tense is oftener, though not exclusively, applied in this manner. In the Syriac of the Peshitah the participle present is sometimes used in this sense, but much more frequently the verb preterite. In the Chaldee of the Targums the participle of the present is the form most commonly applied to denoting such references. In English, the present tense is that most suited to the purpose ; though, in the case of a reference to the intentions of the mind rather than to a course of actual external conduct, a future form of expression would best answer. According to the above exposition, then, the modern language being put out of consideration, the versions in the ancient tongues previously specified will be found, in each instance of an indefinite reference, to agree with the original record and with each other in alluding to the very same course of action, although they present the

appearance of disagreement in this respect, in consequence of the habits contracted by different nations of referring to different parts of a course of this sort, and thence of expressing such references in different tenses.

The poem of David which has suggested the discussion of this subject is peculiarly fitted for its illustration ; as this composition supplies not merely an additional field for the determination of the force of the tenses in Hebrew poetry, but even one of the kind which is most of all to be relied on, as yielded by a comparison of corresponding parts of parallel passages of the sacred text itself ; nor is the further additional aid to be overlooked which is afforded by comparing the renderings of such parts respectively in the different versions. For my first example, then, I select a passage of this poem, respecting the force of whose tenses there can now be scarcely any difference of opinion, and in reference to which the two English translations sanctioned by our Church quite agree : it is rendered in the Authorized Version of the Bible as follows:—

“ *It is God that (1) girdeth me with strength, and (2) maketh my way perfect ; he (3) maketh my feet like hinds’ feet, and (4) setteth me upon my<sup>a</sup> high places ; he (5) teacheth my hands to war.*”—Ps. xviii. 32–34.

In the Hebrew of this extract the first, third, and fifth modifications of tense are represented by participles present ; the second and fourth, by verbs in the primary form for the future,

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<sup>a</sup> The writers of the older English translation in the book of Common Prayer, guided by the sense, left out the above superfluous pronoun possessive, which the framers of our present Authorized Version felt bound to retain, from their desire to adhere strictly to what they conceived to be the original text. But, on referring to that text, it will now be seen, that the letter denoting this pronoun, viz. the final element of *בַּמִּתֵּי*, is a mater lectionis introduced by the vocalizers of the second century, and proved to be wrongly here inserted by the concordant testimonies of the Septuagint and Peshitah, given through their respective renderings of the original group in both of the places referred to.

which, however, is also used to denote the present, and in which signification, consequently, they must, from the expressions of time with which they are immediately connected, be here taken: while, in the parallel passage of Samuel, the first clause, which in all probability originally contained, in like manner as in the former case, a participle present, now exhibits in lieu thereof a noun ;<sup>a</sup> but the four remaining forms of tense stand exactly the same as in the place referred to in the Book of Psalms. In the Septuagint the second expression of time is a second aorist in the Psalms and a first aorist in Samuel ; while the four remaining expressions are, all of them, participles present in both places. Here, by the way, we may see, by comparing the two translations of the same original passage, that the Seventy Jews made no distinction between the two kinds of aorists ; and still farther, by comparing those aorists, on the one hand,

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<sup>a</sup> The Hebrew word above referred to, which is at present exhibited in the form מַעֲזֵי, *MaĤUZI*, 'my strength,' is shown by its translation in the Peshitah הָלַלְתִּי, 'hath girded me,' and more especially by its rendering in the Septuagint, κραταῖων με, 'fortifying me,' as well as by the form of the corresponding word in the eighteenth Psalm, מַעֲזֵי, 'girding me,' to have been formerly written מַעֲזֵי, *MeĤOZeZI*, 'fortifying me (literally, 'my fortifier'). The dropping once of a letter which ought to be written twice continuously may be easily accounted for by giddiness of transcription ; more especially on the part of Shemitic copyists, who were in the habit of constantly denoting an articulation repeated without the intervention of a vowel-sound by a single character ; and a copyist who did not take the trouble of reading, as he proceeded, what he had written out, may be readily conceived to have failed to observe that a vowel should be pronounced between the two letters of Z power, and so to have intentionally omitted one of them as quite superfluous. In an amended edition of the sacred text I would recommend the dropped consonant to be restored ; in such a manner, however, as to show the restoration to be modern ; for which purpose it should be exhibited, in accordance with the notation I employ, מַעֲזֵי. The corresponding clauses in the two copies of the poem would thus come out, in Samuel, 'God fortifieth me with strength' (instead of the present authorized rendering, 'God is my strength and power') ; and in the Book of Psalms, without any change of the wording in either of the Authorized Translations, 'It is God that girdeth me with strength.' The two clauses, I admit, are not thus exhibited absolutely identical, but they are at least restored to perfect equivalence.

with the Hebrew tenses they were intended respectively to interpret, and on the other, with the Greek tenses with which they are each of them associated, and also by bearing in mind that the translators were in the habit of assimilating in their own language the force of tenses thus connected, we shall perceive that the Greek forms in question are in this place used as indefinite present tenses ; although they are, each of them, employed in translating the narrative parts of the very same poem to denote a past event, with scarcely any distinction from definite preterites, or at least with none that can be easily apprehended by modern readers. In the Peshitah all the five expressions of time in both of the original passages are translated in the preterite tense. Here a remarkable peculiarity in the idiomatic forms of the ancient Syriac is very prominently displayed ; as, from a comparison of the corresponding verbs or participles of the two parallel passages, even in the Hebrew alone, but more especially from this comparison taken in both the Hebrew and Greek, it is rendered clear beyond a doubt that all of those words in the original record are used with the force of a present tense ; and yet they are all translated in the dialect in question by preterites. To reconcile these preterites in any degree with their ascertained value in the passages referred to, what would first occur, as I conceive, to an investigator would be to translate them as mixed preterites, as for instance, to render the first of them, ‘ he hath girded me with strength,’ wherein the reference is made, indeed, chiefly to the past, but so far indefinitely as not to exclude all consideration of the present. So imperfect a degree of agreement, however, with the original text is by no means satisfactory. To do justice, therefore, to the well-known accuracy in other respects of the first Syriac version, we must, I submit, have recourse to the theory above propounded, and conclude that the people who formerly spoke the language of this version were in the habit of referring generally to indefinite courses of action, by pointing in particular to the earlier part of each course, in consequence of which their preterites,



taken in this indefinite acceptation, were equivalent to present or future tenses indefinitely used in other languages ; whence the correct English translation of the expression above alluded to would come out, ‘ he girdeth me with strength.’ In Hebrew, preterites are frequently converted into futures, and that, too, without limitation to indefinite forms. It is, therefore, I submit, not very strange, that the conversion of preterites into present or future tenses should, in a particular case, have held in the cognate Syriac dialect,—at least not so strange as to warrant our refusing to consider the evidence by which this view of the matter is sustained, and rejecting it without examination.

With regard to the adduced example, I have only further to notice two very gross mistakes relating to it, committed by the Masorets. The second of the modifications of time therein (viz., in the clause, ‘ and maketh my way perfect’) referred to, which is exhibited in both of the original passages in the primary form of the future or present tense, is in each place converted by those critics into a secondary form of the preterite, through their mode of pointing the verb and the *Waw* prefixed to it. To expose the glaring incorrectness of their representation of this subject, it will not be necessary to appeal to the combined evidence of the Hebrew and Greek records, which is here irresistible ; I prefer opposing to them in this instance the attestations of their own countrymen, the joint testimonies of the two Targums, in which the Books of Samuel and that of the Psalms are respectively interpreted, in each of which the tense in question is translated by a participle present. But of the former Targum, called that of Jonathan, the first part, which included the translation of the specified historic books, is of considerable authority, and far older than the Masoretic pointing ; while the circumstance of the latter Targum being of much less antiquity serves to prove that a view of this matter directly opposed to that of the Masorets prevailed among the Jews for a great length of time. In fact, the *Waw* prefixed to verbs was formerly pronounced in every in-

stance *Wu*, as is shown by the extant remains of the column of the Hexapla of Origen, in which he represented the sounds of Hebrew groups by means of Greek characters, and in which the sound in question is always denoted by *ou*, there being no way of representing the articulation of *W* before the vowel *U* with Grecian letters. The variation, therefore, of the sound of this Hebrew conjunction, according to the uses to which it is applied, is a distinction introduced since the days of Origen, which indeed is a very useful one, in saving the reader trouble, as far as it is correctly applied. But whenever the pointing for a change of tense appears to be at variance with the context, we are by no means tied down to it, more especially where it is found to be contradicted by older authorities.

I am now in a condition to avail myself of the aid of the proposed theory, in analyzing the force of the Hebrew tenses where their meaning is less obvious, and for my second example select the passage of the above inspired poem which first betrays a disagreement on this point between the two Authorized English Translations : it is rendered in the sixth verse of this Psalm in our Bible, thus :—

“In my distress I (1) called upon the LORD, and (2) cried unto my God ; he (3) heard my voice out of his temple, and (4) my cry came before him, *even* into his ears.”

The very same passage is interpreted in the fourth and fifth verses of this Psalm in our Prayer-book, as follows :—

“In my trouble I (1) will call upon the Lord, and (2) complain unto my God ; so (3) shall he hear my voice out of his holy temple, and (4) my complaint shall come before him, it shall enter even into his ears.”

According to the former rendering of the passage here referred to, it constitutes part of a highly figurative and poetical narration of an awful danger with which David had been beset, and of a wonderful display of God's power, by which he was thence extricated ; which, commencing two verses before,

is continued without interruption through above twenty verses. But, according to the latter rendering, the same passage conveys an outburst of pious and grateful feeling, excited by the thoughts of the dreadful danger by which the author had been encompassed, of which he had just begun to write, but interrupts his narration to give vent to the expression of his sense of the goodness of the Almighty in always listening to his prayer, when offered up in time of danger and trouble. It is besides to be noted that, before we come to the end of the narrative portion of the Psalm, there are more interruptions of the same kind, in which the verbs employed do not, as they are represented in the former account of the matter, point definitely to a single past act of God, but indefinitely to a number of acts constituting the general tenor of his providential treatment of the Royal Psalmist. Thus the translation of the first half of this Psalm in the Prayer-book would appear to breathe a stronger spirit of devotedness to God than the rendering given of the same part in our Authorized Version, and so to be preferable in itself, as well as more in keeping with the zealous disposition of the author. But to arrive at a stricter decision between the two translations of the specified portion of the poem, it would be necessary to examine the internal structure of their common original compared with the corresponding portion of the other copy of the same original, and with the like portions of the more ancient renderings of both copies, as far as respects the passages which are of disputed meaning. Here, however, to avoid too long a digression, I must confine myself to such an examination of the first of those passages, namely, that of which the two English renderings have been above quoted ; and, as the question, whether it be parenthetically used or not, depends on the force of its tenses, I shall commence with a comparative analysis of their bearings, similar to that made in the case of the previous example.

In this passage, then, as it is exhibited in the Hebrew Psalter, all the four verbs are in the primary form of the

future or present tense ; while, in the parallel passage of Samuel all the three that are preserved are likewise in that form ; but the fourth is dropped from the text. In the Greek of the same passage in the Psalms, the first three verbs are aorists, and the fourth a future tense ; while in Samuel the first three are all futures, and the fourth clause is left without any expression of tense, showing that the fourth verb had been lost from the text, or at any rate from the copies of it consulted by the Seventy before their time. In the Syriac of this passage, as given in both places of its occurrence, all the four verbs are in the preterite tense. Finally, in the Chaldee paraphrase of the Psalms, the four Hebrew verbs of the above passage are translated by five participles present, there being a supplementary expression of tense given in the last clause in the same manner as in the older of the two English translations ; while in the closer Chaldee interpretation of Samuel given in the Targum of Jonathan, the tenses of the same passage are conveyed through four participles present.

Now—to examine the point under inquiry by the aid of the particulars just furnished—I am quite ready to admit that, although in prose a Hebrew verb in a future form requires a *Waw* to be prefixed to itself, or to the noun governing it, for the purpose of assimilating the force of its tense to that of a preceding preterite with which it is connected in sense, still, in poetry this alteration of tense may take place without the intervention of the *Waw conversive*, as it is technically termed ; and that, accordingly, the Hebrew futures in the passage before us may be translated as preterites, *provided* this verse was intended by the author as a continuation of the account commenced in the two preceding verses. But to the condition here required is opposed the alteration of style indicated by the abrupt introduction of four verbs in continued succession, all of them, in the primary form for the future or present tense ; besides that the union of such a number of verbs in this form appears to convey a reference to the future, or the present, too strong to be changed in subor-

dination to a preceding preterite. Accordingly, it may be observed, that the three futures of this passage which are preserved in Samuel are all translated as futures in the Septuagint; while its four futures in the Book of Psalms are rendered in that version by three aorists and one future; where it would appear that the three indeterminate tenses must take their reference to time from the determinate one with which they are associated,—an observation which is strongly supported by the fact above stated, that the three Hebrew verbs which these aorists are employed to interpret are, all of them, rendered by futures in the corresponding passage of Samuel. Upon the same side with this evidence stands the whole of the Chaldee testimony on this subject, as attaching to the Hebrew verbs a reference to the present, which renders the passages containing them distinct from the course of the narrative, and parenthetic, just as much as would a reference to the future: neither can that given by the Peshitah be viewed as telling the opposite way, since we have already seen, in the case of the example previously analyzed, Syriac preterites used with an indeterminate reference to a course of acts or events, in like manner as is the indefinite present in English. The Vulgate, I may here observe by the way, contradicts itself upon the point before us, the Hebrew verbs referred to being therein translated, in one of the compared passages, as preterites, and in the other as future tenses. The only ancient evidence, then, I have met with on the opposite side of the question, is that of the Masorets, who, availing themselves of a *Waw* prefixed to the third verb in the passage of Samuel, have pointed it as if it was thereby converted into a preterite, which would imply that the two preceding futures were likewise employed as past tenses. But to refute this attestation it will be sufficient to contrast it with, even solely, the Chaldee testimony of the first part of the Targum of Jonathan, in which, as has been already noticed, the very same three verbs are translated in the present tense.

Upon the whole, then, I submit, ancient testimony must

be looked upon as concurring with the interval evidence of the case, to prove the translation in our Prayer-book of the analyzed passage of the Book of Psalms preferable to that applied to the same passage in the present Authorized English Version of the Bible. The reference to the future therein attached to the tenses of the verbs sufficiently marks the parenthetic nature of the passage containing them. This end, I must however add, would be equally effected by assigning to them a reference to the present,—a force which the form of the original verbs equally admits, and which would at the same time better answer in English the purpose of indicating the indefiniteness of their bearing, or the circumstance of their pointing to habits rather than to single definite acts. I would, therefore, venture to modify, as follows, the rendering of this passage exhibited in the Authorized English Version, which, with the exception of its tenses, is more accurate than that given in our Prayer-book :—

“Whenever in my distress I call upon the LORD, and cry unto my God, he heareth my voice out of his temple, and my cry cometh before him, *even* into his ears. Moreover—”

The corresponding verse of Samuel, treated in like manner, comes out thus :—

“Whenever in my distress I call upon the LORD,  
and cry to my God, he heareth my voice out  
of his temple, and my cry \**cometh before him*, \* Ps. xviii. 6.  
into his ears. Moreover—”

With respect to the initial word of the translation here recommended of each passage, I have to observe that the commencements of the two clauses of this verse in Samuel are literally interpreted, ‘In my distress I call upon the LORD . . . ., and he heareth (וַיִּשְׁמַע),’ for which the rendering,—‘Whenever (or when) in my distress I call upon the Lord . . . ., he heareth,’—may be fairly substituted, as conveying exactly the same meaning. I have, therefore, felt at liberty to adopt the latter form,

and have given it the preference, not only for the purpose of expressing more distinctly the connexion of the two clauses, which is made somewhat confused by the use of the conjunction ‘and,’ three times in the same verse,<sup>a</sup> but also, more especially, to mark the beginning of the parenthesis and the indefinite bearing of the tenses. But in order to employ the same form in the translation of the corresponding passage of the Psalm, it is necessary to restore a *Waw* dropped from that passage, and to print its third verb in an amended edition of the text וַיִּשְׁמַע; as we are fully warranted in doing by a collation of the two extant Hebrew copies of this poem. On the other hand, to indicate the termination of the same parenthesis, and the return to the narrative, I have in both instances changed the initial word of the next verse from ‘then’ to ‘moreover,’—a rendering which approaches nearer to the primary meaning (‘and’) of the original conjunction.<sup>b</sup> It is not sufficient to exhibit in italics the expression, ‘cometh before him,’ in the rendering given of the second passage; because, although the context shows that something is in this place wanting, it does not tell exactly what that something is. The true ground for the insertion here of this expression is the circumstance of its original having been preserved in the corresponding part of the other copy transmitted to us in Scrip-

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<sup>a</sup> The verse in Samuel which is above referred to is translated in our Authorized Version as follows:—“In my distress I called upon the LORD, and cried to my God: and he did hear my voice out of his temple, and my cry *did enter* into his ears.” Here, it may be observed, the distinction between the two clauses of the sentence is made solely by the stops applied to it.

<sup>b</sup> The general reader may, perhaps, be surprised at the latitude of choice with which translators interpret the Hebrew conjunction (ו) above referred to: But they are compelled so to deal with this particle, from the circumstance of its including under its primary signification of ‘connexion’ a great variety of particular modes of connecting words or sentences, which are in other languages expressed by a corresponding variety of conjunctions. Hence an interpreter is compelled first to ascertain through the context the nature of the connexion denoted by the ו in each instance, and thereby to determine the conjunction with which it should be translated in that instance.

ture of the very same poem; the site of which part is accordingly noted in the margin, and printed in italics to mark the peculiar nature of the reference here made to it. In the Hebrew text, however, I would not venture to fill up the chasm which a comparison of the corresponding passages in this case serves to expose, but would merely leave a blank space in the site of that chasm in the defective passage.

Although the translation of the passage, just examined, which is given in our Prayer-book, be older than that in the present Authorized Version of the Bible, having been introduced as early as the time of Archbishop Cranmer, in whose version it first appeared, yet the preterite form of the verbs employed in the later renderings of this and other passages of the same kind may be traced as far back as the first Authorized English Bible, namely, that written by Bishop Coverdale. The adoption of the form in question of the tenses by the earlier English translators, in the class of passages alluded to, appears to have been occasioned by their attaching too great weight to the Masoretic pointing, to which they seem to have paid nearly the same deference as to the inspired ingredients of the sacred text. The Authorized use, however, of this form was suspended for the space of about thirty years during which Cranmer's Bible was that sanctioned by our Church; but it was restored on the publication of Archbishop Parker's translation, in the year 1568, and was thence transferred to our present Authorized Version. Just about the time of the introduction of Parker's Bible, the Syriac version of the Old Testament was brought much into notice by the erudite publications of Masius relating to it;—a circumstance which, I think, gives some reason to suspect that a misconception of the force, in certain cases, of the preterite tense in that version may, possibly, have occasioned the return to a corresponding mistake in the last two of the successively Authorized English Bibles. For it may be easily conceived that the learned, on their first acquaintance with the Syriac version of the Hebrew record, and before they had the advantage of consulting it in a printed



form, might have failed to perceive, and distinguish between, all the bearings of the preterite tense in the language of that version.

The next point to which I would beg to draw attention is a brief classification of the differences which have in the course of time arisen between the two copies of David's poem, with a view to inquiring how far those differences can be removed through a collation of the contents of those copies, supported by the context as well as by the evidence of ancient versions, and still further strengthened, as such a collation must be now, by the aid of the discovery unfolded in these pages. The differences in question, then, are either occasioned by omissions or chasms which occur, each of them, in but one of the above copies, or consist in discrepancies of a more positive nature ; and those of each kind may be subdivided into three classes, according as they relate to parts of words, to entire words, or to pluralities of words, whether partly or wholly disagreeing, and contained in the same clauses of corresponding sentences. Taken altogether, they amount to above a hundred ; but by far the greater number of them rank under the first of the classes belonging to the first kind, and are chiefly confined to omissions of single letters, many of which affect not the sense, or even the sound, of the words, but merely their spelling, through which they are said to be, in one or the other copy, defectively written. But as the mode of spelling which has afforded room for these differences is now detected to be an innovation upon the original writing, introduced by fallible men, we surely have as good a right to correct this spelling, where found to be inaccurate, as former critics had to introduce it, provided the alterations thus made be marked as modern corrections. Of this class, however, four or five specimens, produced by variations between the two copies in respect to the use of the paragogic *He*, may have existed therein from the first ; so they now admit not of being thence removed, neither do they in the least interfere with the identity of the intrinsic ingredients of the writing of those copies. With re-

gard to those specimens, I shall here only further observe, that they afford a good illustration of the nature of the paragogic character referred to, and assist to bear out the description I have already given thereof; namely, that, being devoid of the phonetic power of a letter, it is used merely as an extrinsic sign to intimate how some of the proper letters or intrinsic elements of the text are to be read, though the same intimations might, with a little more consideration, be arrived at without its aid, through the inflexions, suggested by the context, of the words represented by the groups to which it is subjoined; except, indeed, when those inflexions are irregular, in which case it exerts some influence on the sounds of those words, but never any on their sense. Thus, for example, the original clause, at the end of the fiftieth verse, which is in both places of its occurrence translated in our Authorized Version of the Bible, "And I will sing praises unto thy name," is written regularly in the second Book of Samuel **וְלִשְׁמֹךְ אֹמֵר**, and in the Book of Psalms, with an irregularity allowed by poetic license, **וְלִשְׁמֹךְ אֹמֵרָה**; where the final word is to be pronounced *HāZaMmeR* in the former place, and *HāZaMmeRaH* in the latter, but obviously without the slightest variation of its meaning. All the remaining differences of the same class are clearly removable from the sacred text, where they relate to its genuine elements, on the ground of the original identity of the portions of it here compared, as proved by the introductory description which is prefixed to both of them in common;<sup>a</sup> and they can be got rid of with still less scruple where they are con-

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<sup>a</sup> It is but right to observe, respecting the above introduction, that, although exhibited in the present state of the Hebrew Bible, as part of the inspired text in both of the places referred to, it yet is represented, where prefixed to the Psalm, as a heading distinct from that text in the translation given of it in the Septuagint; the Vatican and Alexandrian copies of which are nearly double the age of the oldest extant copy of the original record. But, even according to the Greek representation of the matter (which seems to be followed in our present Authorized Version, though not quite so decidedly as in the earlier ones), the identification of the two portions of Scripture in question rests upon very high authority. For the

finer, as a great number of them are, to *matres lectionis*, of the proper use of which the learned now are fully as adequate judges, as of that of the points employed by the second set of vocalizers. In each case, however, as indeed I have already observed with respect to the latter one, the introduced letters ought to be marked as modern corrections by being placed (supposing my notation adopted) within brackets; while the corresponding changes in an amended edition of the Authorized English Version would require no sort of distinctive sign, in consequence of their being immediately referable to the corrected Hebrew text. In most instances, indeed, those alterations not affecting the sense would at any rate not cause any change in a translation; but even where their interpretation requires the subordinate addition of some auxiliary particle, that addition can, for the reason just stated of its capability of immediate reference to the original record, be exhibited in the ordinary character without the use of italics.

To fill up the chasms belonging to the second and third classes of omissions in the same way, by supplements within brackets, would, I fear, be deemed too bold a mode of dealing with the Hebrew text. But fairness and candour demand that at least those chasms should be pointed out by blank spaces, or collections of stars, in the sites in which they are proved to exist by a collation of the two copies of David's poem: while

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description which to a certainty appertains to one of those portions must have been prefixed to the other at a very remote period, since the Seventy Jews found it in that site; neither would they, by giving a translation of it in the second place of its occurrence, have sanctioned its insertion there, unless they had reason to think it justly applied to the second portion; and they had better opportunities of knowing the true state of the case than any other ancient authors whose writings have come down to our time. It is, however, scarcely necessary to appeal to any authority on this subject; as the two portions of Scripture here compared are, to a great extent, either exactly or very nearly the same, even in their existing state; and even when they most differ, they can be restored to complete identity, by the aid of the present discovery.

translations of the supplements which this collation yields might be introduced into an amended edition of our Authorized Version, on the very same ground as that which warrants the insertion in it of renderings of such supplements of the chasms of the first class as bear upon the sense ; with this difference, however, that the English words, or collections of words, thus introduced, should be printed in italics, with marginal references to the full passages which warrant their insertion in respectively the defective ones. Thus, for example,—adhering to the present very incorrect division of the text, because a deviation from it would be attended with much inconvenience, I would render the second verse of 2 Sam. xxii. as follows :—

“ And he said, \* *I will exceedingly love<sup>a</sup> thee, O Lord, my strength.* The LORD is my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer.”

Not only the clause here introduced is exhibited in italics, but also the specification in the margin of the part of Scripture which warrants this supplement, is likewise so distinguished, to mark the peculiar nature of the reference. And although an appeal to the sacred text itself may be supposed to supersede the necessity of one to any other authority, yet I refer also to that of the Peshitah, which directly attests the original existence of the above clause in the quoted verse of Samuel by actually giving a translation of it in the Syriac rendering of that verse ; while, on the other hand, the testimony of Scrip-

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\* The verb of which the inflexion for the first person singular of the future tense is rendered in our Authorized Version in the part of it above referred to, simply ‘ I will love,’ signifies literally ‘ to love from the inmost part of the body,’ or from the part which was considered by the Jews as the seat of the benevolent affections (and which was translated in old English ‘ the bowels’); whence this verb came to signify, ‘ to love with great intensity.’ I do not maintain that it is always used strictly in this sense ; but the context in the quoted place, I conceive, requires that the full force which its etymology warrants should be there assigned to it.

ture on the subject, though strong, is only inferential, being in part deduced from the principle of the original identity of the two copies of the poem in question. Upon the occasion afforded by this example, I cannot refrain from observing, that the desire to conceal from the public the existence of some imperfections in the present state of preservation of the Hebrew Bible, however well meant it may be, is not at all justifiable in itself; and still less does it supply any just ground for our failing to avail ourselves of the means which a benevolent Providence has placed within our reach, for wholly removing, or at least diminishing, those imperfections.

To turn now to the consideration of the differences of the second kind, or more positive discrepancies—the following extracts from corresponding verses of the copies in question supply two examples belonging to the first class of those discrepancies. But the second one having been corrected by the Masorets, need not be here brought under discussion, and on this account I exhibit the upper line with their correction of it expressed according to my system of notation:—

|                  |                   |      |      |
|------------------|-------------------|------|------|
| 2 Sam. xxii. 33, | דרכי <sup>9</sup> | תמים | ויתר |
| Ps. xviii. 32,   | דרכי              | תמים | ויתן |

The framers of our Authorized Version have removed the discrepancy between the meanings of the initial groups, and so have virtually changed the *Resh* of the upper line into *Num*, by giving exactly the same translation of the two extracts:—

“and he maketh my way perfect.”

But, as the verbs denoted by the above groups cannot be proved equivalent by an examination of the uses made of the rarer one in the other places of its occurrence, nor does the

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\* A second translation, indeed, of the initial group of the upper line is added in the margin. But that in the body of our version, by being placed in the foreground, is obviously represented as more deserving of attention, and in fact is the only one attended to by the great majority of readers.

Septuagint concur with the Peshitah in assigning to them the same meaning in the place before us, it must have been on the general ground of the original complete identity of the copies referred to, that our translators rendered those groups by the very same words, ‘and he maketh;’—a ground, however, which in this particular instance is fortified by the subsidiary consideration, that the copyists certainly wrote *Resh* by mistake for *Nun* in other parts of the Bible,<sup>a</sup> and, consequently, there is no *a priori* improbability of their having committed here also the like mistake. But it is a much bolder proceeding to erase a letter of the Hebrew Bible, and then introduce another into the vacancy thus created, than merely to fill up a chasm already existing therein; yet we may here perceive that the framers of our version went fully to this extent in their virtual correction of the original text, where they could do so, without betraying to the generality of readers the existence of any blemish in the present state of that text. Now, I do not by any means presume to find fault with their having virtually made the correction just described; on the contrary, I maintain that in so acting they exercised a sound discretion; and, still further, I would imitate them in abstaining from getting printed in italics the translation of the group requiring correction, though not from any motive of concealment, but because I would refer to that group as, I conceive, it ought to be written (וִירָתָם) in an amended edition of the sacred record. I bring their treatment of this example under notice, merely for

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<sup>a</sup> The name נְבֻכַדְנֶאֱצַר, NeBUKaDNEŠaR, in some places in the Book of Jeremiah and in that of Ezekiel, is written with a *Resh* instead of the *Nun* in its interior, evidently through a mistake of the copyists. This variation certain critics, indeed, of the present day attempt to account for by assuming that the word in question formerly admitted of either pronunciation; but their view of this case is directly opposed to the best ancient testimonies now attainable on the subject. This name is constantly exhibited, both in the Septuagint and in the Peshitah, with a letter of *N* power in its interior, even in those places where it is at present mis-written in the Hebrew text, נְבֻכַדְנֶאֱצַר, NeBUKaDREŠaR.

the purpose of strengthening with the sanction of their own practice the case made out for the mode of correcting the Hebrew text here recommended ;—a sanction which, I submit, they have actually afforded me, as far as their maxims of *reserve* would allow them.

The discrepancies of the second class are not very numerous, and most of them are occasioned by the occurrence of words in corresponding places, which, though disagreeing, each pair, in letters, yet agree to some extent in sense, or at all events do not interfere with an equivalence in the general scope of the clauses to which they respectively belong ; so I need not dwell upon them. But those of the third class are of more importance, appearing in sentences of corresponding sites which, though only in part disagreeing in their ingredients, yet differ in tenor to such a degree, that all attempts to reconcile them have hitherto proved quite ineffectual. It is by the service performed in the removal of discrepancies of this class from Scripture, that the value as well as the reality of the present discovery is displayed in the most striking manner. An example of such a discrepancy is supplied by a comparison of parallel verses of the two copies of David's poem already quoted in this chapter, page 332, the latter clauses of which, in their present state, may be rendered literally as follows :—

‘ and *as for* his statutes, I will not depart from any of them.’

‘ and his statutes I will not put away (or cast out) from me.’

The previous reference to those clauses, as they are at present exhibited in the Hebrew text, was made for the more immediate purpose of tracing the final group of one of them, with its initial letter restored, מִמֶּנִּי, to its original state, מִמֶּנִּי. But it was also there explained that the difference between them, though producing so wide a discrepancy in their renderings, was occasioned by merely different modes of vocalizing, and, consequently, different modes of reading, one and the same

original clause [וְחָקְתָּ לֹא אֶסָּר מִמֶּנִּי]. For the combination of groups, לֹא אֶסָּר, which is vocalized so as to be read in the upper one of the Hebrew lines referred to, LoH̄ ḤaSuR, ‘I will not depart,’ could not be so read in the under line, where the final group is vocalized for the signification ‘from me;’ as the statement, ‘I will not depart from me,’ would be quite unintelligible. Hence it became necessary in the latter line to read the same original combination with a different vocalization of its second part, LoH̄ ḤaSiR, ‘I will not drive off (or make to depart,)’ that is, ‘I will not put away,’ according to its translation in our Authorized Version of the Bible, or, ‘I will not cast out,’ according to that given of it in our Book of Common Prayer. Thus it was shown that the last two groups of the original clause, about which alone any doubt could arise as to the true mode of vocalizing or reading them, are in that respect essentially connected with each other; so that of whichever line the reading of the last group is adopted, that of the penultimate group in the same line must be therewith united. It now, therefore, only remains to inquire which pair of connected readings should be preferred. But for the determination of this question it will be sufficient to compare the very different meanings which result from the two sets of readings, and to consider whether it was more in keeping with the pious character of David, to declare that he would not ‘depart (or deviate) from any of the commandments of God,’ or—without at all disclaiming an intention of disobeying most of them—to confine himself barely to promising that he would not proceed so far in wickedness as to repudiate, or contemptuously reject, their entire collection—that he would not ‘put them away from him,’ or ‘cast them out.’ Much deliberation cannot, I apprehend, be here wanted to satisfy an investigator, not only that the treatment of the two groups under examination, which leads to the former interpretation of the clause containing them, is that which should be preferred, but also that it alone is admissible; since the form of declaration or promise which results from the latter treatment of the same groups is, by no



means, suited to either the zealous disposition of the author, or the occasion on which he composed this poem, as it might naturally be expected that he would be most ardent in his professions of devotedness to God's service immediately after having been delivered by the Almighty from great danger. I would, therefore, extend the mode of dealing with those groups in the upper original line to the lower one, where in consequence they should be written in an amended edition of the sacred text, according to the notation employed by me, אֲסִי־רָ and מִנִּי־רָ ; and I would translate the final clause of both lines in exactly the same words :—

“and *as for* his statutes, I will not depart from any of them.”

The Greek and Syriac renderings of this clause in the two places of its occurrence in Scripture, with their literal interpretations subjoined, stand thus in the Septuagint and Peshitah respectively :—

2 Sam. xxii. 23, Καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἀπέστην ἀπ’ αὐτῶν.  
‘and, *as for* his statutes, I will not depart from them.’

Psalms xlviii. 23, Καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ.  
‘and his statutes shall not depart from me.’

In both places, אֲסִי־רָ אֲסִי־רָ אֲסִי־רָ אֲסִי־רָ

‘and his statutes I will not drive off (or make to pass away) from me.’

The translation of the clause in question by the Seventy in the first of the specified places supports in the main my rendering of it. But that given by them in the second of those places appears to have undergone some corruption. The Greek verb here employed would seem to have been put in the third person plural, in the vain effort to reconcile it with the final part of the sentence, by some scribe who had not consulted the original text; as no mode of vocalizing the corresponding Hebrew verb could exhibit it in that person without an alteration of its genuine elements. The framers of the Peshitah also sup-

port my representation of the subject to some extent, by showing that the clause referred to ought to be read and interpreted in exactly the same way in the two places of its occurrence ; although, in consequence of erroneously reading, they have erroneously interpreted it in both those places. The tenses of the verbs used in these renderings are worth noticing ; as the two Greek aorists and the Syriac preterite are here proved, by the context as well as by the structure of the Hebrew, to be employed with the force of indefinite futures.

The last point regarding this subject to which I shall in the present chapter advert, is a strange mistake committed by the Masorets, in altering the reading correctly applied by the older set of vocalizers to the initial group of the last verse of the poem of David under examination, in the copy of it given in the second book of Samuel. I here subjoin as much of the verse as is wanted for the exposition of this case, transcribed from both places of its occurrence in the sacred text, with its Masoretic pointing attached to the initial group in one of those places, which erroneously implies that the *Yod* should be changed to a *Waw*, and with the letter of *S* power restored in the group of each line in which it has been altered by the Jewish scribes into a *Shin*.

2 Sam. xxii. 51, מְגִדֵּל יִשְׂרָעֵל מֶלֶךְ, וְעַסָּה חֶסֶד לְמִשְׁחָה, שׁ

Psal. xviii. 51, מְגִדֵּל יִשְׂרָעֵל מֶלֶךְ, וְעַסָּה חֶסֶד לְמִשְׁחָה, שׁ

Here it is to be observed, that the original elements of the two lines are entirely the same ; in consequence of which they ought to be read and translated the very same way, even independently of the consideration of the identity of the two copies of the poem to which they belong being attested in the sacred text, or at least in headings of great antiquity prefixed to those copies ; and, accordingly, they are translated by exactly the same words in the Septuagint, the Peshitah, and the Targums\*

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\* Some of the groups of the Chaldee interpretation are fuller of vowel-letters in the Targum of the Psalms than in the Targum of Jonathan, on ac-

respectively. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Masorets have pointed the initial group in the two places for quite different readings and significations. To commence with a separate examination of the lower line, with the vocalization of which they have not tampered,—when the Hebrew idiom is taken into account which gives intensity to the meaning of the second group by putting the noun it denotes in the plural number, we shall find that this line is literally translated as follows:—“magnifying the great deliverance (or salvation) of his king, and exerting mercy towards his anointed.” The initial group, indeed, might in the abstract be read and construed, either *MaGDîL*, ‘magnifying,’ or *MîGDôL*, ‘a tower;’ but in the site here considered it is confined by analogy of structure to the former reading, and limited to the signification of a participle rather than of a noun, to make it correspond with the participle present of the subsequent part of the sentence. Accordingly, this group has been here interpreted as a participle present by all the ancient interpreters; and although the old vocalizers left it open to either reading, it is evident that they did so only through oversight, as they restricted it in the upper line to a participial form by the insertion of a vocal *Yod* in its final syllable, where there is evidently no more reason for putting this limitation on it than in the lower one. Even the Masorets themselves pointed the group in question for the reading *magdil*, ‘magnifying,’ in the under line, where they were guided only by the natural structure of the sentence and the Targum of the Psalms; and, consequently, they ought *a fortiori* to have thus pointed it in the upper line, where they were limited to thus reading it by the same requisite structure, and by the much higher Chaldee authority of the Targum of Jonathan, as also by the older vocalization of the group, which

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count of the interval between the dates of those Targums, during which the Jewish scribes became more familiar with the use of such letters; but the words denoted by those groups are exactly the same, and the remaining ingredients of the two Chaldee sentences referred to are completely identical in writing as well as in sound.

they had no way of distinguishing from its original elements. While, however, they showed a want of proper attention to these considerations in their mode of pointing this group in the upper line, they are not to be charged with also disregarding the authority of the Septuagint and Peshitah ; as before their time the Jews had abandoned the use, and in consequence lost the benefit, of the former record, and most probably never consulted the latter. But the framers of the Geneva Bible, and after them the editors of Parker's Bible, and after the latter set of translators the writers of the present Authorized English Version, adopted the very gross blunder here committed by the Masorets, and translated the above group at the beginning of the upper line a 'tower,' in opposition to the natural structure of the line ; in opposition to the Targum of Jonathan, in which the group in this site is interpreted מְסַנֵּן, 'multiplying,' or 'increasing ;' in opposition to the Peshitah, in which it is rendered מְגַדֵּל, 'magnifying ;' in opposition to the Septuagint, in which it is translated μεγαλύνων, 'magnifying ;' and, above all, in opposition to the inspired text, in which it is written מְגַדֵּל, 'magnifying.' The vowel-letter, indeed, of this last expression is now ascertained to constitute no part of the original writing of this group ; but if we were to attach ever so little weight to its first vocalization, or even to deal with it as if it was unvocalized, we still should be obliged to read it, not as a noun, but as a participle, for the same reason, or at least as strong ones, as those on account of which we thus read it in its unvocalized state in the under line, and also for the additional reason, that the two verses therewith commencing are corresponding parts of the very same original poem, and are to this day exactly the same in all their original letters. The alteration, therefore, of the group in question recommended by the Masorets in the upper line ought to be rejected ; and it should be suffered to remain in the state in which it is at present exhibited in that line in the unpointed text. The translation of this verse at the end of the eighteenth Psalm in our present Authorized Version of the Bible gives correctly

the substance of its meaning ; for the change of the participles present to verbs in the present tense makes no alteration of the sense, and yields a preferable form, as that of a sentence complete in itself. But, through whatever words the meaning of the above verse is conveyed in the specified Psalm, it should be expressed by exactly the same words in the second Book of Samuel.

The case here examined is worth noticing for the striking illustration it affords of the great value of the *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum* of Cappellus, which was not published till a few years after the first edition came out of King James's Bible. For if the very learned assemblages of men that severally composed the three above-mentioned English versions had been able to consult this work, which reduces the authority of the Masoretic system to its true level, they would have been prevented from falling into the strange error in their respective translations which has been just exposed. Another reason for my adducing this example is to show the reader, that I am not to be considered as an innovator on account of my occasionally dissenting from the Masoretic punctuation. In the present case, for instance, the charge of innovation evidently lies not against me, but against the Masorets themselves ; and, in here correcting their misvocalization, I have but restored the true reading of the analyzed group and its ancient interpretation.

## CHAPTER V.

FINAL PART OF THE ARGUMENT DERIVED FROM THE  
STRUCTURE OF THE LANGUAGE.

A FOURTH CLASS OF OMISSIONS OF THE LETTER *HE* BY THE OLD VOCALIZERS—SOME OBJECTIONS TO THE SPURIOUSNESS OF THE *MATRES LECTIONIS* REMOVED—THE HEBREW TEXT FORMERLY WAS NOT DIVIDED INTO WORDS—INCOHERENCY REMOVED FROM PS. XI. 1, BY MEANS OF THE PRESENT DISCOVERY—THE HEBREW TEXT WAS FORMERLY NOT DISTRIBUTED INTO VERSES—**לֵה** COULD FORMERLY BE READ **L<sup>h</sup>H**, ‘TO ME,’ AS WELL AS **L<sup>h</sup>H**, ‘TO HIM,’ OR **L<sup>u</sup>H**, ‘PRAY’—**כִּי** AND **כִּי**, AT FIRST WRITTEN **כִּה**, WHICH WAS READ EITHER **K<sup>h</sup>H**, ‘BECAUSE,’ OR **K<sup>o</sup>H**, ‘THUS’—ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE HEBREW VERSE GEN. XXVII. 36—CAUSE OF CONFUSION BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SINGULAR OF PRETERITES—ANALYSIS RECONSIDERED OF PART OF THE VERSE JUDG. XI. 34.

**T**HROUGH a comparison of groups of corresponding sites in the Jewish and Samaritan editions of the Hebrew Pentateuch, which have been differently treated in those editions and vocalized in either, while they were, in the other, overlooked and suffered to remain in their original state, three classes of suppressions of the letter *He* by the old vocalizers have been already exposed : namely, first, where this letter had been a paragogic element of the word operated on ; secondly, where it had been a paragogic fragment, or element of a fragment, of the pronoun of the first person singular or plural, affixed to that word ; and, thirdly, even when not paragogic, where it had been an intrinsic element of the pronoun of the third person singular employed as an affix. I now proceed to bring under view a fourth class, of great extent and importance, and detected through the same method of comparison, wherein the suppressed *He* is the final element of the root of the word which may happen to be presented for our consideration. The withdrawal of letters from the Hebrew text is to be distinguished from their elision by its original writers,

and may be justified, in the case of the first two classes of omissions just specified, on the ground of the introduction into this writing of an improved mode of representing the sounds of its syllables and the necessity of suppressing the inferior part of their older representations, in order to avoid the confusion attendant on the simultaneous employment of two different sets of designations of the same sounds. But the third class of omissions, by which an essential element of a pronoun is removed, can hardly be excused; and the liberty taken with the text by the old vocalizers was still more daring in the instance of the fourth class, where the omitted radical is an essential ingredient, not of the mere affix of a word, but of the word itself, which is referred to. Yet the mode of investigation here pointed out, which admits of being repeated in an endless variety of cases, will, I expect, suffice to convince the learned reader who tries it, of the reality of the last, as well as of the preceding classes of omissions above enumerated.

The removal of the final *He* of Hebrew roots from the sacred text, in the class of instances now to be considered, had the effect of contracting two syllables into one, and appears to have been ventured upon by the old vocalizers, for the purpose of denoting alterations previously introduced into the pronunciation of the words of this language. It is unnecessary to detain the reader with a lengthened proof of those removals; as he can satisfy himself of their reality through the means already indicated; and I shall, in consequence, here direct attention to only a very few cases, which are adduced as much to explain the meaning of my remark, as to support its truth. For the sake of distinctness, I distribute this class into three subdivisions, including respectively nouns, participles, and verbs; under each of which heads examples might be abundantly furnished even from the Book of Genesis alone. In the first place, then, with respect to nouns, the changes in question may be illustrated from Gen. iii. 7, and xlvii. 3. In the former of these verses the expression *עלה תאנה*, construed in the Septuagint *φύλλα συκῆς*, and in our Authorized Ver-

sion “fig-leaves,” has evidently its first term in the plural number; which, therefore, must have been originally read here (according to the analogy of other Hebrew nouns not dropping their final element for this inflexion)  $\text{H}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{L}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{H}\ddot{\text{e}}$ ; whereas it is vocalized in the Samaritan text  $\text{על}$ ,  $\text{H}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{LE}$ : and a comparison of these two readings serves to display both the omission in writing and the contraction in sound which I wish to bring under the observation of my reader. In the latter of the specified verses, the designation  $\text{רעה צאן}$ , rendered by the Seventy *ποιμένες προβάτων*, and by the framers of our Authorized Version “shepherds,” has of necessity its first term plural, which, therefore, must have been formerly read in this place  $\text{R}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{H}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{H}\ddot{\text{e}}$ , but is vocalized in the Samaritan text  $\text{רע}$ ,  $\text{R}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{HE}$ ; where the like omission and contraction may be seen as in the preceding instance. The change of pronunciation just exemplified is very far from an improvement; for while, according to the older method, the singular and plural numbers of nouns ending in *He*, and in regimen, were perfectly distinct in sound, though not in writing, they are now confounded in the former respect; as there is no perceptible difference of utterance between  $\text{H}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{l}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{h}$ , ‘the leaf of,’ and  $\text{H}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{l}\ddot{\text{e}}$ , ‘the leaves of;’ or between  $\text{R}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{h}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{h}$ , ‘the feeder of,’ and  $\text{R}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{h}\ddot{\text{e}}$ , ‘the feeders of:’ so that the old vocalizers would obviously have done much better (exclusively of the consideration of a very unwarrantable liberty taken with the sacred text being thus avoided) by subjoining to the *He*, instead of substituting for it, the *Yod* in cases of this sort. But one of the alterations, here described, had most probably made its way into the mode of speaking the ancient Hebrew, which was practised by the sacerdotal class in their time, or the other could hardly have been admitted by them into their manner of writing the Bible.

In the second place, with regard to participles, these alterations may be illustrated through the complex appellation given by Hagar to the Deity, as recorded in Gen. xvi. 13, which is rendered, in the Authorized English Version, “Thou God seest



me,"<sup>a</sup> and in the Septuagint, *Σὺ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐπιδὼν με*. Of the original compound, the part that literally denotes 'my see-er,' i. e. 'the see-er of me,' has been left in the Samaritan edition of the Pentateuch in its primitive state, *𐤒𐤏𐤒*, and must, for the meaning it conveys in this place, have been read *RoHeHi*; whereas in the Jewish edition, wherein it has been vocalized, it is written *𐤒𐤏𐤒*, *RoHi*, and consequently exhibits, when compared with the former group, both the contraction and the omission here under inquiry. This example, by the way, deserves further notice, as affording a very striking illustration of the fact, already proved by means of various other extracts compared together, that in some instances the primitive orthography of the Hebrew Scriptures afforded no sign, even ever so indirect, of the shorter fragment of the pronoun of the first person singular pronounced after words, although the vowel for this signification must, in reading Hebrew, have been always uttered at the end of nouns, or words treated as nouns, where the context required it.

In the third place, with respect to verbs, two examples, taken from Gen. ii. 24 and xx. 13, will be sufficient for my purpose. In the former verse the verb near its close has been suffered to remain in the Samaritan edition of the text, as it was originally written, *𐤒𐤏𐤒*, which, being in this site used in the plural number, must have been read *WeHaYēHu*; but in the Hebrew edition it is exhibited without its third radical *𐤒𐤏𐤒*, and has been contracted in sound into *WeHaYU*. In the latter verse, the verb in the third person, signifying 'caused

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\* In the above English expression, the original of which conveys, not a full sentence, but merely a name, the relative pronoun, 'who,' ought to have been inserted before the verb. Moreover, the framers of our Authorized Version ought, in consistence with their own practice in other such cases, to have introduced the Hebrew denomination into the body of their work, and to have shifted this translation of it into the margin. They so dealt with the composite designation (of which this one forms a part) that occurs in the very next verse of the Bible.

to wander,' has been rightly left by the Samaritan scribes in its primitive unvocalized state הִתְעָה, where it admits of being read, in conformity with the context, HıThH<sup>a</sup>H in the singular number. But if this same group were employed in the plural number, it must have been read HıThH<sup>e</sup>Hu; in which sense the Jewish vocalizers here erroneously understood it, and, dropping its final element, contracted the pronunciation of it into HıThHU.

Independently of the use to which the last example has been just applied, it is worth attention in another point of view also : the clause which contains it, as exhibited in the Jewish and Samaritan editions of the text, and the translations given of this clause in the most ancient versions, with literal interpretations subjoined to each line, stand thus :—

Gen. xx. 13.

|                        |                                                                                                         |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Jewish Edition,</i> | —, כאשר התעו אתי אלהם מבית אבי,<br>'when the gods caused me to wander from my father's house.'          |
| <i>Samar. Edition,</i> | הִתְעָה <sup>a</sup><br>"when God caused me to wander from my father's house."                          |
| <i>Septuagint,</i>     | ὥνικα ἐξήγαγέ με ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς μου.<br>'when God led me away from my father's house.'  |
| <i>Peshitah,</i>       | : יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי מִי חָלַל מִבֵּית אָבִי<br>'that when God caused me to depart from my father's house.' |

The error in the first of the above lines, in the avoidance of which all the rest fully agree, can now be easily traced to its source. The old Jewish vocalizers, not forming at first an entirely new copy of the text, but merely inserting matres

<sup>a</sup> Of the Samaritan line no more is above quoted than the word in which it differs from the Jewish exhibition of the same clause.

lectionis in one already written after the more ancient fashion, and glancing the eye along its pages to try where they should introduce those letters, in their great haste attended only to the form of the group אלהם in this place, and so vocalized for the plural number the verb thereby governed ; whereas, if they had paused for a moment to consider the bearing of the passage it occurs in, they must have perceived that it was therein used to denote the God of Abraham, that is, the true God, and they would, in consequence, have understood it (or at least any verb connected therewith) in the singular number, according to their constant practice in every other instance of its being so employed. Now the unity of the Godhead is a point of doctrine which the whole body of the Jews have been most anxious to uphold, ever since idolatry ceased among them, that is, ever since a period long antecedent to the time when their Scriptures were vocalized. The present example, therefore, in the origin it unfolds, and the retention it displays, of a reading so much at variance with their principles, affords, perhaps, the strongest illustration that could by any possibility be given, not only of the extreme precipitation with which the first Jewish vocalizers of the text were compelled to execute their work, but also of the extraordinary degree of fidelity with which the copyists who came after them preserved the writing of their Bible exactly in the state in which they found it. The word whose misvocalization has been just exposed, should, I conceive, be written in an amended edition of the sacred text, הָיָה אֱלֹהִים. The meaning of the examined clause has been correctly given in the Authorized English Version ; but no notice has been inserted in its margin of the different sense attached to this clause in the Jewish, or generally received, edition of the Hebrew record ;—an omission which, if not justifiable in the time of our translators, is now at any rate fully so ; since the objectionable reading in that edition has been above accounted for, and is no longer to be imputed to the original text. In fine, I have to observe with regard to the cases of altered pronunciation of Hebrew

above exemplified, that they have not in the slightest degree affected the bearing of any passage of Scripture ;<sup>a</sup> as will be readily perceived upon considering that, in general, the words of every language, even while they continue unchanged in writing, are constantly liable to being altered in sound, but without any alteration of sense thence resulting. Thus, for example, notwithstanding the great changes which have taken place in the pronunciation of English within the last 200 years, each sentence of King James's Bible now conveys exactly the same meaning as it did, when first all the words of this version came to be exhibited in their present forms. But, although the more ancient alterations of this kind which have been noticed under the present head of inquiry, do not alter the purport of any sentence of the sacred text, their investigation is by no means a matter of mere curiosity, but is strictly connected with the support of my discovery.

The circumstance of the old vocalizers having deviated, not only from the earlier spelling, but also, though less frequently, from the earlier pronunciation of the words of the ancient Hebrew language, supplies answers to objections, which may possibly occur to some of my readers, against the spurious nature of the *matres lectionis* in the text of the Bible. One class of these objections can be thus stated. The letters in question occasionally appear to be radical elements of the groups they belong to ; but such elements must, in the sites wherein they are now found, have been in the sacred text from the first moment of its having been written. Thus, for example, *Yod* is an ingredient of the root of the following inflexions of the substantive verb אָרִי, תָּרִי, יָרִי, נָרִי, and consequently must have

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<sup>a</sup> In the last of the above examples, indeed, the sense has been corrupted ; yet not in consequence of the *pronunciation* of the group therein referred to being changed from  $H_iThH_zH_u$  to  $H_iThH_U$ , but on account of the *writing* of that group being altered from דְּרַמְעָה, which admitted formerly of being read in either number, to דְּרַמְעִין, which is confined to the plural number, in opposition to the context of the place where this group occurs.

existed from the commencement in the place it now occupies in each of them ; but it is a vowel-letter in those inflexions, since they are pronounced respectively *HēHI*, *TēHI*, *YēHI*, *NēHI* ; and therefore, it affords instances in those groups of vowel-signs employed in the Hebrew record, as originally written. Here it is tacitly assumed, and taken for granted without any proof, that the specified inflexions were always read with the same sounds as they are at present ;—a position on which the examples discussed in the course of the last investigation throw considerable doubt, and which, besides, equally requires proof as that for which the supposed objectors contend, since the one virtually includes the other. For if the above inflexions were always pronounced with their present sounds, then a character must have been used to denote the vowel *I* in the original state of the Hebrew text. This consequence of the assumed position has already been fully proved false : the position itself, therefore, is false ; and so, the objection which rests upon it utterly fails. Exclusively, however, of this more decisive refutation of the proposed objection, other reasons opposed to the assumption on which it depends may, even without taking into consideration the age of the *matres lectionis* in the Hebrew text, be adduced to show that, where the *Yod* really existed from the commencement in that text, and is now uttered with the sound of the vowel *I*, it was most probably at first employed with a different phonetic value. Thus, in a very extensive class of instances, the *Yod* now read at the end of national designations as an *I*, is virtually attested by the transcriptions of those names in the Septuagint to have been formerly uttered with the sound of the syllable *AY*, pronounced as the English monosyllable ‘aye,’ with the character *Y* therein used, not as a vowel-letter, but as a semiconsonant. Take, for example, the following verse from Gen. x. 16, or 1 Chron. i. 14, there being subjoined to it the Authorized English rendering from the latter place (wherein the names are more correctly transcribed), and its Greek translation which is the same in both places :—

ואת ה'בוסי, ואת האמורי, ואת הגרגשי.

"The Jebusite also, and the Amorite, and the Gergashite."

καὶ τὸν Ἰεβουσαῖον, καὶ τὸν Ἀμορραῖον, καὶ τὸν Γεργεσαῖον.

If their Grecian terminations be withdrawn from the designations in the last line, we shall see that the corresponding ones in the first line which are now read, *Yebusi*, *Hamori*, *Gergashi*, were pronounced in the time of the Seventy, *Yebusay*, *Hamoray*, *Gergeshay*. To the same effect tells the present seeming anomaly in the plural termination *AYIM*, of Hebrew nouns which for the singular number end in *I*;—an anomaly which is entirely removed by supposing the *Yod* at the close of those nouns in their singular state, which is now read as the vowel *I*, to have been formerly uttered with the phonetic value of the syllable *AY*. Thus, the plural forms of גִּדִּי, *GeDI*, 'a kid,'—צִבִּי, *SeBI*, 'a deer,'—פְּתִי, *PeThI*, 'simple,'—are respectively גִּדִּיִּים, *GeDaYIM*,—צִבִּיִּים, *SeBaYIM*,—פְּתִיִּים, *PeThaYIM*. Nor is the introduction of the *A* sound into the pronunciation of these forms, which occasions their apparent irregularity, a modern innovation, or one resting on the mere authority of the Masorets, but is at any rate as old as the existing state of the Hebrew text: since a *Haleph* is occasionally to be met in some of the groups belonging to the class in question, where it is obviously employed to denote this very sound; as, for instance, צִבִּיִּים is written, in 1 Chron. xii. 8, צִבִּיִּים, *SeBAYIM*; and פְּתִיִּים, in Prov. ix. 6, פְּתִיִּים, *PeThAYIM*.<sup>a</sup> Moreover, a further probable ground for maintaining the change of pronuncia-

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<sup>a</sup> It may be worth observing, that the *Haleph* in the above groups, and others of the same kind, is technically termed by the Hebrew grammarians 'epenthetic,' that is, in plainer language, 'a supernumerary letter, of no use whatever in such sites.' This designation, therefore, virtually conveys an admission, on their part, of utter inability to account for the occurrence of the *Haleph* in those places, or to reconcile its appearance therein with the Masoretic principle, that all the elements of the Hebrew text in its present state are consonants.

tion under discussion may be derived from comparing together, as follows, such of the groups first adduced in this paragraph as happen to be found differently written in the two editions of the Hebrew Pentateuch.

|                    | Hebrew Edition.   | Samaritan Edition. |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Genesis, xxvi. 28. | תְּחִי, TeHI.     | תְּחִיָּה, TiHYeH. |
| xxx. 34.           | יְחִי, YeHI.      | יְחִיָּה, YiHYeH.  |
| xxxviii. 23.       | נְחִיָּה, NiHYeH. | נְחִי, NeHI.       |

The pronunciation of each of these groups is given on the authority of the Masoretic system applied to the Samaritan, as well as the Hebrew set. From this table it may be seen, that the last three of the curtailed groups previously adduced were in their original state read TiHYeH, YiHYeH, NiHYeH; whence, through analogy, it may be fairly inferred that the first of them was in like manner read HeHYeH. Now, whether the ה at the end of the fuller groups was elided by the original writers of the text, or subsequently dropped by copyists, what more likely reason can be assigned for its omission, by either party, than their conviction that no perceptible difference in the sounds of the words would be thereby occasioned? But, according to this view of the matter, the curtailed groups must have been at first pronounced HeHYe, TiHYe, YiHYe, NiHYe; which sounds the Jewish priesthood, at a period when the knowledge of the ancient Hebrew was entirely confined to them and the scribes in their interest, appear to have changed, as soon as the introduction of the *matres lectionis* into the writing of their Bible afforded them the opportunity, into HeHI, TeHI, YeHI, NeHI, and to have made this alteration for the very purpose of confounding vowel-letters with original elements of the sacred text. It was with the same design, as has already been shown most probable, that, under their secret direction, the instructors of Origen in Hebrew imposed upon him the sound YaHOH as the correct pronunciation of the venerated name יהוה, whereby they gave a *Waw*, acknowledged to be an original ingredient of the text, the false appearance of being a vowel-letter.

Another class of objections of the same tendency may possibly be urged as follows, or in some similar way. *Yod* and *Waw* are, on all sides, admitted to be original elements of the sacred text, when they are the middle letters of groups pronounced as dissyllabic words. But if those groups should in utterance be contracted into monosyllables, then the very same letters become signs of vowels, and so exhibit instances of vowel-letters in the original writing of the Hebrew Bible. Thus, for example, the *Yod* in *חַיִל*, *ḤaYiL* (or *ḤeYaL*), ‘strength,’ in *בַּיִת*, *BaYiTh*, ‘house,’ and *זַיִת*, *ZaYiTh*, ‘olive-tree,’ as also the *Waw* in *מָוֶת*, *MaWeTh*, ‘death,’ are original elements of the text. But they obviously become signs of vowels, as soon as those groups are, in the mode of reading them, contracted into, respectively, *ḤĒL*, ‘strong,’ *BĒTh*, ‘house of,’ *ZĒTh*, ‘olive-tree of,’ and *MŌTh*, ‘death of;’ whence it follows that there are vowel-letters among the original ingredients of the writing of the Hebrew record. The class of objections here exemplified fails in the same way as that previously discussed, by resting on an erroneous foundation. The fallacies depended on consist in assuming, in the one case, that the pronunciation, and in the other, that the spelling of the words of the Hebrew text was always the same as it now is. Both assumptions are fully refuted by the proofs which serve to establish the reality of the discovery unfolded in these pages. But, even without this aid, the latter one can, in like manner as the former, be shown, at least with some degree of probability, untrue. Thus,—to revert to the examples above adduced,—in the first place, the monosyllable *Ḥēl* ‘strong,’ when applied to Him who is pre-eminently ‘strong,’ and used as a name of the Deity, is in every place of its occurrence in the text constantly found written with barely two letters *חַל*; and as the group is, up to this moment, exhibited without an intermediate *Yod* in its most important application, it might naturally be expected to have been (when pronounced as a monosyllable) thus written for other senses also, in former times. In the second place, though the monosyllable *Bēth*, ‘house of,’ is, as far as I can



find, written now everywhere in the text with three letters בִּית, yet, in the group representing the plural number of this noun, בִּתִּים, BeThIM, the same sound is still constantly denoted by only two. I admit that בִּתִּים is at present read BoTtIM,—probably in consequence of the want of a vocal *Yod* in its first syllable,—and I do not complain of this mode, though so extremely anomalous, of reading the group, as no alteration of its meaning has thence resulted; but still I must maintain that BeThIM, being its regular sound, is very likely to have been that formerly attached to it; and that, as its first syllable remains to this day uniformly written without an intermediate *Yod*, it is most probable that the same syllable in the singular construct state of the same noun was, in ancient times, likewise thus written. In the third place, the monosyllable *Mōth*, ‘death of,’ is at present, I believe, represented in every place of its occurrence in the sacred text by three letters, מוֹת. But, though this group, when serving by itself to denote a word, be always written in the fuller way, yet it is sometimes found without the middle element, when it constitutes part of a longer derivative of the same root; and, therefore, it obviously might at first have been exhibited without that element in its separate state also. Of the occasional omission of the vocal *Waw* in some inflexions of the root in question, the following instances may be taken:—

Gen. xxv. 17.

|                                     |                       |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Jewish Edition.                     | Samaritan Edition.    |
| וַיָּמָת, WaYyaMoTh, ‘and he died.’ | וַיָּמָת, WaYyaMOTHh. |

Num. xxiii. 10.

|                            |                    |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| Jewish Edition.            | Samaritan Edition. |
| תָּמָת, TaMoTh, ‘let-die.’ | תָּמָת, TaMOTH.    |

From comparing the different modes of representing the same syllable in each of these lines it will be seen,—I may here by the way observe,—that the insertion, or non-insertion, of a *Waw* in this syllable depended merely on the accidental circumstance, whether its use therein happened to be perceived, or overlooked, by men who had been previously accustomed

to read all the words of the text without the aid of any vowel-letters. Accordingly, oversights of this kind are to be found sometimes committed by the Jewish set of vocalizers, sometimes by the Samaritan set, and very frequently by both sets. I have also to remark, that the advantage of distinguishing the syllabic or semiconsonantal *Waw* and *Yod* from the vocal characters of respectively the same shapes and names, by means of the notation employed by me, or through some other similar contrivance, is strongly illustrated by the error here exposed, from which this distinction helps to guard us ; namely, that of confounding letters of different kinds of phonetic value, and inferring from their assumed identity that, because the *Waw* and *Yod* of one kind are original elements of the Hebrew text, those of the other kind must be so likewise.

The distribution of the elements of the sacred text into separate groups, to correspond with the words by which it should be read, is not the work of its original authors, but an improvement introduced after the lapse of many centuries, and which has been, in various instances, marred by an incorrect execution. This is admitted even by the Jews themselves ; as may be seen through the following extract from one of Dr. Kennicott's Dissertations:—" . . . books were anciently written without any distinction of words, in the manner of the Greek manuscript quoted in page 214 [the Colbertine manuscript, said to have been copied from the Hexapla]. The Hebrew text was probably written in the same manner ; and such a tradition is thus mentioned by Elias Levita:—

כל התורה כפסוק אחד ; ויש אומרים, תיבה אחת.

'Tota lex ut versus unus ; et, ut quidam dicunt, ut dictio una.'

The consequence of this has been, that the Jews afterwards introduced some corruptions, by associating letters improperly ; and 'tis remarkable, that the Masorets reckon above twenty sets of letters, as made two words instead of one, or one instead of two."—*Dissertation the Second*, p. 341. But errors of the sort described in this passage are far more numerous in the

Hebrew Bible than the Masorets were disposed to acknowledge; and several, of which they were not aware, may, under the guidance of the present discovery, be detected and fully exposed by means of the light which the context supplies, combined with the testimony of the more ancient versions. An instance of wrong grouping, thus discovered and accounted for, has been already adduced in Chapter III. from the combination וְחִירוֹ אֵרָצִי, Gen. i. 24, the prefix of the second part of which was mistaken by the old vocalizers for an affix of the first, and in consequence changed by them into the mater lectionis *Waw*; though the actual separation of the groups in accordance with this error was, in all probability, not made till long after their time. In subsequent ages, the second set of vocalizers adhered to the mistake here committed by the first, and pointed the *Waw* for the sound of the affix of the third person singular masculine, instead of leaving it, as they ought, unpointed, and attaching to it their little circular mark of censure. But the grammarians who came after the Masorets, perceiving the violation of sense produced by the *Waw* so pointed, divested it in this site, not merely of the meaning it, through the annexed sound, usually conveys, but even of all meaning whatever, and dubbed it here a paragodic letter; just as if the introduction of a technical designation could solve the difficulty of the case. Thus they preferred imputing to the original author the serious fault, in style, of employing a significant ingredient of his written language without any signification, rather than admit that some corruption had here crept into the text; and this strange decision appears to have been acquiesced in up to the present day, not indeed by the Samaritan scribes, for they corrected the mistake, but by every Christian as well as Jewish critic who has touched upon the subject.

I now proceed to lay before the reader another instance of a wrong grouping of elements of the Hebrew text, which besides exhibits two of those elements transposed: it is taken from a passage of Scripture translated in our Authorized Version as

follows :—" In the Lord put I my trust : how say ye to my soul, Flee *as* a bird to your mountain ?"—Ps. xi. 1. Here, exclusively of the consideration that it is scarcely reconcilable with correctness of expression to speak of any mountain as belonging to the soul of a man, or of one mountain being so appropriated more than another, there are inconsistencies, in both gender and number, between the original term for 'soul' and the second possessive pronoun referred to it, which utterly confound the sense, and cannot therefore be admitted to have been contained in the Hebrew passage, as it was at first written. These inconsistencies, indeed, are concealed in our version, in consequence of the word 'your' being indifferently applied to any gender, as well as on account of its being used in modern English with either a singular or a plural reference ; but they are at once laid open to view upon our consulting the original record. So much of the verse in question is here adduced as is necessary for the exposure of the specified anomalies ; and after this part of the Hebrew line are placed its Greek, Syriac, and Chaldee translations, with their literal meanings subjoined to them respectively :—

*Hebrew,*      אֵךְ תֹּאמְרוּ לְנַפְשִׁי נִדְדֹךָ הָרִכָּם צְפוּרָה ?

*Septuagint,*    πῶς ἐρεῖτε τῇ ψυχῇ μου, Μεταναστεύου ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη  
ὡς στρουθίον ;

'how shall ye say to my soul, Depart to the mountains as a  
bird?'

*Peshitah,*      אַנְכֵּי אַמְרֵי אַנְשֵׁי לְנַפְשִׁי. נִסְבִּי סַבְבִּי עַל הָאֵרֶץ  
אֶרְצִי

'how saying *are* ye to my soul, Depart and dwell on the  
mountain (or, on the mountains) as a bird?'

*Targum of*      הַבְּדִין אַתּוֹן אֹמְרִין לְנַפְשִׁי אֶטְלִיל לְטוּרָא דְּהִיךְ  
*the Psalms,*      צְפֹרָא ?

'how *are* ye saying to my soul, Betake thyself to the moun-  
tain as a bird?'

Besides the double violation of concord above stated to exist in the Hebrew line, there may be observed in it the very same twofold incoherency between the verb signifying 'to depart,' and either the noun or the affix with which it is immediately connected. If, in accordance with the first set of vocalizers, we should read this verb NUDU, 'depart ye,' in the plural masculine form, it then disagrees in both number and gender with the noun singular feminine לַנִּפְשׁ. If, on the other hand, we adopt the correction of this reading by the second set of vocalizers, who attached their little circular mark of censure to the final *U* of the same verb, and pointed it for the pronunciation NUDi, 'depart thou,' in the singular feminine form, then disagreements of the very same kind as before are found to hold between it and the plural masculine affix כִּם. The double violation of grammatic concord thus, in one way or the other, unavoidably produced, arises from the corresponding twofold discrepance previously noticed between the words with which this verb is compared ;—a discrepance which is quite independent of their vocalization, and yet cannot, amounting as it does to absolute nonsense, be ascribed to the original composition of the Psalm. That the quoted passage, then, has undergone some change, exclusively of the introduction into it of vowel-letters, is obvious even from the sole consideration of its own ingredients. But to ascertain where this corruption lies, and how it was occasioned, we must have recourse to external evidence.

Now, on comparing with the Hebrew line its Grecian, Syriac, and Chaldee translations respectively, we shall find them all concurring to disprove the existence of the affix כִּם in that line, as originally written, not one of them containing a pronoun to correspond in meaning with this affix ; and we shall moreover find them all agreeing to attest the original site of the first letter of כִּם to have been immediately before the final group ; where, employed as a prefix, it served to denote the particle 'as,' and was accordingly translated ὡς, 'as,' in the Greek line, ܐܝܟ, H<sub>2</sub>IK, 'as,' in the Syriac line, and ̈ו̈, HEK,

‘as,’ in the Chaldee line. So far all three are unanimous on the subject ; but the Greek rendering still further shows, by translating the Hebrew for ‘mountain’ in the plural number, that the second letter of כּכ was at first placed immediately after כּכ, since the plural form of this noun is כּככּ. But when, in conformity with the information so furnished, the two elements of כּכ are transposed, every one of the violations of sense and grammar which the Hebrew verse at present betrays, is at once removed, and the Greek line turns out to be its exactly literal translation. Thus it follows with irresistible force from the internal evidence of the case, supported fully by the Septuagint and partly by the Peshitah and Targum of the Psalms, that, before the sacred text was divided into separate groups corresponding to the words it denotes, the two letters in question had, through some accident or other, got their order inverted. This inversion, only serving to render the passage senseless, was evidently unintentional, but it could not have been effected without design after the introduction of blank spaces between the words (as those intervals would have guarded copyists from such an oversight); it, therefore, must have taken place, as has been just observed, while the mistreated letters were not as yet pointed out to the eye of the reader as elements of quite different groups.

It may, perhaps, be interesting to trace back the history of this corruption, even as a matter of curiosity, and independently of the consideration of the aid which the investigation will be found to contribute to the support of my discovery. The date, then, of the first inversion of the order of the letters under examination (*Kaph* and *Mem*) can be fixed within very narrow limits ; as it must have occurred during the short interval of time that elapsed between the formation of the Peshitah and the introduction of the *matres lectiones* into the sacred text,—an interval that will, I expect, be proved in a subsequent chapter to have fallen inside the first thirty years

of the second century. This inversion could not have taken place till after the Peshitah had been composed; since the rendering therein given of the final clause shows clearly, as has been already explained, that, when Syriac writers were framing that version, at least one of the letters in question (the *Kaph*) was in its correct site (immediately before the Hebrew group denoting 'a bird'); and, consequently, even supposing the two were then in the text—a condition indispensable to their inversion—they could not at any rate have been therein exhibited in an inverted order. On the other hand, the same inversion must have occurred before the vocalization of the Hebrew record with letters; as the scribes engaged in that operation vocalized the verb of the final clause, so as to be read (NUDU, 'depart ye') in the plural number, obviously for the purpose of making it agree in sense with the combination of letters, then already inverted in their order, which was mistaken by those critics for the plural affix כם. This inversion, however, was put an end to by the dropping of the *Mem* from the text before the time of the composition of the Targum of the Psalms; as is evinced by the rendering therein given in the singular number of the Hebrew noun הרים, 'mountains,'<sup>a</sup> which consequently must have then appeared in the original line divested of its final element. The present inversion, therefore, of the two letters under examination is a second one, which did not take place till after the specified Targum had been written; and as it was preceded by the dropping of one of those letters from the text, so in all probability the same omission occurred likewise before their first inversion. The Peshitah affords no assistance in this part of the investigation, in consequence of the ambiguous number of the Syriac written noun with which the Hebrew word for 'moun-

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<sup>a</sup> In the quoted Chaldee line, the noun by which הרים is translated, למרים, is restricted to the singular number by the omission of a vocal *Yod* between its last two letters.

tains' is therein translated. That noun, indeed, is at present restricted to a plural form by the *ribui* mark attached to it ; but the use of this mark can hardly be supposed as ancient as the oldest of the Syriac versions. On the contrary, that the Syriac translators intended the above noun, in their construction of the passage, to be read in the singular number, is rendered likely by the first inversion of the letters referred to, which has just been stated to have taken place in less than thirty years after the formation of their version, and may be easily conceived to have resulted from the loss which the specified reading implies of one of those characters. For the usual process of restoring to the text an element thence dropped is well known to have been, first, the insertion of it in the margin of copies opposite its original site, together with a mark applied to one or other of the two letters between which that site is included ; and, secondly, the transferring of it in subsequent copies from the margin to the body of the text, next the marked letter. But as no limitation was here fixed, with regard to the side of that letter on which the restitution should be made, the latitude of choice thus left to the discretion of the copyists naturally led to several inversions. It is, however, not very material to determine whether the first of those above investigated took place, or not, in the manner just described. At any rate, the reality of the two, and limits of time to the introduction of each, as well as to the duration of the first,<sup>a</sup> have, I submit, been established with a near approach to certainty. But, as even the later of them must have crept into the text before it was distinguished into groups corresponding to its words, and consequently before any of the manuscript

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<sup>a</sup> That is to say, they were introduced, the first in the short interval between the dates of the composition of the Peshitah and of the vocalization of the Hebrew text, and the second, not till after the formation of the Targum of the Psalms. On the other hand, the first of them was brought to an end before that Targum was written ; but I do not presume to fix the time when the second will be terminated, as that will depend on the reception given by the learned to my proof of the reality of those inversions.



Hebrew copies now extant were written, we cannot be surprised at meeting with no traces of the inverted letters placed in their proper order among any of the *variæ lectiones* collected by Kennicott or De Rossi.

The framers of the older English translation of the Psalms in our Book of Common Prayer, in order to avoid the incoherencies which the quoted part of the original verse at present betrays, paraphrased the entire sentence very loosely, as follows :—

“ In the Lord put I my trust : how say ye, then, to my soul,  
that she should flee as a bird unto the hill ?”

The writers of the last Authorized Version, on the other hand, gave up the demands of the context, for the purpose of keeping close to what appeared to them to be the very letter of the text. But we are no longer subjected to the distressing necessity of choosing between the evils of this alternative : the analyzed passage can now be translated with the strictest adherence to the genuine Hebrew line, and at the same time without the slightest deviation from sense. On the grounds stated in the foregoing analysis, the clause requiring correction should, in an amended edition of the text, I submit, be thus written :—

נוד[נ] הִרְכֵם [כ]צפור ?

and the whole verse might be rendered as follows :—

“ In the Lord put I my trust : how say ye, *then*, to my soul,  
Depart to the mountains as a bird?”

In this rendering I have changed the word ‘flee,’ as likely to be confounded by a modern reader with the verb ‘to fly,’—more especially on account of its being in this place connected with the expression, ‘as a bird.’ My chief reason, however, for the substitution here made is, that it is warranted, and at the same time the translation ‘flee’ is opposed, by the concurrent evidence of both the Septuagint and the Peshitah. In

the construction now submitted to the judgment of the reader, the particle 'as' is not exhibited in italics; since it is expressly denoted by an equivalent particle in the corrected original sentence.

That the sacred text was originally exhibited without any separation of its ingredients into verses, is, in the passage quoted near the commencement of this chapter from Elias Levita, attested still more strongly than the circumstance, that it was at first written continuously without any blank intervals between the words. For the latter piece of information is therein presented to us upon merely hearsay evidence, while, on the other hand, the former is stated absolutely and without any qualification. But the same fact can still be arrived at through actual observation, independently of any testimony, if the reader will take the trouble of noticing cases of disagreement which are occasionally to be detected between the several texts and versions, with regard to the place of separation between contiguous verses;—a disagreement which could scarcely have arisen if the divisions of this nature had originated with the framers of the sacred text, and so, had the sanction of inspired authority. Some curious instances of such variations will be found on comparing the following sets of extracts from the account given in the twenty-third chapter of Genesis, of a purchase made by Abraham, as it has been transmitted in the Jewish and Samaritan editions of the Hebrew text and the oldest Greek and Syriac versions respectively. In each set is placed first an extract from the Authorized English Version; then comes the portion of the Hebrew text from the Jewish edition of which, in its present state, the preceding English extract is a literal translation; then, as much of the corresponding portion of the Samaritan edition as differs therefrom (but, where no difference occurs between these two extracts, they are represented in common by one and the same line); and then the corresponding Syriac and Greek renderings, with their literal significations subjoined to them respectively. Moreover, in each extract, the place of

separation between the two verses of which it contains a part is marked by an asterisk.

Gen. xxiii. 5, 6.

*Authorized Eng.* “—saying unto him, \* Hear us, my lord;”

*Jewish Text,*           —לאמר לו, \* שמענו, אדני;

*Samaritan Text,* \* לז.

[illegible]

*Greek Version,* — λέγοντες, \* Μὴ κύμει· ἀκουσον δὲ ἡμῶν.  
'—saying, Nay, master, but hear us;'

Gen. xxiii. 10, 11.

*Authorized Eng.* “—saying, \* Nay, my lord, hear me ;”

—לאמר, \* לא, אדנ<sup>י</sup>, שמענ<sup>י</sup> *Jewish & Sam. Text.*;

*Syriac Version,*     :ܘܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ —  
                              ‘—and he said . . . . . Nay, my lord, hear me;’

*Greek Version,* — λέγων, \* Παρ' ἐμοὶ γενοῦ κύριε, καὶ ἀκουσον μου·  
'— saying, Be on my side, master, and hear me;'

Gen. xxiii. 14, 15.

*Authorized Eng.* “— saying unto him, \* My lord, hearken unto me ;”

*Jewish Text,* — לאמר לו, \* אדנִי, שמענִי ;

*Samaritan Text,*                      ❧ \*

*Syriac Version,* \* : ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ —  
 ‘—and he said . . . . . My lord, hear me;’

*Greek Version,* — λέγων, \* Οὐχὶ κύριε ἀκήκοα γὰρ,  
'— saying, Nay, master; for I have heard,'

Besides the disagreements which may be here remarked between the different texts and versions, with regard to the places of the asterisk employed to indicate where adjoining verses are separated,—disagreements which tell strongly against the supposition of any such places having been fixed in the Hebrew text by its inspired authors,—a few more particulars in these extracts deserve notice for the illustrations they afford of points discussed in the last two chapters.

In the first place, then, I request attention to the confusion between the monosyllables  $\aleph$ , LoH, 'not,' and  $\aleph$ , LO, 'to him,' or 'to it,' which has to a certainty glided into one or other edition of the sacred text, in the first and third sets of extracts. The reader will, I expect, be presently satisfied that the erroneous substitution has, in each of these instances, been made in the Jewish edition ; and several more cases, hitherto unobserved, of the same mistake may probably be detected in that edition, through the mode of investigation here pursued. Some, indeed, are already admitted to exist therein ; of which a remarkable specimen is afforded in the original of the passage of our Authorized Version, Isa. ix. 3 :—"Thou hast multiplied the nation *and* not increased the joy : they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, *and* as *men* rejoice when they divide the spoil,"—wherein the monosyllable  $\aleph$  should obviously be changed to  $\aleph$ , in order to remove the glaring contradiction which the sentence at present betrays, between the denial of the greatness of the joy referred to, and the immediately ensuing description of that very joy as exceedingly great. Accordingly, the mistake here committed by the Jewish transcribers of the text is acknowledged even by the Masorets ; for they have branded the *Haleph* of the  $\aleph$  in this verse with their little circular mark of censure.\* But the

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\* The framers of our Authorized Version have virtually admitted the mistake of  $\aleph$  for  $\aleph$  in the Hebrew verse above referred to, as exhibited in the Jewish edition of the sacred text. In their translation, however, of this verse, they have followed the correct reading of the monosyllable in question,

cause of this confusion, which has at any rate taken place in several instances, between the final elements of  $\aleph$  and  $\eta$ , has hitherto proved quite inexplicable. It cannot be accounted for by any mutual resemblance of those letters; since they are wholly unlike, in all their known ancient shapes as well as in their modern forms. Neither can the supposition be admitted of their having been similar, at some period remoter than any to which the representations of them in extant inscriptions reach back; for, surely, if this assumption had any ground to rest on, the occasional interchange of the letters in question would not be confined, as it is, to the single case of their occurrence in the above monosyllables. Hence critics have been induced to resort to another hypothesis, and have imagined that formerly the copyists of the Hebrew text followed the recitation of assistants, and thus came to be misguided, not by the eye, but by the ear, in the prosecution of their task. But here again the attempt at explication fails; for  $\aleph$  and  $\eta$  are to be met confounded with each other, where they are pronounced quite differently. Thus, for example, in Gen. i. 15, the word  $\eta$  in the Jewish edition of the Hebrew text, which is there translated by the framers of our

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not in the body, but only in the margin of their work; and, what is worse, have made their correction scarcely intelligible, by translating  $\eta$ , in reference to its antecedent, 'the nation,' by the expression 'to him,' instead of 'to it.' It is besides to be observed that the preterite tenses employed by Isaiah in this passage have the force of prophetic futures; so that the rendering of it might, I submit, be altered to advantage, as follows:—'Thou wilt surely multiply the nation, *and* make great its joy; they [i. e. the individuals of this nation] shall certainly rejoice before thee according to the joy in harvest, *and* as *foragers* exult when they *are* dividing spoil.' I may add, that the enallage in point of grammatic number which occurs in the second clause of this rendering is by no means necessary; for the Hebrew verb ( $\eta\eta\eta$ ) here read *ShəMeKhU*, and construed 'they shall certainly rejoice,' might, before the vocalization of the text, have equally been read *ShəMaKh*, and construed, 'it shall certainly rejoice.' But, as the Seventy translated this verb in the plural number ( $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\sigma\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ), I could not venture to recommend an alteration in this respect of its Authorized English rendering.

Authorized Version "peradventure," is pointed by the Masorets for the sound LU ; and yet it is found written, in the same verse of the Samaritan edition, לָּ, which is always read LoH. Now at last, however, the difficulty adverted to is entirely cleared up, by the discovery that לָּ was the original form of the pronoun לָ ; whence it follows that the confusion which has occasionally taken place between the monosyllables in question is to be accounted for just in the same manner as the frequent erroneous interchange, already explained, of the letters *Haleph* and *He*, and actually serves to afford additional examples of that interchange. Here I should add, that as לָ has been confounded with לָּ, not only in its ordinary sound and acceptation, LO, an inflexion of a pronoun, but also when employed as a particle and pronounced LU ; we may naturally infer that it was originally written לָּ for both of its uses ; since the similarity, at some former period, of the letters *Haleph* and *He*, which serves to account for the one mistake, and is equally wanted for the explanation of the other, is thus rendered equally adequate for that explanation.

In the second place, let us look to the gross mistake committed by the Jewish, and subsequently adopted by the Samaritan vocalizers of the Hebrew line belonging to the first set of extracts, by affixing to its final word a mater lectionis to denote the sound of the pronoun possessive of the first person singular, although that word is shown, by the one immediately preceding it, to have been spoken by a plurality of persons. As this mistake cannot be attributed to the inspired authors of the sacred text, it is perfectly clear that the vocal *Yod* which occasions the incoherence could not have formed part of the original writing of the passage ; and, for the same reason, it is equally certain that no paragogic *He* previously occupied the place, and performed (less directly) the service of this interpolated letter ; so that the pronoun possessive of the first person singular could not have been originally indicated here in either way. Moreover, this inference from the internal evidence of the case is fully supported by the testimony of the

Septuagint,<sup>a</sup> in which the group referred to is rendered simply *κύριε*, 'master,' without any pronoun subjoined thereto. Here, then, we have, besides a striking instance of the interpolation of a mater lectionis, a proof of considerable force, in corroboration of what has been already in a preceding chapter urged upon the subject, that in the original state of the sacred text a written sign was not always given of the above possessive pronoun, where it ought to be pronounced; but that sometimes a discretionary power was allowed to the reader of supplying its sound after the last letter of a word; where his judgment pointed out to him that the context obviously required this supplement. In the case before us, indeed, the old vocalizers made an erroneous use of this power; but even their abuse of the described practice still proves its former existence: they could not have read the *I* sound in the place in question, in which it certainly was not before their time represented, directly or indirectly, by any written sign, unless it was then rightly pronounced in other sites in which it was left equally destitute of every kind of designation. The violation of sense, however, which they committed by the insertion of a *Yod* in this place, answered no end they could by any possibility have had in view, so must evidently have been unintentional on their part; but it now serves to put in a very conspicuous light the extreme giddiness and precipitation with which they executed their task.

In the third place, the Greek line belonging to the second set of extracts particularly deserves notice; for the

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<sup>a</sup> The attestation of the Peshitah upon the above subject, in which the group under examination (אֲדָנִי) is translated (ܐܕܢܝ) 'our master,' fully concurs with the testimony of the Septuagint and the internal evidence of the case, as far as is requisite for proving the interpolation of the *Yod* at the end of the above group. To warrant, however, the Syriac translation, not only this *Yod* should be rejected as spurious, but also there should be inserted, instead of it, a second *Nun*, or, after the introduction of vowel-letters into the text, the syllable נָ; while, on the other hand, the Greek rendering completely answers the demands of the context, without any alteration whatever of the original elements of the Hebrew group.

expression in it, *παρ' ἐμοί*, shows that that the Seventy, after mistaking לִי for לָהּ, read the latter monosyllable, not according to its more usual acceptation, *LoH*, 'for him,' but *LiH*, 'for me.' As, however, even after this explanation, it still remains difficult to reconcile the Greek with the corresponding Hebrew line,—a circumstance which affords room for suspecting that the former has been, some way or other, here corrupted ;—and as I shall presently have an opportunity of bringing under observation a rendering by the Seventy, of the monosyllable in question, which implies the same rarer mode of reading it in a place evidently free from corruption, I defer my observations on this point till I come to the next example, where it can be discussed under more favourable circumstances.

It now remains, with regard to the present example, that I should endeavour to ascertain the correct readings of the Hebrew text, in those places where the Jewish and Samaritan representations of the same extracts disagree with each other. All the three speeches, of which parts are in this example given in different languages or different kinds of writing, commence in the Samaritan edition of the text with the particle לֹא, 'nay ;' while only the second of those so commences in the Jewish edition, wherein the corresponding monosyllable is at present detached from the first and third speech to close the words of the preceding verse, and must have been written לָהּ, 'unto him,' in the time of the first Jewish vocalizers of the text, as they have in each instance transmitted it לִי with this signification. In both cases of difference between the two editions, the Samaritan reading of the monosyllable in question is supported, not only by the Septuagint, but also by the context. The very expression, 'hear us,' or 'hear me,' which is included in the introductory portion of all the three speeches, implies some negation before it ; for, while this expression is a fit precursor to an entreaty, on the side of an applicant, it just as naturally leads the way to an excuse for a refusal, on that of the person or persons applied to. Besides, those speeches are, all of them, answers from the same party (the Hittites, or one



of their community) to the same proposal of Abraham ; and, as they all commence, in other respects, in the same form, it is natural that they should have their very first word also the same. But נָא, 'nay,' is confessedly at the head of the second speech. It, therefore, was most probably the initial particle of the first and third likewise : and this inference is considerably strengthened by a more particular review of each answer. The first was made by the general body of the Hittites, in reply to the declaration of Abraham, that he was a mere stranger and sojourner among them, and to his consequent proposal to pay for a spot of ground wherein to bury his dead :—"Nay, hear us, master," [nay, that is, thou art not a mere stranger and sojourner, but, on the contrary] "thou *art* a mighty prince among us ;" [and, therefore, without any payment] "in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead." The second speech was made by an individual Hittite, Ephron, in reply to Abraham's proposal, more specifically expressed, to purchase for the above purpose a cave in the possession of that individual, at the end of his field :—"Nay, my lord, hear me," [nay, that is, I will not sell the cave to thee, but] "the field give I thee, and the cave that *is* therein, I give it thee . . . . . bury thy dead." The third speech was made by Ephron, in reply to Abraham's proposal repeated :—"Nay, my lord, hear me ;" [nay, that is, I cannot think of taking money for this burying-place from thee] "the land, *indeed, is worth* four hundred shekels of silver : *but* what *is* that betwixt me and thee? bury therefore thy dead." Thus, in each instance, a prefatory negative is required by the context, and is more especially wanted in the third speech, in which, without it, the question—"but what *is* that betwixt me and thee?"—would be quite irrelevant. The last of these refusals was rendered one of mere ceremony, by the circumstance of Ephron's naming immediately after it the price at which he valued the specified portion of land ;—an edition to the speech which was evidently intended by the one party, and understood by the other, to contain its main drift. Accordingly, Abraham forthwith

weighed out this sum ; and Ephron, without more ado, pocketed the cash. This anecdote is interesting, even in its bearing upon antiquarian researches, as affording the oldest account upon record of a pecuniary negotiation ; and it is curious to observe the extreme degree of ceremony practised between the negotiators at so very remote a period.

As the bearing of the Syriac lines in the foregoing sets of extracts agrees with that of the corresponding portions of the Jewish edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, in two of the corruptions thereof which have been above detected (viz. the ל twice substituted for נ) ; the particular instances of confusion between the letters *Haleph* and *He* which occasions those corruptions must be older than the Peshitah, and consequently still older than the first vocalization of the sacred text.<sup>a</sup> The corruptions themselves, therefore, must have commenced as soon as this vocalization took place, to which epoch the date of the erroneous annexation of the vocal *Yod* to the group ינ is also to be referred ; and, as all the three misreadings appear to be of such great antiquity, we need not be surprised that no manuscript copies of the Hebrew Bible have been met with free from them. In an amended edition of the sacred text, I would recommend the little circular mark of censure to be placed over the *Yod* at the end of the group ינ in the first of the Hebrew lines in question ; and the ל in the first and third of those lines to be changed into ינ, and transferred in each instance from the end of the verse it now closes, to the commencement of the following one. The corresponding corrections in the Authorized English Translation of the same lines would be made, by changing the form of address, 'my lord,' on its first occurrence in this example, not into 'Lord,' which, as I conceive, is with propriety directed

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<sup>a</sup> Although the age of the first Syriac version has not yet been here strictly investigated, it has already been shown in a variety of ways, by means of the internal evidence of the case, that the Peshitah must have been written before the Hebrew text was vocalized.

only to the Deity, but into 'master ;' and by expunging the words, 'unto him,' at the end of the fifth and fourteenth verses, and substituting for them the particle 'Nay,' at the commencement of the sixth and fifteenth verses.

The connexion just exhibited between the meaning of the corrupted particle and the divisions of the verses, strengthens the argument against an inspired origin of those divisions. It has been already inferred from the variations which prevail between the different editions and versions of the Hebrew Bible, with regard to the places of separation between the verses, that those places could not have been fixed by the original writers of the text ; since, if they had, their subsequent alteration would have been prevented by respect for the authority of those individuals. If it be objected, that the places in question may have been at first the same in the Samaritan edition and the several ancient versions as in the Jewish edition, but subsequently changed through mere oversight, a reply is obvious. In the first place, this evasion of the argument is a mere gratuitous assumption ; and, secondly, in cases like those belonging to the foregoing example, wherein the divisions of the verses are determined by the sense of a prominent particle, those divisions could not be altered without changing that sense,—a change which cannot be conceived to have been made without exciting observation. In fact, the fair way of reasoning on this subject is to argue, not from any imaginary state of the divisions of the verses in the several editions and versions of the text compared together, but from that state, as it is now found actually to exist, or can be proved to have existed at any former period ; and the investigation, conducted under this restriction, tells very decidedly against the division of this kind in the Jewish edition of the Hebrew text having been the work of inspired men. In the case, indeed, of the first and third sets of extracts belonging to the above example, the uninspired origin of the divisions in question, in the principal edition of the sacred text, can be arrived at through a briefer

course. Those divisions have, I submit, been shown absolutely erroneous ; and, consequently, cannot be ascribed to inspired writers. Before quitting this subject I have to notice a remarkable instance of giddiness and precipitation betrayed by the Samaritan scribes. In their mode of dealing with the first extract, in the above example, from their edition of the Hebrew text, they have written the disputed particle, לָא 'nay,' to form the commencement of a speech, and yet have placed it at the end of a verse, just in the same manner as they would have done, if they had agreed with the Jewish vocalizers in reading it לוֹ, 'unto him.' This inconsistency on their part leads to the suspicion that, notwithstanding all their hatred of the Jews, they yet borrowed the divisions of the text into verses from a Jewish copy, and marked them with such haste as not always to wait long enough to ascertain whether those divisions were consistent with the meanings they themselves assigned to the several ingredients of the divided sentences. In their treatment, however, of the Samaritan line belonging to the third set of extracts, they showed more circumspection ; for, having therein assigned to the separating particle the same meaning as in the former instance, לָא, 'nay,' they yet gave it a position better suited to that meaning, and placed it at the head of a verse.

For the further illustration of one of the chief points on which the last example bears, I revert to the account, given in the twenty-third chapter of Genesis, of Abraham's treaty with Ephron for the purchase of a field ; and will employ, with regard to the part of this account now brought forward, the same mode of investigation as has been applied to the portions of it previously analyzed. The example thus to be dealt with is as follows :—

Gen. xxiii. 13.

*Authorized Eng. Vers.* " — saying, But if thou wilt give it, I pray thee, hear me :"

*Jewish Edition,*                    לאמר, אך אם אתה — , לו שמעני ;

*Samaritan Edition,*                    לָא



sion:—'Since a friend *art* thou, hear me;' and that of the Greek one:—'Since thou art' [*πρὸς ἐμοῦ*, which is in effect identical with the *παρ' ἐμοὶ* in the Greek line belonging to the second set of extracts in the preceding example] 'on my side, hear me.' The bearing, then, of these three lines is just the same, and also is completely in keeping with the pointed civility which characterizes every other part of the recorded negotiation: since, according to each of them, no slight is put upon the words previously uttered by Ephron, and a favour is asked from him, solely on the ground of his friendly regard for the person who makes the request.

Thus the Samaritan correction of the Jewish vocalization of the Hebrew passage just analyzed, is fully supported by the context, as well as by the concurrent evidence of two perfectly independent witnesses, the oldest Greek and Syriac versions; and, what is still more, even the Jewish vocalizers can be compelled to bear testimony in favour of this correction, by their treatment, in parallel cases, of the monosyllable in dispute. Let us, for instance, turn to the following passage of our Authorized Version:—"Then he wrote a letter the second time to them, saying, If ye *be* mine [or, according to another translation in the margin, if ye *be* for me], and *if* ye will hearken unto my voice, take ye the heads of the men your master's sons, and come to me to Jezreel by to-morrow this time."—2 Kings, x. 6. The words here translated, 'if ye *be* mine,' or, 'if ye *be* for me,' are in the Hebrew text **אם ל' אתם**, which express precisely the same proviso as those in the Samaritan portion of the present example, **אם אתה ל'**, with the sole exception of the former clause being addressed to more persons than one, and the latter to only a single individual—a variation which does not make the slightest difference in the nature of the stipulation itself. But two of the ingredients of these equivalent clauses are, with the specified exception, identical. Their third ingredients, therefore, must be equivalent; and as those monosyllables beginning with the same letter have the same meaning, they must have originally ended, as well

as commenced, in the same way. But the monosyllable referred to in the Samaritan line is known by the appearance it presents in the corresponding Jewish line [לִי], to have been at first written לִי. The Jewish scribes, therefore, have given their sanction to the Samaritan treatment of this original monosyllable in the Samaritan portion of the example before us, by vocalizing the same monosyllable for the expression of the same meaning in the very same manner in the parallel clause adduced from the second Book of Kings. They, indeed, endeavoured, though without success, to attach some other meaning to the clause of Genesis which has here been examined, and according to their view of that meaning read *LuH* or *LoH* the monosyllable contained therein which was read *LiH* by the Samaritan scribes. But the Samaritan bearing of this clause is sustained by the strongest combination of internal and external evidence ; and, admitting the correctness of that bearing, the Samaritan vocalization of the disputed monosyllable can, as I have just shown, be proved right even by the evidence of the Jews themselves. But when this monosyllable was in conformity with the several modes of reading it *LuH*, *LiH*, or *LoH*, vocalized with either a *Waw* or a *Yod*, its final element, *He*, was dropped ; in which proceeding the old vocalizers appear to have been justified in two of the cases referred to, on account of this letter being paragogic, and of the service previously performed by it being better and more directly executed by means of the introduced vowel-letters ; but in the third case, namely, where the original monosyllable was read *LoH*, ‘unto him,’ the final *He* was by no means paragogic, but an essential element of the pronoun אֵלָיו, and ought, if possible, to have been always retained. In fine, the analyzed monosyllable should, I conceive, be written in an amended edition of the Jewish representation of the Hebrew text לִי ; and the clause containing it might be rendered in English as follows :—

“ ——— saying, But since thou *art* for me, hear me :”—

Other instances of the original *He* termination of words now closed with a *Waw* or *Yod*, may be detected by comparing the cases which are occasionally to be met of groups ended with either mater lectionis in one edition of the sacred text which are differently treated in the other. Thus Jacob's reply, Gen. xxxi. 31, to one of the questions put to him by Laban,—"Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly?"—runs in the Jewish edition of the Hebrew text as follows:—

כִּי יִרְאֵתִי; כִּי אִמַּרְתִּי, כֵּן תִּנּוּל אֶת בְּנוֹתַי מֵעֵמִי.

which is literally rendered:—"Because I was afraid; because I thought, that perhaps thou wouldest take by force thy daughters from me." But the Samaritan edition has left the first word of this passage unaffected by vocalization, כִּה, which is at present confined to the signification 'thus,'—a construction of it which, as I conceive, gives a much clearer and more natural turn to Jacob's answer:—"I was thus afraid" [that is, I was in such fear as to make me flee away secretly]; 'because I thought that, perhaps, thou wouldest take by force thy daughters from me.' I grant, however, that the Greek and Syriac versions favour the idiomatic form of expression which the Jewish vocalization attaches to this sentence. I have, therefore, brought forward this example, not with any view of recommending a change, in the mode of reading, which is unsupported by ancient testimony, but merely for the purpose of taking advantage of the circumstance of a group having been suffered to remain in its original state in one of the editions of the text which is terminated by a *Yod* in the other. From this comparison it will be seen that כִּה was the original form of the group in question, which admitted of being read, not only as at present, K<sup>o</sup>H, 'thus,' but also occasionally K<sup>i</sup>H, 'because,' according to the different demands of the context in different places; and which was, in the site before us, read by the Jewish scribes K<sup>i</sup>H, then vocalized by them with a *Yod* to suit this reading, and then divested of the paragogic *He*, whose service was no longer wanted after the introduction of the *Yod*.



I shall now apply the principles unfolded in this and the two preceding chapters to an examination of the Hebrew passage containing the remark of Esau on his brother's name, Gen. xxvii. 36 ; the meaning of which has been all along preserved by the most ancient versions, but the structure of it yielding that meaning has been long since lost, through the misvocalization of its initial group by the Jewish set of old vocalizers ;—an operation in which, by the way, the Samaritan set disagreed with them ; so that each edition of the text bears witness against the genuineness of the vowel-letter placed at the end of the specified group in the other edition, while both of the testimonies to this effect are sustained by the united evidence of the Septuagint and Peshitah. Here follows the English translation of this passage extracted from our Authorized Version ; the passage itself, as at present exhibited in each edition of the sacred text ;<sup>a</sup> and the renderings given of it in the two versions that were written before that text was vocalized. But, in order the better to compare these extracts, a literal interpretation is subjoined to each of them, except the English one :—

*Authorized Eng. Vers.* “Is not he rightly named Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times ;”—

*Jewish Edition,*                      הכי קרא שמו יעקב? ויעקבני זה פעמים

‘Whether because *one* hath called his name Yahacob? for he hath supplanted me this pair of turns;’—

*Samaritan Edition,*                      הכי

‘Whether thus *one* hath called his name Yahacob? for he hath supplanted me this pair of turns;’—

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<sup>a</sup> No more of the Hebrew line is quoted from the Samaritan Pentateuch than the first group, all the rest of it being exactly the same in the two editions of the sacred text.

*Septuagint,*

Δικαίως ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ιακώβ·  
ἐπτέρνικε γάρ με ἤδη δεύτερον τοῦτο·

‘Justly hath his name been called Jacob; for he  
hath supplanted me now this second time;’—

*Peshitah,*

יַהֲכֹב יִשְׁמַח בְּלִבּוֹ : כִּי הָיָה  
שְׂמִי יַהֲכֹב וְעַתָּה יִשְׁמַח בְּלִבּוֹ

‘Rightly hath his name been called Yahacob; for he  
hath prevailed against me, lo! two turns;’—

Upon an attentive consideration of the lines here interpreted, it will, I think, be clearly perceived that there must be something wrong in the first two, each of them being incoherent in itself and at variance with the other; but that the last two are in the main correct, as they mutually agree in expressing the same general meaning, and are besides, each of them, perfectly intelligible and consistent throughout. The latter pair, therefore, may be fairly applied to the correction of the former set; in which way it will be found that the initial group of the original passage has been misvocalized both in the Jewish and in the Samaritan edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch: and when, by means of the expositions supplied in the preceding pages, it is traced back from either of its present forms, יַכֹּב, or יַכֹּב, to the primitive one, יַכֹּב, we may, through the aid of the two adduced ancient translations, plainly see that the group so restored is to be read, neither HăKîH, ‘whether because,’ nor HăKôH, ‘whether thus,’ but HaKkêH, ‘in hitting *the mark*,’ in consequence of which the literal signification of the first clause of the verse referred to comes out:— ‘In hitting *the mark*, one hath called his name Yahacob.’ Now, as Hebrew infinitives, when connected with finite inflexions of verbs, are often used with the force of adverbs, the interpretation here given of the initial group naturally conducts

to the meaning, 'fitly,' 'appropriately,' 'justly,' or 'rightly,' which is required for it by the context, as well as sanctioned by the authority of the oldest and best versions of the Bible ; while, on the other hand, there is no conceivable mode of deducing that meaning from the form in which this group is at present exhibited in either of the two editions of the sacred text.

The hostility of the old vocalizers to the Septuagint, and the precipitation with which they performed their task, are very strongly illustrated by this example ; for, in their eagerness here to give that version an appearance of inaccuracy, they actually deprived the sentence operated on of all consistency between its two clauses. Afterwards, no doubt, their employers, the Jewish priesthood, must have become aware of the blunder in this way committed ; but not till the opportunity was passed, when it could have been with safety corrected. Even an author belonging to their own nation has virtually acknowledged the Hebrew text in the keeping of the Jews to be in this place corrupt, by interpreting the passage in question, not according to that text, but according to its Greek rendering in the Septuagint. The interpretation to which I allude is that of Onkelos, which is given in his Targum as follows :—

יֵאוֹת קִרָּא שְׁמִיָּה 'עֶקֶב: וְחִכְמִנִּי דִנָּן תִּרְתִּין זְמַנִּין ;

“ Well hath *one* called his name Yahacob ; for he hath craftily treated me these two turns ; ”—

According to the prevalent notion of the antiquity of this author, that he flourished about the commencement of the Christian era, he must have written before the sacred text was vocalized, which would sufficiently account for the correctness of the adduced sentence of his translation. But, in point of fact, he could not have composed his Targum till after the death of Jerome, that is, till three centuries after the introduction of vowel-letters into the writing of the Bible, by which time the secret of that vocalization was most probably

lost even among the sacerdotal class. At all events, he cannot be supposed to have detected this secret ; for he would in that case have made a much freer use of the Septuagint in correcting the errors of the Hebrew text : and it can scarcely be imagined how he followed the specified Greek version for this purpose even to the extent that he actually did, unless he lived at a period when the Jewish priests, the bitterest enemies of that version, had for some reason or other become very unpopular among their people, in consequence of which he could deviate with safety from their views in the execution of his work. Where, in the course of events, that period was placed, I shall endeavour to show in a subsequent chapter, if life and strength be spared to me sufficient for writing another volume.

How grievously the later sets of English translators were perplexed by the structure of the Hebrew passage here examined, is placed in a prominent light by the artifice to which they were induced to resort, in order to give their respective renderings of it, in seeming conformity with the profession made by them in the title-pages of their versions, some faint appearance of being taken from the Hebrew. It is obviously for this purpose that they put the first clause of their several translations of this passage in an interrogative form. But a question coupled with a negative substantially amounts to a positive statement ; and the query, ‘is he not rightly named,’ is virtually equivalent to the assertion, ‘he is rightly named ;’ so that the renderings employed by them certainly could not have been derived from the Hebrew text in its present state (in which the line referred to is made to commence with an interrogation), but must have been surreptitiously borrowed from one of the ancient versions. The very negation introduced into these renderings estranges them from the Hebrew passage, wherein no warrant whatever is to be found for such an expression, any more than for the adverb ‘justly’ or ‘rightly,’ here inserted in their translations. This artifice appears to have commenced with the writers of the Geneva

Bible; so the framers of our present Authorized Version<sup>a</sup> have to bear the blame, not of originating, but only of adopting it. The difficulty of the case, however, is now entirely removed, through the application to it of the present discovery, whereby the Hebrew clause is restored to its original state, and to congruity with its ancient renderings; so that a modern translation which agrees with those renderings agrees also with the genuine Hebrew. The group just analyzed should, I submit, be written in an amended edition of the sacred text  $\text{יַהֲכֹבַד}$ ; and the whole of the adduced passage might be translated into English as follows:—"Rightly hath he been named Yahacob; for he hath supplanted me these two times;"—with the marginal note on the beginning of the sentence:—"Heb. *In hitting the mark, one hath called his name Yahacob*;" and likewise with a note on the proper name, the same as is already given in the margin of our Authorized Version, which is absolutely requisite for the purpose of explaining to

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<sup>a</sup> The translations of the above examined passage in the successively Authorized English Versions and in the Geneva Bible, arranged in the order of their respective dates, are as follows:—

- |                            |                                                                             |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Coverdale's Bible,</i>  | "He maye well be called Iacob, for he hath vndermined me now two tymes."    |
| <i>Cranmer's Bible,</i>    | "He may wel be called Iacob, for he hath vndermynd me now two tymes."       |
| <i>Geneva Bible,</i>       | "Was he not justly called Iaakob? for he hath deceived me these two times." |
| <i>Parker's Bible,</i>     | "Is not he ryghtly named Iacob? for he hath vndermynd me nowe two tymes."   |
| <i>King James's Bible,</i> | "Is not he rightly named Iacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times." |

The last quotation is taken from the first edition of our present Authorized Version, and differs from the same sentence, as printed in late editions, only in the initial letter of the proper name. In the earlier editions this letter had the same shape as the vowel *I*, and the same power as this vowel has, when read in combination with a following vowel as a single syllable; but subsequently it was changed in shape from *I* to *J*, and in power from *Y* to a soft *G*.

an English reader the connexion between the two clauses of the sentence.

I shall close this chapter with some illustrations of a subject which is not exceeded, perhaps, by any other, in the force and convincing nature of the proofs it affords of the spuriousness of the *matres lectionis* in the text of the Hebrew Bible. I mean the mistakes which this record, in its present state, occasionally betrays between the first and second person singular of verbs in the preterite tense ;—mistakes that could never have arisen if the *Yod* which now distinguishes those inflexions by appearing at the end of the former one, had been all along made use of for that purpose. The mere circumstance, however, of a common form having been originally employed for both the specified persons of the verb in the sacred text is not sufficient to account for misconceptions respecting its application, on the part of those who afterwards undertook to introduce into it a distinction. There must besides have been, from some cause or other, want of time for the deliberate execution of their task ; as they would have been protected from confounding so prominent a difference as that in question, by the slightest attention to the context, in each place of the occurrence of this form : and, in fact, the very same form, applied not only to the first person common and second person masculine, but also the third person feminine, of the specified number and tense, has been suffered to remain in use in the cognate Syriac and Chaldee written dialects, even since the introduction of vowel-letters into their respective systems of writing,—without misleading the reader who peruses any of the unpointed works transmitted to us in those dialects with a sufficient degree of care. The mistakes, therefore, to which I refer serve to prove in a very striking manner, with regard to the vocal distinction of persons just described, which now meets our eye in almost every page of the Hebrew record, not only that it was made subsequently to the original composition of the sacred text, but also that it was made with great precipitation. These mistakes consist in the erroneous

substitution of the first person of verbs of the above-mentioned number and tense for the second, or of the second for the first. I shall here adduce some instances of each kind, beginning with those of the former description.

1. In the following passage of our Authorized Version,—“And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, and behold *this* pillar which I have cast betwixt me and thee”—Gen. xxxi. 51—an assertion is attributed to the speaker which strictly accords, indeed, with the present state of the text in the Jewish edition of the Pentateuch, but is in direct opposition to the tenor of the inspired narrative. For we are expressly informed in the forty-fifth and forty-sixth verses of the very same chapter of Genesis, that the pillar here mentioned was set up, not by Laban, but by Jacob; and that the heap of stones was collected, not by Laban’s, but by Jacob’s direction. Hence it is quite evident, even independently of the bearing of ancient testimonies on the subject, that {the verb in the latter part of the quoted verse should be inflected, not in the first, but in the second person; and I proceed to lay before the reader the oldest representation of the assertion referred to, not so much for the sake of corroborating a proof of the spuriousness of the *Yod* at the end of the Jewish exhibition thereof, which is sufficiently established by the authority of Scripture alone; but rather with a view to inquiring into the cause of the blunder here committed by the Jews, as well as to avail myself of the aid this example affords in the discussion of some other points. The expression in question, then, is written in the Jewish edition of the sacred text יָרִיתִי, *YaRITHi*, ‘I have raised;’ in the Samaritan edition יָרִאת, *YaRATha*, ‘thou hast raised;’ in the Septuagint ἔστησας, ‘thou hast raised;’ and in the Peshitah (omitting the prefixed relative) ܐܬܬܝܬܝܬ, which might, indeed, in an unconnected state, be read, either *HaQIMaTh*, ‘she hath raised,’ *HaQEMT*, ‘thou (masculine) hast raised,’ or *HaQEMeTh*, ‘I have raised;’ but it is by the tenor of the narrative restricted in the specified place to the second of these readings and senses. Thus, the oldest

extant collateral testimonies on the subject furnish evidence *ex abundanti* against the Jewish vocalization of the original group, to the same effect as that derivable from certain facts referred to by Laban, which are on all sides admitted to be expressly recorded in Scripture itself.

But to give a fuller view of those testimonies, I shall offer a few more observations on each of them, beginning with that last adduced. As the Syriac verb, then, whose evidence on the subject is above described, admits of being read in the second person singular masculine of the preterite tense, it is unavoidably limited to that inflexion by the portion of the sacred history immediately preceding, the true bearing of which is preserved in, I believe, every edition and every version of the Hebrew text. Gabriel Sionita, indeed, in his Latin translation of the Peshitah, construed this verb in the first person singular, by the same word ('erexi') as is used for the purpose in the Vulgate—a version which has been proclaimed immaculate by the authority of the Romish Church. He was, however, by much too skilful a Syriac scholar to fail of being quite aware of the misconstruction of which he was here guilty; and, if it be fair to judge of his motive for the commission of this fraud by its obvious tendency, it will follow that his design in perverting the sense of the passage of the Peshitah containing this verb was to falsify the evidence which its correct translation yields against the perfection of the Vulgate in this place, and, consequently, against the infallibility of the Popes. But whatever his object may have been, the erroneous rendering he has transmitted to us of the Syriac expression in question tells not in the least against the real meaning of that expression in the place referred to, but only against the honesty of its translator.

With regard to the adduced Grecian evidence, I admit that it is not furnished by the common editions of the Septuagint, in which there may be detected, through their comparison with the received Hebrew text, a considerable chasm in this place. But the words of this chasm, including the one yield-



ing the above evidence, are preserved in a MS., numbered 135, from which Holmes has quoted them in a note to his learned edition of the specified version. They are here inserted within brackets, between those placed immediately next to each other in the ordinary editions of this work; and, to render their correctness more conspicuous, a literal translation of as much of the Hebrew text as is here referred to is subjoined with the part of that translation corresponding to the chasm, likewise included within brackets :—

Καὶ εἶπε Λάβαν τῷ Ἰακωβ, Ἰδοὺ ὁ βουνὸς οὗτος [καὶ ἴδου ἡ στηλὴ αὐτῇ, ἣν ἐστήσας μεταξὺ ἐμοῦ καὶ μεταξὺ σου· μάρτυς ὁ σωρὸς οὗτος] καὶ μάρτυς ἡ στηλὴ αὕτη.

‘ And Laban said to Yacob, Behold this heap [and behold *this* pillar which I have raised between me and thee; this heap *be* witness] and *this* pillar *be* witness.’

From the strict closeness (with a single exception) of the unaccented Greek words to the bearing here exhibited of the corresponding portion of the Hebrew passage in the at present received edition of the sacred text, one might at first be led to suspect, that they were a comparatively modern restoration, made by the help of a copy of that edition; but, on consideration, this suspicion will be found refuted by the circumstance of the Greek verb *ἐστήσας* being written in the second person. Neither is it at all likely that they were arrived at by the aid of the Samaritan edition—a work which was formerly little known, and of no repute among the Greek Christians. The most probable supposition, therefore, is, that they really are the genuine words of the Septuagint, though preserved, as far as has been as yet ascertained, in only one manuscript copy of that version; while the manner in which they came to be dropped from other manuscripts may be accounted for by the oversight of some transcriber, who confounded the second occurrence of the expression, *ἡ στηλὴ αὐτῇ*, with the first, and, in consequence, omitted the intervening words.

The Samaritan evidence on this subject is particularly in-

teresting, on account of the hint it suggests upon another point connected with the primitive structure of the Hebrew language. At the beginning of this chapter it is proved, I submit, beyond a doubt, that Hebrew verbs ending in *He* were at first regularly inflected with regard to their final syllables, in cases where those syllables are now found irregularly contracted in both writing and pronunciation. But the Samaritan group which yields the direct evidence already noticed upon the question here discussed, affords also ground for suspecting that the class of verbs just mentioned were at first regularly inflected in their medial, as well as in their final syllables. For, supposing, for instance, the Hebrew verb ירה, 'he cast,' or 'he raised,' to have been regularly formed, like other trilateral verbs, for the inflexions in which it was capable of being used in the example before us, it would have been originally written ירהת,<sup>a</sup> and have admitted of being read, either YaRaHTha, 'thou hast raised,' or YaRaHThi, 'I have raised,' according to what the reader conceived to be required by the context; but, after the introduction of vowel-letters into the text of the Bible, the group previously common to both inflexions would have been distinguished into two different ones, ירהת, YaRaHTha, for the former signification, and ירהתי, YaRaHThi, for the latter, the *He* having in each case been omitted after the vocalization of the syllable which it had terminated. Now the Samaritan vocalizers, for the inflexion which suited their view of the demands of the context, actually treated the medial syllable in the manner here described; and it is inconceivable how they could have been led to do so, by any other state of the case than the supposed one from which I have just shown that this vocalization would follow. Their exhibition, therefore, of this syllable verifies to a certain

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<sup>a</sup> The Jewish representation of the above group leaves the point undetermined whether it was originally closed, or not, with a paragoric *He*; but the Samaritan representation of the same group decides against the addition to it, in its original state, of that supplement.

extent the proposed supposition. On the other hand, it may be objected, the Jewish scribes vocalized the same syllable in another way. But their substitution therein of *Yod* for *Haleph* can be accounted for, by the disinclination they have shown to the employment of the latter vowel-letter throughout the entire of their work, and more particularly in forms of inflexion of frequent occurrence, such as those under consideration ;<sup>a</sup> while, it should at the same time be added, this substitution made no alteration whatever in the meaning of the group referred to, but only in the sound of its second syllable, — a change which those vocalizers were enabled to introduce, in consequence of the ancient language of the Bible having been, in their time, utterly unknown to all the Jews except themselves, and the priesthood in whose interest they wrote, and under whose direction they acted. Again, it may perhaps be further objected, the Samaritan scribes, in most, if not all instances but the one before us, conformed to the Jewish vocalization of the syllable in question. But they may have been induced, by the superior authority of the Jewish pronunciation of Hebrew, to conform for the most part to that pronunciation where it affected not the meaning of the text ; while, on the other hand, their deviation from it, where placed under this restriction, even in a single instance, is utterly unaccountable, except on the supposition of their restoring the ancient sound of an inflexion which had been arbitrarily changed by the Jews : and as the latter set of vocalizers have been proved to a certainty to have altered both the writing and pronunciation of the final syllable of one inflexion of verbs ending in *He*, there is the less unlikelihood of their having treated

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<sup>a</sup> The vocal values *I* and *U* of *Yod* and *Waw* are immediately derivable by diæresis from their original powers *Y* and *W*. But the vocal value *A* of *Haleph* cannot in any way be deduced from its original value, which was a species of *H* power, and must have been borrowed from some foreign system. Hence, in all probability, arose the disinclination of the old vocalizers to the employment of this mater lectionis, whose foreign origin it was scarcely possible for them to conceal.

in like manner the medial syllable of other inflexions of verbs of the same class. I am, however, quite ready to admit the danger of resting any view of a subject on a single example ; and I propose that here brought forward only as a conjecture, the decision of which in either way is immaterial to my general theory, but whose discussion may still prove interesting to the antiquarian philologist.

With regard to the Jewish vocalization of the final syllable of the above group for the inflexion in the first person of the verb thereby denoted, the egregious blunder here committed by them leaves great room for the suspicion—which is suggested by many other mistakes also of the same kind—that they did not deliberately peruse the contents of the sacred text, according as they proceeded with its vocalization, but merely cast the eye along its pages in search of words which required the addition of vowel-letters ; and that, finding the inflexion of the verb under discussion in the first person to make sense in the verse wherein it occurs, when that verse is considered alone, they at once vocalized it for this inflexion, as the Seventy had translated it for a different one. But if they had reflected on the contents of the sacred history only five and six verses back, they must have seen that the inflexion here chosen by them, for the purpose of giving the Septuagint an appearance of inaccuracy in this place, instead of producing the effect they intended, had merely that of making their own vocalization of the text absolutely absurd, as representing Laban to have stated two falsehoods, and that too, without any conceivable motive ; since, from the very nature of the case, it was impossible that the person to whom these falsehoods are imagined to have been addressed, could have been deceived by them.

Before quitting this subject, I have to observe, that the Hebrew verb in question is translated by the very same group in the Targum of Onkelos as in the Syriac version, אֶקִּימֶת, only with the exception of the *Yod* in its last syllable, which confines it to the reading ḤaQIMETH, ‘I have raised.’ Accord-

ing to the more usual mode of writing Chaldee, this second *Yod* might have been omitted ; and then the Chaldee group would have been restricted by the context to the same reading as is the Syriac one, *HāQIMT*, or *HāQEMT* ‘thou (masculine) hast raised.’ As the case stands, however, this group yields the same erroneous sense as the corresponding Hebrew one in its present vocalized state ;—a circumstance which contributes to show that the Targum of Onkelos was not written till after the sacred text had been vocalized ; as so gross a blunder as that here referred to could hardly have been committed by two parties independently of each other. A much closer limit, indeed, to the age of this Targum has been pointed out in the course of the last discussion ; but still, this one is worth noticing, on account of the endless number of examples which can be applied to its confirmation.

In fine, I would recommend the Hebrew group just analyzed to be written, in an amended edition of the sacred text, *יִירֵתִי* ; and the Authorized English Translation of the verse in which it occurs, might, I submit, be improved by altering it as follows :—“And Laban said to Yahacob, Behold this heap and behold *this* pillar which thou hast erected between me and thee.” Besides the change of the inflexion of the verb in the latter part of this verse from the first to the second person, the verb itself has also been changed from ‘cast,’ into ‘erected,’ an alteration which is not only sanctioned by the authority of all the more ancient versions, but also required by the context ; for the former verb can in strictness be stated only respecting the stones which formed the heap, while the latter is applicable with propriety to both the heap itself and the pillar.

2. The Hebrew of the clause translated in our Authorized Version, “Now thou art commanded,”—Gen. xlv. 19,—has been transmitted to us, vocalized

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|------------------------|---------------------------|
| By the Jewish scribes, | <i>וְאַתָּה צוֹיֵתָהּ</i> |
| And by the Samaritans, | <i>וְאַתָּה צוֹיֵרָהּ</i> |

The two readings here adduced of the same group, which exhi-

bit a verb, the upper of them, in the second person, and the lower one, in the first, are worth considering together ; as their comparison supplies a conspicuous instance, both of the ambiguity of the original Hebrew form of inflexion under examination when viewed apart from the context, and also of the practice of the old vocalizers (Samaritan as well as Jewish) of dropping a paragogic *He*, after vocalizing the syllable that had been closed by it. The Jewish part of this example, which is clearly right with regard to the person in which it represents the verb to be inflected, has been already analyzed in the first chapter of the present volume ; where, however, the Masoretic pointing of this inflexion for the passive voice, according to which it has been translated in the Authorized English Version, is proved quite erroneous, not only by the inconsistency it introduces between the clause before us and the next ensuing one with respect to the number of persons to whom the command therein contained is addressed,—“Now thou art commanded ; this do ye, take you waggon,”—but also by the bearing of the most ancient testimony extant upon the subject. The Syriac translation, indeed, of the above clause——is ambiguous ; for, according as the participle in it is read *MēShālēT*, or *MeShālēT*, it admits of conveying one or other of these significations :—‘Now, as for thee, behold, commanding *be* thou,’ or, ‘Now, as for thee, behold, commanded *art* thou.’ But the Septuagint, which is our oldest and best authority for the interpretation of the sacred text in its original state, is perfectly clear with respect to the voice as well as the person in which the inflexion under inquiry should be read :—*Σὺ δὲ ἐντειλαὶ τὰῦτα λαβεῖν αὐτοῖς ἁμάξας, κ. τ. λ.*—“And do thou have given [i. e. do thou instantly give] these orders to *them*, that ye should take for yourselves waggon, &c.,” where, we may perceive, the incoherency above exposed is avoided, and the transition from the singular to the plural number of the persons commanded is accounted for. But my chief motive for bringing under notice, in a preceding chapter, the group in question as vocalized by the Jewish scribes of the

second century, was on account of the aid which, where its vocalization is completed, as it should be, for the active voice, it contributes to illustrating the force of the Hebrew tense compounded of the future, or imperative (which is looked upon by Hebrew grammarians as a species of future), and the preterite tense. As, however, my views upon this point have been already detailed, in the place above specified, no further exposition of them is here wanted.

I now proceed to direct attention to the Samaritan part of the same example, which, with the words next following, can be thus translated:—‘And as for thee, I have commanded *thee*; this do ye, take for yourselves waggons, &c.’ Here may be observed the very incoherency, in the use of the singular and plural numbers, which was previously noticed in the Jewish passage, as the vocalization of the principal group of its leading clause has been filled up by the Masoretic pointing. The Samaritan reading, then, of this group for the first person is shown to be incorrect, first, by the context; secondly, by the old Jewish vocalization of the same group, which is, indeed, incomplete, but, as far as it goes, is right; and, thirdly, by the independent testimonies of the Septuagint and Peshitah, which are, upon this point, perfectly concordant. This reading, therefore, of the group referred to, presents to us a clear instance, not indeed in the received edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, but in its Samaritan edition, of a Hebrew form of inflexion of a verb which ought to have been exhibited in the second person, but has, through mistake, been vocalized for the first.

3. A prolific supply of examples of the mistake under examination is furnished by the part of Naomi’s advice to Ruth, which is translated in our Authorized Version as follows:—“Wash thyself, therefore, and anoint thee, and \*put thy raiment upon thee, and \*get thee down to the [thrashing-] floor; *but* make not thyself known unto the man, until he shall have done eating and drinking. And it shall be, when he lieth down, that thou shalt mark the place where he

shall lie, and thou shalt go in, and uncover his feet, and \*lay thee down.”—Ruth, iii. 3, 4. Of the verbs in this quotation, the three marked with an asterisk are, just like the rest of those addressed to Ruth, rightly formed for the second person; but in the Hebrew text, as it has been transmitted to us, they are inflected for the first, in direct opposition to sense and to both of the ancient versions that were written before that text was vocalized. In the three records referred to they are, when compared respectively, exhibited as follows:—

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|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>First verb,</i>  | וַיִּשְׁמַת׃ <sup>a</sup> | ‘and I shall have put on (raiment).’  |
|                     | καὶ περιθήσεις,           | ‘and thou shalt put on.’              |
|                     | אַתְּ לְבָשׁוּ,           | ‘and be thou (feminine) dressed.’     |
| <i>Second verb,</i> | וַיֵּרֶדְתִּי,            | ‘and I shall have descended.’         |
|                     | καὶ ἀναβήσῃ,              | ‘and thou shalt ascend.’              |
|                     | אַתְּ לָבִי,              | ‘and descend thou (feminine).’        |
| <i>Third verb,</i>  | וַיִּשְׁכַּבְתִּי,        | ‘and I shall have lain down.’         |
|                     | καὶ κοιμηθήσῃ,            | ‘and thou shalt lie down.’            |
|                     | אַתְּ לָבִי,              | ‘and thou (feminine) shalt lie down.’ |

Upon the spuriousness of the *Yod* at the end of each of the adduced Hebrew verbs, by means of which their present erroneous form of inflexion is given them, I need not dwell; for, although the cause of its appearance in those three sites has hitherto proved utterly inexplicable, yet, that it has been wrongly inserted therein, is on every side admitted. Even the Masorets have acknowledged as much in their mode of exhibiting those verbs, which, notwithstanding their attaching

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<sup>a</sup> The corrupt change by the Jewish scribes of *Samek* into *Shin*, in cases where the power of the former letter is still retained, is proved, in the instance of the above verb, by the joint evidence of the Syriac and Chaldean dialects, in which it is used with just the same sound and signification as in the ancient Hebrew, but is always written in each of them with a *Samek*.



thereto the little circular mark of censure, they have left unchanged, so as to be read respectively, according to the letters, in the first person, *WeSaMTI*, *WeYaRaDTI*, *WeShaKaBTI*, but still have pointed for the respective readings in the second person feminine *WeSaMT*, *WeYaRaDT*, *WeShaKaBT*. Thus they honestly confessed that the sacred text was handed down to them, in these three instances, written in a way quite at variance with that according to which the context required it to be read;—a confession well worth noticing, on account of the very striking illustration it affords of the scrupulous fidelity with which they preserved this text in the very state in which they found it.

The same degree of candour has not been shown upon this occasion by the framers of the English Authorized Version: they have, indeed, rightly attended to the sense of the passage in construing the above verbs in the second person; but, though professing in their title-page to translate from the original Scriptures, they have here, within the short compass of two verses, deviated no less than three times from those Scriptures, as at present written, without giving in the margin of their work the slightest intimation of their having done so. Whether the *reserve* thus practised by those learned men, in regard to the Old Testament, was justifiable or not, it at all events serves to show, in a very prominent manner, how sorely perplexed they were, and to what a distressing dilemma they must have felt themselves reduced, by the existing state of the Hebrew text. Now, however, the whole source of their embarrassment is removed: the inaccuracies in the sacred record which they attempted to conceal from the English reader turn out to have no genuine connexion with the inspired writing, but to be merely the effects of interpolations therein made by fallible, uninspired men; and, consequently, neither honesty nor candour any longer requires an acknowledgment of those inaccuracies in the margin of our Bible. The exposed anomalies, indeed, not only are accounted for by my discovery, but they also contribute in turn to its support

by increasing the number and variety of cases which it is impossible to explain in any other way: for no other cause of corruption can be assigned, that would invariably operate on a very limited class of letters, and leave all the rest untouched. I have here only further to observe, that the little circular mark of censure with which the Masorets branded the three groups just analyzed, ought to be attached to them in unpointed editions also, but placed more exactly over the spurious element of each,—a caution less necessary in Masoretic copies, in which the faulty letter is sufficiently indicated by the pointing. The corrected groups would thus come to be exhibited in an amended edition of the text, וַיִּשְׁמַתִּי וַיִּרְדֵּהוּ וַיִּשְׁכַּבְתִּי.

4. In the chapter of the Authorized English Version next to that from which I have taken my last quotation, the following passage occurs:—"Then said Boaz, What day thou buyest the field of the hand of Naomi, thou must buy *it* also of Ruth, the Moabitess, the wife of the dead, to raise up [an offspring that shall bear] the name of the dead [and be maintained] upon his inheritance."—Ruth, iv. 5. The verb preterite which, in consequence of the *Waw* at the commencement of the second clause being treated as a *Waw conversive* immediately thereto prefixed, is here translated, 'Thou must also buy,' is exhibited in the Hebrew text, as it stands at present, קָנִיתִי, QaNITHI, 'I must have also bought;' and the elements of the group have been honestly preserved by the Masorets in this state, though they pointed it so as to be read QaNITHa, 'thou must have also bought.' This case supports my view of the general subject just as powerfully as those previously adduced; and we may observe in it precisely the same candour exerted by the Jewish punctuators, and the same reserve by the English translators as in the last batch of examples. So far, therefore, it does not call for any additional remark. But while one error has been avoided in our Authorized Version with regard to the above verb, another has been fallen into, which it may be worth while to bring under the reader's

notice. The supplement 'it' has been wrongly introduced as the word governed by the verb: the tenor, even alone considered, of the quoted verse shows plainly,—what, indeed, is rendered, if possible, still more evident by the ensuing part of the narrative,—that the supplied pronoun, if any were here wanted, should not be 'it,' but 'her;' and that the second part of the demand made on the nearest kinsman of the deceased was not the purchase over again of the field, which would seem to have been quite superfluous, but the additional purchase of the widow, without whose co-operation there could not be raised up an heir to the estate entitled to the name of its late proprietor. But to point out the further support which this correction derives from both of the versions that were composed before the sacred text was vocalized, so much of the original passage, in its existing state, as comes more immediately under discussion, is here adduced, together with its oldest Greek and Syriac renderings, while a literal interpretation of each rendering is subjoined thereto.

*Hebrew text,*    ביום קנותך השדה מיד נעמי, ומאת רות  
המאביה אשת המת קנתה—

*Septuagint,*    ἐν ἡμέρα τοῦ κτήσασθαί σε τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐκ χειρὸς  
Νωεμὶν<sup>a</sup> καὶ παρὰ Ρουθ τῆς Μωαβίδος, γυναικὸς  
τοῦ τεθνηκότος, καὶ αὐτὴν κτήσασθαί σε δεῖ—

'In the day of thy getting the field from the hand of Noemin and from Ruth the Moabitess, widow of the dead, thou must gain possession also of herself [i. e. of the latter woman].'

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\* The above proper name is written in the Alexandrian copy Νορμει, though exhibited in the Vatican one Νωεμιν. The difference between the two transcriptions of the same word marks the imperfection of the original Hebrew mode of recording names, in the case of those of rare occurrence. The one before us, which is written in Syriac with exactly the same elements as in Hebrew, was pronounced by the Seventy, according to one copy of their work, NoHeMin, and according to another, NoHoMmi; while it was pointed by the Masorets so as to be read NaHoMi. The Nu at the end of this name in the



tually performed the service of this curtailed pronoun at the end of other groups, denoting the same inflexion. I should, however, add, that the twofold nature of the *He* in this site attaches no ambiguity to the original sentence; as it is strictly confined to a single service in each way of dealing with the passage. If, along with the Greek translators, we retain the *Mem* of the group which immediately precedes the proper name Ruth, it excludes that proper name from being governed as an accusative case by the verb at the end of the sentence; and then the service of the final *He* as an affix is wanted, to supply the place of a word so governed. But if, on the other hand, we, along with the Syriac translators, reject the *Mem* in question, the above proper name is then put in the accusative case to the specified verb, and the *He*, not being wanted for this use, becomes merely paragogic. According to the Greek rendering, a *Waw conversive of the preterite* should be prefixed to the final group of the Hebrew passage; but no such alteration of the text is wanted according to the Syriac rendering, which makes the Service of this *Waw* be performed by the one at the head of the second clause. On the other hand, the latter rendering calls for the rejection of the *Mem* in the group immediately preceding the proper name, Ruth,—an alteration of the text which is not required by the former rendering of the same passage.

In support of the Greek construction of the sentence under examination, one might at first be disposed to urge, that it is taken from the older of the two versions; and also that the *Mem* which, according to it, should be retained in this sentence, is still there found in, as far as has been yet ascertained, every extant copy of the sacred text.<sup>a</sup> But both considerations are entirely overruled by the authority of Scripture

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<sup>a</sup> Kennicott found but one Hebrew MS. without the *Mem* in the site above referred to; and even in that one, numbered by him 31, it was only in part erased. Neither was De Rossi able to find any other copy wanting this letter in the site in question.

itself, by which the question at issue between the two constructions is fully decided in favour of the Syriac one. For, in the inspired narration, a few verses further on, Boaz proclaiming his own performance of the very conditions he had previously required in vain to be executed by another, and which are recorded in the sentence just analyzed, expresses himself as follows :—"And Boaz said unto the elders and unto all the people, Ye *are* witnesses this day, that I have bought all that *was* Elimelech's, and all that *was* Chilion's and Mahlon's [that is, the whole of the field in question] of the hand of Naomi. Moreover, Ruth, the Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon, I have purchased to be my wife, . . ."—Ruth, iv. 9, 10. Hence it plainly results, that the field was sold by Naomi alone, and that Ruth, instead of taking any share in the ratification of the sale, was herself a part of the property then sold. I would, therefore, adhere to the Syriac construction of the above Hebrew sentence, in conformity with which I would recommend the first and last groups of its second clause to be written, in an amended edition of the sacred text, *וּמָאתָ* and *קָנִיתִי [רָחֵל]*; and, deviating as little as possible from its Authorized English Translation, I would venture to render it as follows :—

"What day thou buyest the field of the hand of Naomi, thou must also speedily buy Ruth the Moabitess, the widow of the dead."

I would not annex to the expression, 'thou must also speedily buy,' the marginal note, 'Heb. *thou must also have bought*;' since, from the frequent occurrence of this form of compound tense, the margin would be too much overloaded with its explanation.

5. I have next to proceed to some cases of omission of the vocal *Yod* at the end of the form in question, where the want of it, according to the present mode of writing Hebrew, can be evinced by the context, by the united evidence of the oldest pair of versions among the ancient ones still extant, and even

by the admission of the Jews. In the original of the passage, "I know that thou canst *do* every *thing*,"—Job, xlii. 2,—the initial group, ידע, could, before the introduction of vowel-letters into the sacred text, have been read, either YaDaHTi, 'I know,' or YaDaHTa, 'thou knowest;' but afterwards, in consequence of the old vocalizers having, through oversight, failed to annex to it a *Yod*, it became restricted to the latter sense. Yet, in the first place, the former alone is suited to the tenor of Job's speech. Secondly, the group in question is translated in the Septuagint οἶδα, 'I know,' and in the Peshitah,—with a periphrasis to avoid the ambiguity of the corresponding inflexion of the Syriac language,—ܠܝ ܝܕܥܝ, 'knowing *am* I.' Thirdly, this group has been pointed by the Masorets for the reading YaDaHTi, 'I know,' with the little circular mark placed over it to indicate something wrong therein;—a mark which, according to my notation, is confined to cases of redundancy, while for the sake of distinctness those of defect are denoted in another way. Fully, then, agreeing with them in the justness of their correction, I would conform to it by inserting a *Yod* within brackets in the place where it is wanted; and, accordingly, would recommend the group just analyzed to be written [י]דע in an amended edition of the Hebrew text.

6. Let us turn to the following clause, in which Solomon is represented as speaking of the Temple he had just finished; "—the house which I have built for thy name."—1 Kings, viii. 48. In the Hebrew of this clause the verb is written בני, which, since the text was vocalized with letters, has been restricted to the reading BaNITha, 'thou hast built.' But, in the first place, the sense of the clause in connexion with the entire of Solomon's prayer obviously requires this verb to be inflected in the first person. Secondly, it is rendered in the Septuagint ὡκοδόμηκα, 'I have built,' and in the Peshitah, omitting the prefixed relative, ܒܢܝ,—the very same as the Hebrew group in letters, though not in pronunciation—which, indeed, might, considered by itself, signify 'I have built,' 'thou

hast built,' or 'she hath built,'<sup>a</sup> but is strictly confined to the first of these significations by the context. Thirdly, it is branded by the Masorets with their little circular mark of censure, and pointed so as to be read *BəNIṬhī*, 'I have built.' Their correction is perfectly just; and I only differ with them in the mode of expressing it. According to my notation the above group should be written, in an amended edition of the text, *בְּנִיתָּ*.

7. "For thus saith the Lord God, I will even deal with thee, as thou hast done, —"—Ezek. xvi. 59. In the Hebrew of this sentence the middle verb is *וַעֲשֵׂיתָ*, which, according to the present orthography of the sacred text, must be read *WeHəSIṬhə*, 'and thou shalt surely deal.' But, in the first place, this verb by being so inflected would make absolute nonsense of the passage. Secondly, it is translated in the Septuagint *καὶ ποιήσω*, 'and I will do;' and is paraphrased in the Peshitah *לִבְּעֵל*, 'about to do *am* I.' Thirdly, it has been marked by the Masorets with their little circle, and pointed by them so as to be read *WeHəSIṬhī*, 'and I will surely deal.' In this correction I fully concur with them, and would, accordingly, recommend the above group to be written, in an amended edition of the Hebrew text, *וַעֲשֵׂיתָּ*; where the last alteration alone relates to the present discussion; while the preceding ones are made in conformity to the rule that, in words now written with a *Shin*, but pronounced as if written with a *Samek*, the former letter should be rejected, and the latter restored. I have here only further to observe that, in this and the two preceding examples, the framers of our Au-

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<sup>a</sup> The Syriac group in question might for the last of the above three significations be written without a *Yod*; but as it can also be written for such meaning with this letter, it must, when so exhibited, be viewed, even up to the present day, as open in the abstract to all those significations;—a point upon which I dwell for the purpose of showing, that there is nothing incredible in the lesser ambiguity of a twofold sense, in an unconnected state, which I attribute to the corresponding Hebrew group in the original condition of the sacred text.



thorized Version adopted the Masoretic emendations of the sacred text; but they did so without acknowledging in the margin of their work the errors in the existing state of that text which were thus corrected. Candour, indeed, now no longer demands any such acknowledgment; as the errors in question have been traced to the fault of the old vocalizers, and are found to have no connexion with the inspired compositions as originally penned. It is, however, to be recollected, to the honour of the Masorets, that, although utterly unable to account for those blemishes, and as much distressed at their appearance in Scripture as any other sect of men could be, they yet never attempted to suppress what was known to them under this head, with regard to the existing state of the writing of the Hebrew Bible.

8. I shall now give an example of the same defective mode of exhibiting the Hebrew form in question, which escaped the observation of those critics:—"Preserve me, O God; for in thee do I put my trust. *O my soul*, thou hast said unto the LORD, Thou *art* my Lord."—Ps. xvi. 1, 2. The original of this extract from our Authorized Version is, in the present state of the Hebrew text, written as follows:—

שמרני אל; כי חסיתי בך. אמרת ליהוה, אדני אתה:—

The verb at the commencement of the second part of this line is addressed to some person (or thing figuratively viewed as a person) that is not expressly mentioned; and there is no limitation to the noun which is wanting, except that it should denote a believer in the true God, and that it should be in the singular number: it is not even confined to the feminine gender, as the punctuation employed by the Masorets would imply; for they pointed it for that gender without any necessity for doing so, and apparently for the mere purpose of making it agree with the supplementary word here introduced in the Chaldee Paraphrase of the Psalms, נַפְשִׁי, 'O my soul,' and which is the same, as well as of the same gender, in Hebrew also. This supplement makes sense, indeed, of the pas-

sage headed by it; but so would equally any one of an innumerable set of others; as, for instance, the Hebrew for 'O my son,' or 'O my friend,' or 'O my heart.' Surely, such an extreme degree of vagueness cannot be ascribed to the inspired author of the Psalm; but this vicious style is now removed from the original line, and traced to the giddiness of the old vocalizers, in failing to annex a *Yod* to the group **אמרת**. The verb, indeed, thereby denoted could up to their time have been read, without the aid of this adjunct, in the first person, as the tenor of the passage obviously requires that it should; but it afterwards became, in consequence of the non-insertion of the above vowel-letter in the specified site, restricted to the second person. From the cause of this corruption, once ascertained, we are directly led to its remedy; and the correction thus shown to be demanded by the context is also sustained by the concurrent attestations of the two versions that were written before the Hebrew text was vocalized. The above group, **אמרת**, in the adduced line is translated in the Septuagint *εἶπα*, 'I have said,' and in the Peshitah **ܐܡܪܬܝ**, 'I have said.' The Syriac group, which is exactly the same as the original one in letters, though not in the pronunciation of its vocal portion, is particularly deserving of attention; as it may even still, when considered by itself, be read either **HeMReTh**, 'I have said,' **HeMaRTh**, 'thou (masculine) hast said,' or **HeMRaTh**, 'she hath said.' There is, therefore, nothing incredible in the view I maintain respecting the very same group in Hebrew writing, that originally, when considered by itself, it was ambiguous, though not as much so as it is to this day in Syriac writing. But as there is no word of the sentence in reference to which the Syriac verb could be used in the second or third person, it is in consequence necessarily confined to the first; and so would the Hebrew one also, for part of the very same reason, if men had known that they had a choice open to them on the subject. This choice is now restored; and all that remains to be done is to write the analyzed group, in an amended edition of the sacred text, **אמרתִי** (or in any other way that

will serve to indicate the same correction, according to the mode of notation which may eventually be adopted), and to insert in the Authorized English Version for its translation the statement 'I have said,' instead of '*O my soul*, thou hast said.'

This example, I may here add, clearly shows that the Targum of the Psalms inserted in Walton's Polyglot, though of greater age than the Masoretic pointing, was not written till after the Hebrew text had been vocalized with letters. For the translation of אמרת therein given, מלילת, which is as ambiguous as the Syriac one, when considered by itself, is in the place referred to restricted to the second person by both parts of the supplement immediately following it, אנת נפשי, 'thou. O my soul;' but no one who examined the passage with any deliberation could have interpreted the original verb in this inflexion, if he had the power of taking it in the first person,—a mode of reading it which was put a stop to only through the oversight of the old vocalizers. Closer limitations, indeed, to the age of the Targum in question may be derived from other considerations; but as this one is suggested by the Chaldee interpretation of the passage which is the subject of the present discussion, I have thought it worth bringing here by the way under notice.

9. For one more instance of the former mode of mistreating the Hebrew form of inflexion in question—and that also one which the Masorets failed to correct—I request attention to a sentence in the blasphemous speech of Rabshakeh to the messengers of King Hezekiah, recorded in two different parts of Scripture, by lines which, in their existing state, are translated in our Authorized Version as follows:—

"Thou sayest (but *they are but* vain words), *I have* counsel and strength for the war."—2 Kings, xviii. 20.

"I say, sayest thou (but *they are but* vain words), *I have* counsel and strength for war."—Is. xxxvi. 5.

Even without any reference to the upper of these extracts, or to the original of either, the bare inspection of the lower one

is sufficient to show that there must be something wrong in it. For, if we omit the supplementary words, 'sayest thou,' the sentence conveys the admission of Rabshakeh that he was himself a liar, and had neither counsel nor strength for war ; —an admission utterly incompatible with the boasting tenor of all the rest of his speech. On the other hand, if we retain the above words, the lie is shifted to another individual, and Hezekiah turns out to be the person represented as destitute both of<sup>o</sup> counsel and strength for war ; by which means, indeed, the incoherency of the former construction is avoided, but the bearing of the passage is entirely changed,—an effect quite beyond the province of a supplement, the legitimate use of which is not to alter, but only to complete the sense of the rendering of whatever line of a translated work it may relate to. At the same time, it may be observed that the upper extract is not liable to either of these objections, from which circumstance, combined with the consideration that the originals of the two extracts must have been at first the same, we are naturally led to anticipate that the lower extract ought to be corrected so as to agree with the upper one, and, consequently, that the objectionable supplement in it should be omitted, and the inflexion of the verb at its commencement be changed from the first to the second person.

But to probe the subject more deeply, it is requisite to inspect the two original lines of the extracts just examined ; which, accordingly, are here laid before the reader in their existing state, with merely the exception of an error in their orthography corrected, by restoring in the margin of each a *Samek* instead of a *Shin*, in the case of a group containing at present the latter sibilant, but still pronounced with the power of the former one.

2 Kings, xviii. 20, אמרת, אך דבר שפתיים, עצה וגבורה      ס  
למלחמה

Is. xxxvi. 5, אמרת, אך דבר שפתיים, עצה וגבורה      ס  
למלחמה

The lower of these lines agrees in meaning with the lower of

the adduced English extracts, divested of its first supplement; and, consequently, is liable to the very same objection as that extract is, when so curtailed. The candour, indeed, and humility attributed to the speaker by this line, as at present vocalized, are entirely at variance with the general bearing of Rabshakeh's speech;—a fact which the framers of our Authorized Version have virtually acknowledged, by introducing into their translation of the passage a supplement which quite reverses the sense it conveys in its existing state. \* But suppose the *matres lectionis* to be a spurious addition to the writing of the sacred text, inserted therein after its original formation, by uninspired fallible scribes, and then we should have a right to dispense with their use whenever they might be found to interfere with the coherency of Scripture, by which means the whole difficulty of the particular case now under consideration would be at once removed. For, by rejecting the vocal *Yod* at the end of the initial group of the under line, it would be made to denote a verb inflected in the second person instead of the first, and the meaning of the whole line would be so altered as to come out perfectly in keeping with the rude and insulting tenor of the remainder of the barbarian orator's harangue. Thus, there would be effected by legitimate means a correction in the sense of the original line which was in vain attempted to be introduced into its translation by the framers of our version, through an exceedingly awkward and perplexing form of expression, and what is still worse, by the aid of a contrivance that was quite unwarranted. But the spuriousness of the specified *Yod*, which has been just derived from the context, is powerfully sustained and, I may even assert, confirmed by the authority of Scripture. For, upon turning to the upper line, we shall see that, although in other respects exactly identical with the lower one, it yet exhibits the initial group actually clear of the perturbing letter. It cannot be here urged that the evidence of Scripture on the subject is rendered void by incoherency, the meanings conveyed by the two lines being at variance with

each other. For this objection would be valid, only provided both lines were in their original state, which they are shown not to be by the very discrepance which now subsists between them : and when the bearing of each is examined with a view to ascertaining which of them has undergone corruption, the lower one is clearly found to be that whose testimony must be rejected. Notwithstanding, then, their present mutual opposition, the attestation of the upper line still continues with unabated force to sanction and confirm the inference above drawn from the context ; and the combination of both proofs establishes beyond a doubt the spuriousness of the *Yod* in question, as well as the complete identity of the compared lines, as originally written. This specimen of the class of examples which may be derived from parallel passages of Scripture serves to give some notion of their efficacy in upholding, not only the truth, but also the usefulness of my discovery : the class alluded to, indeed, affords so powerful a corroboration of my argument, that I would gladly devote more space to the discussion of cases which come under this head, if life and health should be allowed me sufficient for writing a supplementary volume to complete this treatise.

The proof already given of the spuriousness of the *Yod* in the lower of the compared lines is so strong, that I refer to the evidence of the Septuagint and Peshitah on the subject, not so much for the purpose of making any addition to the strength of that proof, as for the sake of some hints thus supplied for the correction of the Authorized English Translations of those lines. The Greek and Syriac renderings of the same lines are here adduced, with their literal interpretations subjoined to them respectively :—

2 Kings, xviii. 20, Εἰπας, πλὴν λόγοι χειλέων, βουλὴ καὶ δύναμις εἰς πόλεμον.

‘Thou sayest—but *they are* deceitful words [literally, words of lips]—that *thou hast* counsel and strength for war.’

Isaiah, xxxvi. 5, Μὴ ἐν βουλῇ καὶ λόγοις χειλέων παράταξις  
γίνεται ;—

‘ Whether is war carried on by [literally, does ma-  
nagement of war consist in] *merely* counsel and  
deceitful words [literally words of lips]?’

2 Kings, xviii. 20, } אַל־כֹּחַ אֶל־חֵמָה אֶל־מַלְּחָמָה אֶל־כֹּחַ אֶל־כֹּחַ  
and Is. xxxvi. 5, } וְלֹא־כֹחַ אֶל־חֵמָה אֶל־מַלְּחָמָה אֶל־כֹּחַ אֶל־כֹּחַ

‘ And thou sayest that thou hast [literally, that  
there are in thee] deceitful speech [literally,  
speech of lips] and counsel and strength for war  
[or for the war].’

The upper Greek translation most rigidly agrees in sense with the upper Hebrew line, and so vouches for the genuineness of the meaning conveyed by that line in its present state ; but the lower Greek translation manifestly betrays corruption, and besides exhibits no rendering whatever of the initial group of the corresponding Hebrew line. The evidence, therefore, of the Septuagint, on the main point under discussion, must be deemed lost, unless we be allowed, in consequence of the obvious corruption of the lower Greek passage, to transfer the upper one to the interpretation of the lower Hebrew line, on the ground of the original identity of both Hebrew lines. The Syriac translation is less accurate than the upper Greek one, in consequence, as it would appear, of the want of the adversative particle **וְ** in both lines of the Hebrew copy consulted by the framers of the Peshitah ; but on the main point, that the initial group of the lower, as well as the upper line, should be rendered as a verb in the second person, it is unequivocally correct. For the form of inflexion therein used for the purpose not only admits of being read in the second person, but also, notwithstanding its capability of other readings when taken in an unconnected state, is strictly confined to this one by the context of the place before us, as has been already explained in the instance of the occurrence of the very same Syriac group in another place. The evidence here given by

the Peshitah is also valuable on another account ; for, by exhibiting precisely the same rendering of the two Hebrew lines, it clearly attests the identity of those lines, or, at any rate, that of the sense conveyed by them, down to the period when this version was written.

To turn now to the correction of the Authorized English translations of the compared lines,—the verb represented by the initial group of each line is, in strictness, confined to the preterite tense, or one compounded of the preterite and present, equivalent to that employed in the English expression, ‘thou hast read ;’ but still, the rendering of this group by the Seventy in the upper line (in the case of which alone, of the two, their translation of it has been preserved) by a Greek verb in the form of a past tense (*εἶπας*), which yet is used to denote the present, justifies, I conceive, the framers of the English Version in their construction of the initial verb of both Hebrew lines in the latter tense. The next point I have to notice in their translation of each line is their putting the term ‘word’ in the plural number, in conformity, indeed, with both the Greek renderings of its Hebrew original, but in direct opposition to that original, as at present read in both Hebrew lines. It is quite true, as is shown by my discovery, that the original group, **דבר** in the construct state, could, before the introduction of vowel-letters into the writing of the Hebrew Bible, have been read either in the singular number *DeBaR*, ‘word of,’ or *DiBRē*, ‘words of ;’ and the strict accuracy of construction which was constantly observed by the Seventy proves that they must have here read it in the latter way. But this group could not be so read at present, without subjoining to it a *Yod*, or exhibiting it according to my notation in the form [י] **דבר**,—an alteration that is not at all requisite, as the sense is just as good which is supplied by the other mode of reading it. I should, therefore, prefer construing the above group in the singular number, in order to avoid introducing into the sacred text a correction in itself unnecessary, and which is wanted solely through an inversion of the natural mode of proceeding,



to justify the existing English translation of the noun referred to in each of the specified places of its occurrence. The last point to which I shall here advert is the manner in which the framers of our Version dealt with the final group of the two Hebrew lines, they having rendered it 'for the war' in the upper line, and 'for war' in the lower one. On the contrary, the Masorets consistently pointed this group so as to be read with the definite article in both lines, and the Seventy, with equal consistency, read it so as to be translated without that article in either line. Each of the latter modes of treating the group in question makes good sense; but, as far as authority is to be consulted on the subject, the Greek rendering of it is entitled to far greater weight than its Masoretic pointing, as having been framed so much nearer to the time when the Hebrew of the Bible was a living language: and, at any rate, whichever construction of it be adopted in the one line, ought in consistency to be adhered to likewise in the other. In fine, I would recommend the censurable group at the commencement of the lower line to be written, in an amended edition of the sacred text, <sup>א</sup>אמרת; and I would translate the compared lines exactly the same way, thus:—

"Thou sayest,—but *it is* a false assertion,<sup>a</sup>—  
*that thou hast* counsel and strength for  
 war."

<sup>a</sup> Heb. *a word of lips.*

Before closing the argument I have derived from the structure of the sacred language, I take this opportunity of stating, with respect to one of the examples, Judg. xi. 34, therein adduced, which is discussed in pages 280–4, that, without in the least altering the use made of it to illustrate the occasional employment of an epenthetic *Nun* before the pronominal affix *He*, I find upon consideration its rendering in the body of the Authorized English Version preferable to either of those proposed by me. For that rendering, I apprehend, can be maintained on a supposition which has but lately occurred to me,

that the group לְבַד was originally placed, and so may now be restored, or at least understood, before מִמֶּנָּה in the Hebrew clause:—a supposition which appears far less objectionable than the two required to the support of each of my translations: namely, 1st, that there is no expression in the original passage for the important part of its meaning conveyed by the words ‘besides her,’ or ‘other child,’ in consequence of which those words are represented in my constructions of the sentence as merely supplemental; and 2ndly, that the group מִמֶּנָּה, or מִמֶּנּוּ, was passed over without any interpretation by such close translators as the Seventy Jews and the framers of the Peshitah. Both of the latter suppositions are got rid of by means of that first mentioned; as, on the adoption thereof, the Greek ἑτέρος would cease to be supplemental, and become a correct paraphrase of the original words לְבַד מִמֶּנָּה, LeBaD MiMmeNnaH, ‘besides her,’ and the Syriac ܠܒܕ ܡܢܐ, LeBaR MeNaH, would not only be the exact literal rendering of the Hebrew expression, but would consist of the very same combination of words, subjected to no other alterations than such as are caused by mere difference of dialect; so that the Syriac version attests the original existence of the group לְבַד in the site referred to with nearly the force of an edition of the Hebrew text. In favour of the first-mentioned supposition, it may also be observed, that in another part of the same book,—in Judg. viii. 26,—the very same compound, לְבַד מִן, is employed to denote the preposition ‘besides;’ to which I have to add that the context demands the restoration of the omitted ingredient of this compound in the place before us, in order to prevent a great deficiency in the expression of an essential part of the meaning of the clause under examination. The only serious objection, indeed, to the hypothesis here adduced in support of the authorized construction of this clause, is, that it would require the restoration within brackets of the group לְבַד before מִמֶּנָּה in an amended edition of the sacred text, without the authority for this correction of any extant Hebrew manuscript. But perhaps the end in view might be suffi-

ciently attained to in a less objectionable manner, by leaving a small chasm in the amended text immediately before **ממנה**, and inserting opposite thereto in the margin 'לבר', quod in Peshitah vertitur **ל**, in which way the requisite correction would be suggested and the authority for it given. By this arrangement the rendering of the analyzed sentence in the body of our Authorized Version can, as I conceive, be defended, and may be adhered to even in the particular of exhibiting the expression 'besides her,' in the ordinary character instead of italics; since only part of one of its ingredients, and not an entire word, is left without an express sign for it in the present state of the Hebrew text. In fine, I have to remark an awkwardness in the mode of dealing with the original of this expression in our Authorized Version, that the construction of it given in the body of that Version relates to **ממנה**, while those in the margin are referred to **ממנו**, which our translators must have looked upon as quite distinct from the former group; whereas, if I mistake not, the only latitude allowed to them as interpreters was to adduce different significations in the body of their work and in its margin of respectively the same original groups. This difficulty, however, is removed by the present discovery, which shows **ממנה** to have been the original form of **ממנו**; so that even if there was no copy now extant with the group under examination in the place in question written **ממנה**, still a translator would be justified in dealing with it as if it was so written in every copy. But as the case turns out, this group is found in the site referred to preserved in its original form in two of the copies consulted by Kennicott, which have been numbered by him 300 and 683. Another consequence of the same discovery is, that it saves the necessity of inquiring into the bearings of the analyzed clause resulting from the **ממנו** form of one of its groups; as that form is now ascertained to be due, not to the inspired authors who composed, but to fallible scribes who subsequently vocalized, the sacred text.

## CHAPTER VI.

CORROBORATION OF FOREGOING ARGUMENT DERIVED FROM  
A FOREIGN SOURCE.

RESULT OF INQUIRIES OF GESENIUS ABOUT PHŒNICIAN VOWEL-LETTERS—SOME REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING EXTRACT FROM THE WORK OF GESENIUS—EXAMINATION OF THE PRINCIPAL INSCRIPTION IN HIS COLLECTION—GENERAL LIMITATIONS OF AGE TO TWO KINDS OF PHŒNICIAN TITULI—NO MATRES LECTIONIS EARLIER INSERTED IN SHEMAITIC WRITING—ANALYSIS OF THE EPIGRAPH AND AGE OF A CILICIAN COIN—MY VIEWS NO WAY INCONSISTENT WITH RECENT DISCOVERIES—ANALYSIS OF THREE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN ATTICA—EXPOSURE OF OUR AUTHOR'S FUNDAMENTAL ERROR IN ACCOUNTING *HE* A MATER LECTIONIS—ANALYSIS CONCLUDED OF THE THREE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTIONS—INVENTION OF VOWEL-SIGNS DUE TO GRECIAN SAGACITY—NATURE OF THE PROCESS THROUGH WHICH THIS INVENTION WAS ARRIVED AT—WHY THE CREDIT OF THIS INVENTION WAS NOT CLAIMED BY THE GREEKS.

THE extant remains of ancient Phœnician inscriptions which were collected by Gesenius, in a Latin treatise on the subject published by him at Leipsic, in the year 1837, powerfully support my view of the total absence of vowel-signs of every kind from the earlier stages of Shemitic writing. For, exclusively of the consideration that those remains contain no marks whatever for vowels distinct from letters, they, in the first place, exhibit in general a much smaller proportion of *mâtres lectionis* than that pervading the lines of the Hebrew Bible; and, by thus establishing the fact of a variability in the rate of use made of those letters in different records, afford fair ground for the expectation that, if any could be got sufficiently old, or written by persons sufficiently remote from intercourse with nations enjoying the benefit of an alphabet of a superior description, they would present to us specimens of this writing as completely destitute of vowel-letters as all of them are of vocal-signs of every other kind. In the second

place, they actually do lay before us such specimens,—some of them obviously thus circumstanced, and others which will be clearly found to be so, upon correcting, by means of my discovery, errors into which our author was led, partly through the want of this assistance. But, as an introduction to the discussion of this point, I shall commence with quoting a preliminary section of this treatise, in which he gives a summary account of the result of his researches in this branch of his general subject of investigation.

## § 40.

*“De defectiva scribendi ratione apud Phoenices usitata.”<sup>a</sup>*

“Signorum vocalium (quorum inventio recentioris quam ipsa novissima monumenta phoenicia aetatis esse videtur) usum quomodo a Phoenicibus expectes, qui ne eo quidem vocalium indicandorum subsidio, quod in litteris quiescentibus ׀ et ׀ habebant Hebraei sine punctis scribentes, uti solebant, quam paucissime certe utebantur, et litteraturam habebant meris consonantibus constantem? Qui quidem locus quamvis ad grammaticae partem orthographicam pertinere videatur, tamen iam hoc loco mihi tractandus videtur, ut quaecunque ad Phoenicia recte legenda faciant, hoc capite comprehendamus: praesertim quum in hac litterarum quiescentium omissione praecipua quaedam ambiguitatis causa et haud minimum Phoenicia recte legendi impedimentum situm sit.

“Sed agite, iam de singulis litteris אררי seorsum videamus.

“1. Ac primum *Aleph* in mediis vocibus omittitur, ubicunque illud quiescit; servatur, ubicunque mobile est et consonam agit. Ita constanter omittitur in רשׁ, pro ראשׁ, *caput*; ברי, n. pr., pro

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<sup>a</sup> In the above extract I have got the Hebrew letters printed exactly in the same way as in the original work, without distinguishing the *matres lectionis* by exhibiting them in an open type; nor have I, as far as I am aware, deviated in any respect from that original, except in removing such of the contractions of words as might possibly confuse a reader not accustomed to the author's style.

בְּאֵרִי, *fontanus* (confer in V. T. רָמִים, pro רֵאמִים, Ps. xxii. 22; רִשִׁית, pro רֵאשִׁית, Deut. xi. 12): sed ponitur in בְּאֵר, *fons* (hebr. בְּאֵר, confer את בְּאֵר in numis Syracusanis); in מֵאֵת (מֵאֵת) *centum*; תֵּאֵם (תֵּאֵם) *gemellus*, n. pr.; תֵּאֵר (תֵּאֵר) *species*. Semel poni videtur ad vocalem graecam *A* exprimendam in לֵאדְכָּא *Laodicea*, sed hoc potius pronunciandum לֵאדְכָּא *Lodica*, quanquam etiam Arabes scribunt لاذقية. Singulare quoddam exemplum est בְּחַאִי, in *vita mea*, Citiensi tertia, lin. 1, ubi א adeo pro *A* brevi ponitur, quod vix admittendum esse censeretur, nisi scriptura ibi ita esset perspicua, ut mutare quicquam religio fuerit.

“*In fine* א quiescens apud Phoenices paullo usitatius est quam apud Hebraeos, et etiam pro ה fem. gen. ponitur (confer No. 4).

“2. *Vav* praeter unicum quoddam exemplum constanter omittitur, ubicunque quiescit :

“a. in *mediis vocabulis*, ut אֵלִים *aeternitas*, אֵדֶן *pax*, אֵדֶן *dominus*, אֵדֶן *is*, אֵדֶן *Sidon*, אֵדֶן *locus*, אֵדֶן *voces*, אֵדֶן *patres*, אֵדֶן *Nahumus*, אֵדֶן *regnum*, אֵדֶן *spiritus*, ne eius generis exempla memorem, in quibus etiam Hebraei ו saepe omittunt, ut אֵדֶן *scriba*, אֵדֶן *figulus*, אֵדֶן *iudex*, אֵדֶן *sufes*.

“b. in *extremis*, אֵדֶן (pro אֵדֶן) *domino nostro*, in Melitensi prima, lin. 1; אֵדֶן *imperium nostrum*, in Sardica, lin. 5, 6, et numis Iubae maioris B. C.; אֵדֶן (pro אֵדֶן) *quum intrasset*, Tuggensi, lin. 5. Unicum illud exemplum est n. pr. אֵדֶן (אֵדֶן vir Baalis), Numidica septima, lin. 2.

“3. *Jod* servatur, ubicunque mobile est, et propterea etiam in suffixo י, ut hac quoque re refellantur, qui veras dipthongos Hebraeis tribuunt. Sic אֵדֶן (אֵדֶן) in *vita mea*, Citiensi

\* Whoever has read carefully the third chapter of this essay must, I think, be greatly struck with the appearance of the above group. For my own part, I cannot express the gratification I felt, when this form of the pronoun of the third person singular was first presented to my view.

<sup>b</sup> The above capitals serve to distinguish the coins referred to, among those of the elder Juba of which drawings are exhibited in one of the plates attached to the treatise of Gesenius.

secunda, lin. 2; דְּבָרַי (*verba mea*, Melitensi tertia, lin. 6. Confer etiam חִילָא (*more arameo*), Citiensi octava, lin. 3.

“Praeterea ad Jod mobile quodammodo referri potest י־ terminatio gentilicorum et patronymicorum (arab. <sup>ع</sup>ـي), in feminino יָה־, apud Phoenices propterea constanter plene scripta, ut צִדְנִי *Sidonius*, Atheniensi prima, lin. 2; כְּתִי *Citiensis*, Atheniensi secunda, lin. 2; חְתִי idem, Citiensi tricesima tertia, lin. 5; לִכְמִי *Sardica*, lin. 8; לִבִּי *Libys*, Numidica quinta, lin. 2; רִמִּי *Romanus*, ibidem (dubium est עֶרֶב pro עֲרָבִי *Arabs*, Citiensi duodecima, lin. 2); et eodem modo iudicandum אִי *insula* in אִי בָנָם (*insula filiorum*), עִי *ruina*, quae arabice scribebantur عֵי, عֵי, ut עֵי.

“Ubi Jod quiescit, sive î pronuntiandum sive ê (י־), vulgo omittitur, sed non eadem constantia atque Vav.

“a. in *mediis vocibus* omittitur, videndi causa צִדֹן (*צִידֹן*) *Sidon*; נָגִיד (*נָגִיד*) *princeps* Sardorum; אִשׁ (*אִשׁ*) *vir* persaepe (pro אִישׁ); תַּנִּית (*Tanith*, Tanaïtis;<sup>a</sup> בֵּית (*בֵּית*) *domus* in statu constructo;<sup>b</sup> praecipue in plurali masculino חִים (*חִים*) *vita*; עֲבֻדָּסָם (*cultor equorum*) n. pr.; צִדְנִי (*Sidonii*; אִי בָנָם (*insula filiorum*) Cossyra; כְּתִי *Citii*; שַׂרְדִּי *Sardi*; et ubi Hebraei Jod compaginis inserunt, quod Phoenices etiam pronuntiando exprimunt, ut הַנִּבְעֵל *Hannibal*. Contra reperiuntur exempla, in quibus Jod quiescens scriptum extat, neque solum in deterioris aetatis monumentis, v. c. אֶחֱיָק (*sinus*, Erycina, lin. 4; שְׁמִיר *adamas*, Tuggensi, lin. 6; בְּרִיאַת, n. pr. Tripolitana secunda, lin. 4; בִּילַת in numis Sigensibus; sed etiam in antiquo quodam, velut עֵן

<sup>a</sup> Tanaiitis, that is, an Amazon, or a female inhabiting the banks of the river Tanais, where the Amazons formerly lived. תַּנִּית, *Tanith*, is shown by our author to be the proper name of the Persian Diana, in page 116 of his treatise.

<sup>b</sup> The above example confirms the justness of the representation given in pages 427–8 of the present essay, respecting the original mode of writing this word in the singular construct state, which I derived from the manner in which it is even yet exhibited for the plural number.





יִסְדָּה, Citiensi vicesima tertia, lin. 3. Eodem modo ה־ sub finem vocabulorum omissum, velut in מִרְפָּה pro מִרְפָּה remissio, Melitensi secunda, lin. 3; adeoque ה־ mobile in א mutatum, vide כֻּלָּה pro כֻּלָּה omnis ea, Citiensi secunda, lin. 2.

“Ex his autem, quae modo exposuimus, facile intelligent docti harum rerum arbitri, quomodo in utramque partem in hoc argumento diiudicando peccatum sit ab O. G. Tychsenio et Koppio. Ille enim, etsi in universum veram de hac re sententiam tenens, in eo tamen erravit, quod litteras ו et ן in Phoeniciis unquam vocales esse negans, propterea scripturam phoeniciam syllabarium esse affirmavit, quae appellatio huic scripturae plane inepta est : quanquam non dixit Tychsenius, quod ei tribuit adversarius, omnes et singulas litteras veri nominis syllabas fuisse. Sed magis etiam peccavit Koppius, qui adversarium subsannans ad eum refutandum suamque sententiam tuendam talia profert exempla, quæ ne tironi quidem ignoscas, veluti בעלתו, מרתע, בעלמלך, ex quibus appareat veteres Phoenices litteris vocalibus usos esse. Scilicet talis erat Ain !”<sup>a</sup>

Gesenius, at the beginning of this extract, discards all consideration of vowel-points, as of later origin than the very latest of the extant Phœnician inscriptions. But he ought for the same reason to have abstained from any reference to Arabic writing ; since the Arabians did not, according to the admission of their own historians, as quoted by Pocock, begin to make use of letters till less than a century before the Hegira ;<sup>b</sup> nor do they date the introduction of the character now employed by them, earlier than three centuries after that epoch, that is, not sooner than about the commencement of the tenth century of our era. I shall now proceed to a more particular consideration of the several paragraphs of this extract.

<sup>a</sup> “ *Scripturae Linguaeque Phoeniciae Monum. quotquot supersunt,*” pp. 56-9.

<sup>b</sup> Upon the above point some observations will be found in the first volume of the second part of my work on the “ *Ancient Orthography of the Jews,*” pp. 154-7.

1. After stating that in the inscriptions examined by him the *Haleph* is not to be met used as a vowel-letter in the middle of words, or anywhere but at their end, he adduces six exceptions, of which, I submit, the last alone can be justly considered as one. For, even if we were for a moment to assent to the fiction of the Hebrew grammarians, that a letter pointed with a *Shewa* denotes, not a syllable by itself, but merely part of an adjoining syllable, still, this concession would not make out a monosyllable of the group  $\text{תֵּאֵר}$ , which contains one of his examples. This group then, at all events, represents two syllables, and, consequently, the *Haleph* therein must be read as a consonant, to prevent the anomaly of the second syllable beginning with a vowel. But, in reality, the same reasoning is equally applicable to the other four cases referred to : in each of them, indeed, the sound of the letter pointed with a *Shewa* is very imperfect, but still it has a syllabic value, and should be treated accordingly in analyzing its nature. The words, then, containing five of his exceptions should, according to his own pointing, be exhibited through my notation B'ĤaR, M'ĤaTh, T'ĤoM, ToĤaR, L'ĤoD'KE,<sup>a</sup> respectively, in each of the first four of which the *Haleph*, and in the fifth the first *Haleph*, performs the service, not of a vowel-letter, but of a consonant. In the group containing his sixth exception,  $\text{בְּחַיִּי}$ , B'KhAYyaI, the *Haleph* is really used in the way he states, as a vowel-letter ; but he need not have felt any surprise at its being employed in this instance to denote a close or short *A* (*pattakh*), since

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<sup>a</sup> In the above examples I have, contrary to my usual practice, represented the imperfect vowel *Shewa* by an apostrophe, for the purpose of placing in the light most favourable to our author's view of the subject the nature of the syllables therewith vocalized. Those syllables, I grant, are lost to the ear in rapid enunciation, whereby the first three of the words whose pronunciation is above given become scarcely distinguishable from monosyllables. But, in order to examine their sounds accurately, we must consider the component parts of those sounds separately ; and then we cannot get the second part to commence regularly with a consonantal power, unless the *Haleph* be treated as a consonant.

he might have observed it, in many others, used in the sacred text with a phonetic value still further from that of the open or long *A*. Thus, for example, in the proper name נבֿוֹכַדְנֶצַּר which occurs several times in the Hebrew Bible, the Masorets have constantly substituted, for the *Haleph* they have therein silenced, their close or short *E* (*segol*). It would indeed have been really surprising if nations who employed only three letters to denote all the vowels could have made any nice distinction between open, or long, and close or short ones. They appear to have in general confined their vowel-signs to the former class of sounds, merely on account of the latter class having less caught their attention.

2. Though our author above specifies a group containing a vocal *Waw* in the examined inscriptions, he subsequently in an appendix read it in another way, 'מתנבעל, Mattanbaal, i.e. donum Baalis (page 449);' and thus he revoked the only instance previously allowed by him of a *Waw* employed in those inscriptions as a vowel-letter.

3. He was quite right in assigning to the *Yod* at the end of national or patronymic names a consonantal power; but, in his eagerness to underrate the antiquity of the Hebrew orthographic system, by representing it as dependent on (and consequently posterior to) that of the Arabians,<sup>a</sup> he was led

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<sup>a</sup> Gesenius, in the Genealogical Table (given in the sixty-fourth page of his treatise) of the several alphabets descended from the primitive Shemitic one, derives the *Nischi*, or modern Arabic character, from the *Cufic*, and that from the *Estrangel* or *Nestorian*, and that again from the *Palmyrene*, which cannot be traced farther back than the second century. This view of the pedigree of the *Cufic*, or the oldest character that is known to have been employed by the Arabians, accords with the express testimony of their best historians (quoted from Pocock in the third chapter of the second part of my work on the "Ancient Orthography of the Jews") that they did not begin to make use of any alphabet till shortly before the Hegira, or about the end of the sixth century of our era. It is, however, supposed by many, upon no valid ground, and in direct opposition to this testimony, that the Himyarites, or principal tribe of the Arabians, employed alphabetic writing at a far earlier period; and our author, to give plausibility to this assumption, ascribes to the nation at large

to rest this determination on a ground that is utterly untenable. For, granting that a *Yod* at the end of such names is now pronounced by Arabic readers in solemn recitation (according to the notation  $\text{ي}$ —he applies to this case) *iyyon*, and so with a phonetic value which includes that of *I* consonant, surely this is no reason for its having had in the specified class of words the same power in ancient Hebrew, unless the same mode of recitation prevailed among the Jews of old ;—a supposition for which there is not the slightest authority, but which, notwithstanding, he, without venturing expressly to vouch for, certainly insinuates ; as, otherwise, his Arabic illustration would have no bearing on the point referred to. How he could reconcile this insinuation with the authority of the Masoretic pointing, for which he was a strong advocate, and which attaches to the *Yod* in the sites in question, not at all the sound *iyyon*, but barely that of the vowel *I*, it would, I suspect, be rather difficult to explain. The true ground, however, for determining the nature of the phonetic value of this letter at the end of gentile or patronymic names is supplied by the Greek transcriptions of those names in the Septuagint,—an authority on the subject which is immeasurably higher than that of the Masoretic pointing, and which constantly represents the sound under inquiry by the diphthong *ai*, the combining of whose elements, in such a manner as not

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the use of the *Himyaritic*, or *Homeritic* system, which he styles “*Scriptura vetus arabica*.” But as this writing closely resembles the Ethiopic, to the commencement of the extant form of which he does not assign an earlier date than the fourth century, he stoutly asserts it to be the parent (though Silvestre de Sacy thought it an offspring) of the latter species ; by which means he endeavoured to get rid of a limit to its age that would not have suited his purpose. Thus availing himself of the uncertainty that prevails with regard to the *Himyaritic* character, he, by the appropriation he made of it, attempted to establish an indefinite antiquity for Arabic writing. His own ignorance of the *Himyaritic* or *Homeritic* alphabet is virtually acknowledged in the following part of his reference to it:—“Cuius accuratior notitia tum alias ab causas tum ad aethiopicae litteraturae origines plenius enodandas magnopere optanda est.”—*Scripturae Linguaeque Phoeniciae Monum.*, p. 85.

to alter the first, has the effect upon the second of imparting to it a consonantal value. Thus רמי, a Roman, would be pronounced, according to the later mode of reading which still holds, RoMI, but according to the far older one of the Seventy Jews, RoMaY. There are, moreover, some instances, one of which shall be presently noticed, wherein Gesenius mistakes quite a different letter for a *Yod*, and in which his inferences from this mistake must of course be rejected.

4. I have already proved that a final *He* was at first sometimes used to indicate that the preceding letter denoted a syllable by itself, instead of being joined with the antepenultimate letter to represent one ; and that, after men had arrived at distinct notions of the component parts of syllables, it then served to point out that some vowel or other was to be uttered after the preceding letter, without, however, indicating, directly or indirectly, what vowel in particular that one was : so that it cannot at all be deemed a vowel-letter in the modern sense of the term.<sup>a</sup> But I do not charge our author with ignorance, on account of his having failed to detect this fact, nor would I venture to hold him up to ridicule on this account, in like manner as he ridiculed Koppius for supposing that *Hayin* was at times used as a mater lectionis. Jerome, misled by his rabbinical teachers, assigned to both ם and ץ the occasional service of denoting vowels ; and, on his authority, this service has since continued to be attributed to each of them by many Hebraists. I am glad to find one of those errors discarded by so distinguished a Hebrew grammarian as Gesenius ; and I trust that the other will soon become equally exploded.

At the close of the above extract, while condemning, as has been just stated, Koppius for assigning to the Phœnician writing a greater number of vowel-letters than really belong to

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<sup>a</sup> The grounds on which Gesenius endeavoured to establish the occasional employment of *He*, in Shemitic writing, as a mater lectionis, will be examined in a subsequent part of this chapter.

it, he, on the other hand, finds fault with O. G. Tychsenius for the opposite error of denying all vowel-signs whatever to this writing, and maintaining it to be syllabic;—a designation of its nature which he pronounces to be ‘plane inepta.’ This termination of his critique is, I submit, too severe : undoubtedly, Tychsenius was mistaken, if he held, without any qualification, the opinion here attributed to him ; but there was nothing silly or incongruous in his calling a certain species of alphabetic writing syllabic, upon the supposition of its having been utterly devoid of vowel-signs ; on the contrary, the former of these properties of such writing appears to follow from the latter as a necessary consequence. For vowel-signs are too useful an ingredient of alphabetic writing to have been ever voluntarily dispensed with, except perhaps in the particular instance of statements expressed with designed obscurity. Men, therefore, failing to insert any such signs in their ordinary writing, could have formed no clear notion of vowels as distinct from syllables, or consequently, *a fortiori*, of consonants,—a class of letters whose phonetic values are conceived with much more difficulty. They, therefore, could not have decomposed their words farther than syllables ; of which they must in consequence have employed their letters as signs. It is true that, when they united two such signs to denote a compound syllable, they must have virtually used the second as a consonant ; but this circumstance did not of necessity prevent them from looking on the character in the light in which they had been habituated to view it, as the sign of an entire syllable : and, from the same force of habit, they may be conceived to have continued to employ the elements of their own writing in the way to which they had been accustomed, even for some time after they had learned to decompose syllables into consonants and vowels in other kinds of writing. But—to return to the last paragraph of the foregoing extract—both Gesenius, and, as far as I can judge from his account of the matter, the other two authors, appear to have laboured all of them under a common error, that of taking for granted that the extant

Phœnician inscriptions exhibit a permanent system of Shemitic orthography ; whereas they in reality present to us this kind of writing only in a state of transition and vocalized with different degrees of imperfection, the several specimens being more thinly supplied with vowel-letters according as they were written at remoter dates, or in places farther removed from Grecian intercourse.

It now remains to be inquired, whether any of the adduced inscriptions exhibit the writing in question of such a nature as Tychsenius described it to be in all of them, that is, wholly destitute of vowel-signs, and, therefore, according to both his and my view of the subject, consisting of letters invested with syllabic values. But, for the purpose of making this inquiry, I need go no further than the very first specimen of the entire collection, one of those found in Malta, and that one twice insculped, namely, on the pedestal of each of two large marble candelabra which were, as it informs us, a votive offering to a Phœnician deity. Respecting this specimen, Gesenius, in stating his reason for placing it the first, expresses himself in the following terms :—"titulis Melitensibus iccirco primum in sylloge nostra locum assignavi, quod primus (No. 1) omnium qui supersunt nitidissimus est atque elegantissime scriptus et certissimae explicationis, a quo horum monumentorum studium apte exordiri possis."—*Scripturae Linguaeque Phœniciae Monumenta*, p. 92. As to the great elegance of the writing in this titulus, I confess I have not enough of antiquarian taste to be able to perceive it ; but the characters are so plainly drawn, and in such a high state of preservation, that they can be easily distinguished from each other ;<sup>a</sup>—a merit which renders the lines composed of them a fitter as well as a more

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<sup>a</sup> In the copy of the inscription above referred to, which is given at the top of Plate I., the letters of *L* and *N* powers are, I admit, scarcely distinguishable ; but on comparing them with a little attention, this difference will be found, that the long line of the former letter stretches upwards, and that of the latter downwards.





No. 1.

MALTESE INSCRIPTION.

9954 ቶላሪና 9954 ሲሆን ለሰላም  
 9954 ቶላሪና 9954 ሲሆን ለሰላም  
 09954 ቶላሪና 9954 ሲሆን ለሰላም  
 9954 ቶላሪና 9954 ሲሆን ለሰላም

No. 2.

PHŒNICIAN ALPHABET.

Hebrew  
Letters.

*The earlier Forms of the Letters.*

*The later and the Numidian Form<sup>8</sup>.*

𠄎 𠄏 𠄐 𠄑 𠄒 𠄓 𠄔 𠄕

x x x

ב. ה. ה. ה. ה. ה. ה.

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7 A 9 9 9 9 4

7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7

1 7 7 7 1 7

1 2 2 1

က အာ ခါ ခါ ခါ ခါ ခါ ခါ ခါ






[illegible]

5 4 3 2 1 4 3 2 1

4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4

ॐ ह्रीं श्रीं क्लीं ॐ ह्रीं श्रीं क्लीं ॐ ह्रीं श्रीं क्लीं

ב ז ח ט י י"א י"ב י"ג י"ד י"ה י"ו י"ז י"ח י"ט

○ 々 々 々 々 々

у о о о о о о о

פ ר נ

3 12 12 12 12 12 12

$\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{9}, \frac{1}{16}, \frac{1}{25}, \frac{1}{36}$

W H Y L I U E W W V

ת ז ח ט י יא יב יג יד

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5 2 1 9

$\gamma$   $\gamma$   $\gamma$   $\gamma$

agreeable subject of examination. Those lines, indeed, are probably not quite of the age fixed on by Gesenius, who held them to have been written in the course of the third century before the commencement of the Christian era, but still, they must be very old ; and, consequently, there is a fair prospect of their proving upon trial to be such as we are in search of. In Plate I., here introduced, this part of the whole bilingual dedication, placed over our author's list of Phœnician letters, is exhibited on a reduced scale ; and a copy of the Grecian part is added in No. 1 of Plate II. opposite to page 511,<sup>a</sup> although its elements differ so little from the Greek capitals of the present day, that I should have considered it sufficient to get them printed in the ordinary form, but that a more exact delineation of them is requisite, in consequence of my deducing from their shapes a major limit to the age of the entire compound legend. Gesenius has deciphered and grouped the Phœnician characters, and then interpreted them, as follows :—

לאדנן למלקרת בעל צר : אש נדר  
 עבדך עבדאסר ואחי אסרשמר  
 שן בן אסרשמר בן עבדאסר : כשמע  
 קלם יברכם

*Domino nostro Melcarto, domino Tyri. Vir vovens (est)  
 servus tuus (i. e. sum ego) Abd-Osir cum fratre meo Osirschamar,  
 ambo filii Osirshamari, filii Abdosiri. Ubi audiverit  
 vocem eorum, benedicat iis*

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<sup>a</sup>The Greek lines, insculped immediately under the Phœnician ones on a side of the pedestal of each candelabrum, may be literally thus rendered :—

*Dionysius and Sarapion, the  
 sons of Sarapion, Tyrians,  
 to Hercules, founder of cities.*

As these lines do not touch upon the difficulty with which I have to grapple, I shall confine myself to a very short notice of their contents. The difference between the names in one of the inscriptions, and those arrived at by deciphering the other, is accounted for by a practice which formerly prevailed, on occa-

In the representation here given in modern Hebrew characters of the phonetic values of the several elements of the Phœnician inscription, one of them is exhibited as a vowel-letter, namely, that corresponding to the *Yod* at the end of the group ידא in the second line. But when the reader, with a view to inquiring into the correctness of this decipherment, takes the initiatory step of examining its effect upon the adduced interpretation, he must, I think, be struck with the extreme awkwardness, amounting even to incoherency, which this interpretation betrays in speaking of Abdosir, at the commencement of the passage which follows the dedication, in the third person, through the description applied to him, ‘est servus tuus [O Melcarte],’ then abruptly in the first person, through the possessive pronoun ‘meo,’ and then again with equal abruptness, of him and his brother, at the conclusion of a sen-

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sion of giving a Grecian designation to a foreign god or man, and of which Gese-  
 enius has collected several examples attested by ancient authors; that, I mean, of  
 selecting the new denomination, not from any similarity of sound to the old one,  
 but merely on account of its being well known, and in familiar use, among the  
 Pagan Greeks. Thus, for instance, the principal deity of Tyre, called Melikarth  
 (that is, king of the city) by the Phœnicians, is proved to have been also dis-  
 tinguished by the Grecian name of Hercules through the following extract from  
 a fragment preserved by Eusebius of a translation of the Phœnician historic  
 work ascribed to Sanchoniathon:—“ τῷ δὲ Δημαροῦντι γίνεται Μελικαρθος, ὁ καὶ  
 Ἡρακλῆς (but to Demaroön is born Melicarth, who also is called Hercules).”—  
*Eusebii Præpar. Evang.*, liber i. cap. 10. The appearance of discrepance aris-  
 ing from diversity of nomenclature being thus removed, or rather indeed, in  
 the case of one pair of names, reversed, the Greek titulus will be found to bear  
 out the correctness of the above interpretation of the Phœnician one in some  
 further particulars also: as for instance, it informs us, first, that there were  
 two dedicators (though one of them acted a more conspicuous part at the de-  
 dication than the other); secondly, that they were Tyrians (which accounts  
 for the circumstance of their offering having been made by them to the tu-  
 telary god of Tyre); thirdly, that they were brothers; and, fourthly, that the  
 younger of them had the same name as their father. But, indeed, the letters  
 and meaning of the Phœnician inscription can be perfectly ascertained with-  
 out the help of its Grecian adjunct, to the purport of which I shall, there-  
 fore, make no further reference.

tence which virtually forms part of the same passage, in the third person, through the reference to them of the pronouns 'eorum' and 'iis.' Nor does our author's interposition of *sum ego*, as an equivalent to *est servus tuus*, remedy the evil: for, even granting the equivalence he contends for, this concession would remove the first enallage of person only in substance, and not in the form of expression; while it leaves the second (which, by the way, he cautiously abstains from noticing) in the full possession of all its awkwardness and incoherency, in substance as well as in form. There must, then, to a certainty, be a mistake somewhere among the parts of his deciphering which produces the double enallage referred to; and as, upon a strict comparison of the corresponding elements of the two representations of this inscription in ancient and modern characters, there does not appear to be any error in the group עבדך, translated by him *servus tuus*, or in the final Mem of the last two groups, which he renders *eorum* and *iis*, we are necessarily led to a more careful examination of the original letter transcribed by him a Yod, at the end of the group ואחי which he has translated *cum fratre meo*, but where, from the obvious incompatibility of this part of his interpretation with the portions of it just previously mentioned, we should much rather expect to meet with a He. On consulting, however, Plate I., No. 2, which is a copy on a reduced scale of his Tabula I., and gives on the left side his list of the older Phœnician characters, we do not find the one in question among those of He power, nor anywhere else in this list except among the Yod's; but it is inserted among the He's, in the part of the same Tabula at the right side which exhibits the more recent Phœnician and the Numidian forms of the letters, where a reader examining one of the older Phœnician inscriptions would not be at all likely to search for it. This omission of the character in the list of the more ancient ones of He power may possibly have been accidental, but as I found the author, in this same treatise of his, guilty beyond all doubt of an intentional misrepresentation, which has been exposed in the third chapter of Part III. of my work on

the "Ancient Orthography of the Jews," I can hardly refrain from suspecting some design of concealment pursued by him here also,—a suspicion which is strengthened by observing the difference in his mode of dealing with the above letter in this place and elsewhere. Thus in the second Maltese inscription, which was written in commemoration of a man named Hannibal, son of Barmelek, and probably at not a much later period than the first, the character under examination occurs three times in the second line, where Gesenius tells us that it was held to be a *Yod* by one decipherer, and a *He* by others, whose view of its phonetic value in that site he adopted; while on the contrary, on referring to it in the place before us, he does not give the slightest intimation that it might perhaps be equivalent to the latter Hebrew letter. But whatever may have been the cause of the suspicious circumstances just noticed, and of the suppression therewith connected of what will turn out to be the true power of the above character in this site, one effect has been to make the most remarkable inscription of the entire collection agree with our author's preconceived notion of the unsyllabic nature of the ancient Phœnician writing, by exhibiting a *Yod* therein used as a mater lectionis. There is, however, another effect with which, had he been aware of it, he certainly would not have been as well pleased, and which may have resulted also in part from his want of the aid afforded by the discovery unfolded in the foregoing passages;—I mean, the concealment from himself of the true signification of the group terminated by the character in dispute. For, on the supposition of this character being a *He*, and of the writing being syllabic, the group under inquiry might be read, 1st, *WeḤaKḥiH*, 'with my brother;' 2ndly, *WeḤaKḥiHu*, 'with his brother;' and 3rdly, *WeḤaKḥiHa*, 'with her brother.' The first of these readings is liable to just the same objection as that adopted by Gesenius, and the third is plainly at variance with the context, the individual previously mentioned being a man. But the second reading is perfectly consistent with the tenor of the passage it occurs in; and when a correction con-

formable thereto is introduced into our author's interpretation of the inscription, by changing his expression *cum fratre meo* into *cum fratre suo*, the whole of it comes out quite free from both the instances of incoherency with which its meaning is at present obscured. There can, then, I submit, be not the slightest doubt but that the proper transcription of the analyzed group into Hebrew letters of modern shape is **וְאֶחָיו**, and that the correct reading of this group is **WeH̄aKh̄iHu**.

Thus it turns out that the principal inscription of those examined by Gesenius is one of the very nature we are in search of, and does not contain a single vowel-letter; since the only character in this titulus for which a vocal value is claimed has just been shown to have had that value erroneously ascribed to it. Here, then, is presented to us a very striking illustration of the sort of writing of which (as has been, I submit, abundantly proved in the foregoing pages from quite different considerations) the text of the Hebrew Bible consisted in its original state. A verse, indeed, is even still to be occasionally therein seen quite devoid of vowel-letters; and once, I think, I found two verses together so written, though I am unable now to point out their place; but certainly I never met in the sacred text with a passage utterly unvocalized, which is of as great length as that before us. The reading of our author's decipherment of this titulus, in accordance with his interpretation thereof (after the correction above established has been applied to each), is expressed through my system of notation as follows:—

**LaH̄aDoNeNu, LeMeLQaRTh, BaH̄aL̄ ŠuR. H̄iSh̄ NoDeR**  
**H̄aBDeKa H̄aBD'HoSiR WeH̄aKh̄iHu H̄oSiRiShaMaR,**  
**SheNe BeNe H̄oSiRiShaMaR, BeN̄ H̄aBD'HoSiR; KiSh̄MoāH̄**  
**QoLaM YeBaReKeM.**

If the reader will take the trouble of comparing each group in these lines with the corresponding one in the corrected decipherment of the original writing, he will find illustrated seve-

ral of the points discussed in the preceding chapters. The proposed titulus, I admit, is, in the representation here made of it, reduced to a series of consonants, the requisite vowels being supplied according to the demands of the context. But, that the same titulus was not originally so treated or viewed, has been already shown ; and an additional reason for the difference may be given in the present instance. This inscription was evidently framed with the greatest care, and in consequence exhibited as complete in its ingredients as it could at the time be made ; whence it follows that the writer was unconscious of the great deficiencies it labours under to a modern eye ; and that he must, therefore, have looked upon and dealt with its elements as syllabic signs.

I now proceed to examine our author's defence of the part of his interpretation of the titulus which results from the phonetic value he assigned to the character in dispute : it is conveyed by him in the following terms :—"—primae personae pronomen in **אָרִי** *frater meus* refertur ad **עבֶדְךָ עבֶדְאִסָר**, ubi tertiam expectes ; neque satis expedit difficultatem, quod Lindbergius ad vulgarem enallagen personarum provocat. Sed plane similis est locus Gen. xliv. 32, ubi Juda Josepho : **עבֶדְךָ עֵרֵב אֶת הַנֶּעֱרָר עִם אָבִי**, *servus tuus vadem se dedit pro puero apud patrem meum*, pro : ego vadem me dedi — apud patrem meum. In utroque loco **עבֶדְךָ** ita vicem tenet pronominis **אָנֹכִי**, ut cum primae personae pronomine construi possit. Similis transitus a tertia persona ad primam est in Melitense tertia et quarta. Quod Bayerus **אָרִי** scriptum esse existimabat pro **אָרִי** *frater ejus*, ferri non potest, quandoquidem ו consonans abjici non poterat. Pro **אָרִי** Phoenices scripsissent **אָרוּ** non **אָרִי**."—*Scripturae Linguaeque Phoeniciae Monumenta*, p. 99. In spite of all that is here urged to the contrary, a two-fold enallage of person is produced in the titulus, according to our author's interpretation of it, by the representation of the elder of two brothers speaking of himself in the first person, strangely obtruded into the middle of a passage which, with this single exception, refers to one or both of them, all through,

from beginning to end, in no other form but that of the third person ; and, according to the same interpretation, this violation of sense is committed without the slightest appearance of any reason for the interruption thus given to the continuity of the reference and the coherency of its parts. Nor is the verse of Scripture appealed to in defence of the interpretation in question of any avail for that purpose ; since the enallage of person therein exhibited belongs not to the sacred text in its original state, but is due to a misreading, and consequent misvocalization, of the group אָבִי, by the Jewish scribes of the second century, which was corrected by the Samaritan vocalizers, as has been shown in pages 324–6 of this essay, in discussing the very sentence here quoted by Gesenius. It may, however, be admitted that, in the speech from which this sentence has been extracted, there actually do occur instances of enallage of person which cannot be accounted for by any mistakes of the old vocalizers, and must be attributed to the original writing of the Hebrew text. But when Judah addressed this speech to Joseph, he was agitated by the most heart-rending thoughts ; so that the incoherencies of style to be found therein are perfectly in keeping with the distraction of mind under which he then laboured : while, on the other hand, whatever may have been the dangers which induced the Tyrian brothers to bind themselves by a vow to the imaginary god of their native city, it was not till after they had escaped from those dangers that they could have made the promised offering ; the inscription on which must consequently be supposed to have been framed with deliberation, and it was evidently insculped with care. The cases, therefore, which have been just compared are not at all parallel ; and the inaccuracies of expression which occur in one of the compositions alluded to afford no excuse whatever for those found in our author's interpretation of the other.

The assertion hazarded at the close of the above extract, that the Phœnicians would, to denote the expression 'his brother,' have written אָבִי (HəKhO), appears hardly reconcila-



ble with the statement previously made by Gesenius in his preliminary section on the use of vowel-letters in the Phœnician inscriptions, that he had never met but one instance of *Waw* employed with a vocal power in any of them; which instance, it should be added, was not supplied by the group  $\text{וֹא}$ , and was, besides, subsequently retracted by him. It is, however, of more importance to notice two mistakes into which he appears to have fallen in the same place, while opposing the opinion of Bayer, who, by the way, approached much nearer than he did to a correct determination of the affix employed in the site referred to.<sup>a</sup> In the first place, he expressly asserts that the *Waw* at the end of the group  $\text{וֹא}$  is a consonant; whereas it is clearly shown to be a vowel-letter by the fuller manner of writing the same group  $\text{וֹאֵו}$ , whether with or without a prefix, in Job, xli. 8; Jer. xxxiv. 9; Mic. vii. 2; and 2 Chron. xxxi. 12; in all of which verses the letter in question is pointed by the Masorets for the sound *U*. No doubt, in the great majority of the places of occurrence of this group in the sacred text it is exhibited in the briefer form  $\text{וֹא}$ , which can be accounted for by the circumstance of the earlier set of vocalizers having been compelled frequently to erase the last of its original elements in order to make room for the two letters introduced by them. Afterwards, when the anomaly of a syllable not commencing with a consonant came to be perceived, it was remedied by changing the pronunciation of the whole group from  $\text{H}a\text{K}h\text{I}-U$  into  $\text{H}a\text{K}h\text{I}W$ , and eventually into  $\text{H}a\text{K}h\text{I}V$ ;—a change which, with whomsoever it may have originated, the Masorets adopted, by avoiding to insert their point for the vowel *U* in the final element of the vocalized group, when written in the curtailed form. But, although the *Waw* at the end of this form is now read as a consonant, we should bear in mind that it was introduced into this site as a vowel-letter, and still continues to be therein read as one,

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<sup>a</sup> Bayer gave the signification of the affix in question correctly, but failed to detect the letter with which it is written.

whenever an anomaly arising from such reading is prevented by a fuller exhibition of the ingredients of the group. In the second place, his assertion that the *Waw* of the group אהו could not be omitted, *because* it is a consonant, implies that it might be left out, if a vowel-letter, and consequently that the non-appearance of letters of the latter description in sites where they are wanted was occasioned by the removal of them from those sites, after they had been previously therein fixed in older legends : a view of the matter which is more directly conveyed in a passage of his wherein he is comparing the group 'Osiris,' as written in the inscription before us without any vowel-letters, to its representation in another inscription : "In lapide quidem Carpentoractensi *Osiris* scribitur אוסיר et apud Aegyptios οϣριϣ; sed *Jod* extremum abiectum in scriptura linguave Phœnicia neminem morabitur."—*Scripturae Linguaeque Phœn. Mon.*, p. 98. How could the Phœnician writer be here said to have thrown off the *Yod* from the end of the group referred to, unless he had previously found it written in that site? This notion, however, did not originate with our author, but was also held by some of the commentators on the Talmud of Babylon, from the writings of two of whom, R. Jarhi and R. Nissim, passages in support of it are quoted by Cappellus, who then proceeds to give us the substance of his quotations as follows :—"Inde liquet primum scribendi Hebraicè institutum hoc fuisse secundum illos Rabbinos, ut nempe Aleph pro *A*, Jod pro *I* et *E*, atque pari ratione Vau pro *O* et *U*, scriberentur ; cæterum usu et consuetudine factum esse, ut sæpè literæ illæ omitterentur, ubi ex illo primo instituto adscribi debuerant. Nempe, ad vitandam nimis molestam literarum illarum repetitionem, iis in locis omissæ sunt, ubi facile subintelligi et divinari poterant, ab iis uibus lingua ista erat familiaris."—*Arcanum punctationis revelatum*, lib. i. cap. xviii. sec. 15. I hesitate to impute to Gesenius the gross ignorance here betrayed of the course actually taken in the progress of vocalization, which was that of a gradual increase (instead of diminution) in the proportion of matres

lectionis to the other elements employed in each kind of Semitic writing, according as men became more familiar with their use. It is possible that he may not have fully considered the consequence of the assumption of his, above referred to, or that he may have been there looking only to the contraction of the name 'Osiris,' in the composition of a longer denomination, though in that case he could hardly have supposed the *Yod* elided where this name is placed at the beginning of the compound word, as it would there have served the office of a union-vowel to join together the compound ingredients.

But whatever may have been the extent of our author's ignorance with regard to the point in question, he at all events failed to avail himself of an important aid in examining the ages of the *tituli* he had to deal with, which a more correct view of this subject would have placed within his reach. Thus he fixed the date of the principal inscription of his collection, as I have already stated, within the third century before the commencement of the Christian era, which is, perhaps, not very far from the truth; but let us look to the grounds on which he came to this determination of its age:—"Denique ut de *aetate* nobilissimae inscriptionis paucis agamus, primum illud ante omnia positum, eam (ut recte observavit Koppius) Alexandri Magni aetate inferiorem esse, quum post Alexandrum, et Ptolemaeorum demum tempore, Serapidis cultum inductum esse constet, in nostro titulo autem compareat nomen proprium *Σαραπίων* ex illo formatum. Praeterea ex litterarum figuris colligi potest, optimae illam aetatis esse, quum elementa ad unum omnia plenas et legitimas habeant formas, nihilque in iis reperitur quod posterioris aetatis negligentiam nimiumve tachygraphiae studium sapiat. Haud procul igitur a vero abfuerit, qui seculo fere ante Christum tertio illud monumentum insculptum esse dicat."—*Scripturae Linguaeque Phoen. Mon.*, p. 101. Of the two grounds here given for the writer's conclusion, the first, besides that it is applicable to only one of the inscriptions he examined, rests upon a very obscure and disputed point, the time when the worship of the Pagan god

Serapis commenced; and the second involves a principle just as questionable, that the better shaped and more distinct letters are, the older must be the writing composed of them. On the other hand, the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, which forced a knowledge of the Greek language and alphabet on the subjects of that empire, and so led eventually to the introduction of *matres lectionis* into all the Asiatic kinds of Shemitic writing,<sup>a</sup> furnishes an extreme limit to the age of the samples of this writing containing such letters, which is marked out by a well-known epoch, and also is applicable to every vocalized specimen of each of those different kinds. But, although the conquered nations were compelled to learn Greek, for the purpose of enabling them to read the proclamations and decrees of a Grecian government, yet it was not compulsory on them, in consequence, to make any changes in respectively their several national modes of writing; and, when we take into account how slowly the generality of readers in any nation could acquire a thorough acquaintance with the use of an alphabet of quite a different nature from

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\* All the various kinds of Shemitic writing now or at any former period employed in Asia, however different they may be in other respects, exhibit exactly the same imperfect system of vocalization by means of the three *matres lectionis*, *Haleph*, *Yod*, and *Waw*,—a degree of correspondence which has not arisen from any necessity, but merely from the accidental circumstance of some intercourse, more or less slight, having subsisted between the several nations employing them, while they were receiving respectively this rude improvement. Hence, it follows that, in whichever of those kinds the specified set of vowel-letters was first adopted, it spread from that source by means of successive imitations through all the rest. But the species of Shemitic writing employed in Africa, namely, the Ethiopic species, having derived its vocalic structure from the same remote cause, but at a period when its employers had no opportunity of communicating with any of the nations of Asia that made use of writing of the same general nature (with the Arabians, indeed, they may have had intercourse, but that people are proved by their own historians not to have learned any sort of alphabetic writing till many centuries after the period referred to, neither were they ever reduced to subjection by the Greeks), the consequence is, that the vocalization of this kind is entirely different from that common to all the Asiatic kinds.

that to which they had been previously accustomed, and how reluctantly, even after having become sensible of its value, they would tolerate the admission into their own alphabetic system of any improvement thence derived, it will, I think, be seen that, in all probability, more than a century elapsed after the above-mentioned Grecian conquest, before the effect of it here contemplated came into actual operation. The hundredth year, then, after the end of the reign of Alexander, or the year B. C. 224, may be fixed on as a probable limit to the age of any Shemitic inscription of which even a single element is found employed as a vowel-letter. But, when an inscription of this sort, not containing any *matres lectionis*, nor located within Greece, is found accompanied with Grecian lines, this circumstance shows that it was not insculped till after Greek writing began to be generally understood by persons of education throughout the civilized portion of the earth, that is, not till after a period which preceded by no great interval the commencement of the Christian era. On this account the date of the principal inscription examined by Gesenius should, I submit, be placed in the second, or even in the first, rather than in the third century before the birth of our Lord; and some may perhaps be disposed to lower its antiquity still more, on taking into consideration that the natives of the island in which it was set up to public view were ignorant of Greek as late as the time when St. Luke wrote 'the Acts of the Apostles;' in the last chapter of which history he twice styles them *Βάρβαροι*,—a designation in his time given to those who could not speak Greek.

With respect, however, to the second kind of inscriptions here brought under consideration, or such Phœnician legends as contain no *matres lectionis*, but are accompanied with Grecian counterparts, a more definite though less close limit to their antiquity is sometimes afforded by means of the alphabetic part of the triple inscription on the Rosetta stone, selected as a standard because it is the oldest document of ascertained age whose elements do not essentially differ in shape or pho-



No. 1.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΑΡΙΩΝΟΙ  
ΣΑΡΑΡΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΥΡΙΟΙ  
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΕΙ

No. 2.

ΤΗΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ  
ΛΗΤΙΠΛΛΩΝ—ΑΝΟΡΩΠΩΝ—ΚΛΟΛΗΡ

No. 3.

Σ 9 1 γ 6 ψ 5 ✕ 7 3 0

No. 4.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ  
ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ  
ΞΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ

Σ 9 ρ 4 ρ 9 0 5 4 ρ 9 9 4 τ ρ 9 4  
π 5 9 4 3 ψ 4 ψ 9 9 0

No. 5.

ρ 9 4 5 4 9 0 5 9 ψ 9 4 5 9 5  
π 1 7 4 ✕ 5 5 1 1 5 9 ψ 4 ψ 9 9 0 5 9  
ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΣ  
ΚΙΤΙΕΥ

No. 6.

ΕΡΗΝΗ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΑ

ω 4 5 1 4 4 5 0 9 ✕ 5 9 3

No. 7.

✕ ✕ ✕

No. 8.

3 3 F

No. 9.

1 7 F

netic value from the Greek capitals of the present day ; it being expressly dated in the ninth year of Ptolemy Epiphanes, that is, according to the most generally received computation, in the year B. C. 192.<sup>a</sup> But of several of the bilingual inscriptions in question, the Greek portion can be shown of less age than the writing of the same kind insculped upon this stone. Thus, upon an immediate comparison of the equivalent elements of the lines in Nos. 1 and 2 of Plate II. facing this page, the former lines, which constitute the Grecian part of the principal Maltese inscription, are found to be of more recent structure than the latter, which are an extract from the proposed standard ; and in this way a major limit to the age of the Maltese inscription will be obtained 108 years lower than that fixed upon by Gesenius. But here a difficulty comes in our way ; as the results of the required comparison are, at first sight, inconsistent. On the one hand, the lines under examination are shown to be those of lesser antiquity by the perfect preservation of the cross-bar in every one of the seven *Alpha*'s they contain, which is either entirely obliterated, or left in a very indistinct state in most of the specimens of this letter upon the Rosetta stone ; on the

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<sup>a</sup> For the convenience of readers who may not have an opportunity of inspecting the Rosetta record in the British Museum, or the engraving of it published by the Antiquarian Society in London, I have got copied in Plate II. No. 2, immediately under the Greek portion of the bilingual inscription of Malta, a few words from the first and second Greek lines of the above record, which would at present be written with capitals as follows:—

ΤΗΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ . . .  
ΑΝΤΙΠΑΛΑΝ . . . ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ . . . ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ . . .

In the delineation given of these words in the Plate referred to, it may be observed that, notwithstanding the extraordinary hardness of the marble on which their originals are insculped, nearly all the cross-bars of the *Alpha*'s and the dots inside the *Theta*'s are worn out ; so that it requires consideration of the surrounding letters to distinguish the former characters from the *Lambda*'s, or the latter ones from the *Omikron*'s of the inscription. But, with the exception of these obliterations, all the letters are, in essential points, the same as their modern equivalents.



other hand, it makes for the greater antiquity of the same lines, that the *Pi* in both places of its occurrence in them is exhibited in an older shape than it is on that monument ; and that their last word, APXHTEI, is inflected after an older fashion than it would have been on the standard referred to.<sup>a</sup> But on due consideration it will be found that both peculiarities are to be attributed, not to the greater age of these lines, but to a want of familiarity with Greek on the part of their Maltese insculptor ; as it is only through the latter supposition that the apparent incoherency of the case can be removed. The dedication, therefore, in Malta to Hercules by the Tyrian mariners must be concluded to have been a later production than the decree of the Egyptian priests recorded at Rosetta. The only minor limit I can suggest to the age of this dedication is, I admit, not a very definite or close one, namely, that it must have been insculped before the introduction of *matres lectionis* into Phœnician legends.

As the inquiry, when vowel-letters were first introduced into Shemitic writing, is interesting in itself, independently of the aid its determination contributes to fixing a major limit to the ages of the inscriptions containing them, I shall here add a few more observations on this subject. If it should be objected to the limitation to their antiquity in Shemitic legends arrived at in the preceding paragraph, that Cilician pieces have been found with Phœnician epigraphs exhibiting such letters, which yet were coined before the reign of Alexander the Great,

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<sup>a</sup> Thus, for example, in the expression ENTOIBOYΣIPITHI, which occurs in the twenty-second of the Greek lines on the Rosetta stone, Βουσιπέρη, the Grecian name of a nome or district in Egypt, is found inflected for the dative case exactly as it would in capitals at the present day ; although the same expression would now be written in small letters with the *Iota subscriptum*, ἐν τῇ Βουσιπέρῃ, but still with *Eta* instead of the *Epsilon* employed in the corresponding inflexion of the final word of the Greek portion of the Maltese inscription ; wherein the irregular insertion of this latter vowel-letter would at first view appear to indicate that, when this inscription was framed, the *Eta* had not yet come into its full use.

I reply that the ages claimed for those coins are quite inadmissible. It has already been shown in the third chapter of Part III. of my work on the Ancient "Orthography of the Jews," that the genuine coins of the Achæmenian race of sovereigns of Persia had no epigraphs; and it is utterly improbable that the pieces issued in one of the provinces of that empire should have had any superiority over those stamped at the principal seat of government. Hence it must, I submit, be concluded that legends upon Asiatic coins commenced only under the sway of Grecian rulers. How, then, it may be here further urged, is the circumstance to be accounted for, that all the earlier of those legends are not found written in the Greek character? To this I reply, that most of them are so; but it accorded with the policy of the generals who seized upon the several kingdoms into which the conquests of Alexander were divided, and also with that of their successors, to gratify the subjects of those kingdoms, in some instances, with the use of their respective national systems of writing. Thus the Ptolemies of Egypt allowed their names and titles to be recorded, and placed before the public, in hieroglyphic designations; and one of the race of the Antiochi on the throne of Syria permitted the Jews to stamp coins with Hebrew epigraphs (1 Mac. xv. 6). It would, therefore, be no cause for wonder, if another prince of that race had granted a similar privilege to some favoured cities of Cilicia.

To the foregoing considerations is to be added the futility of the grounds put forward to support the claim of greater antiquity for the coins in question. Thus, for instance, the most remarkable among the very few epigraphs upon those coins which include, or are assumed to include, vowel-letters,<sup>a</sup> is given

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<sup>a</sup> The plan upon which the meaning of the extant Phœnician legends has in general been investigated, and which is fully warranted by the degree of success that has attended its adoption, is the dealing with them as if they were written in the ancient Hebrew. But, consistently with this plan, no other ancient language should be resorted to, till the occurrence of some

in Plate II. No. 3, copied from that marked F in the thirty-sixth Tabula of our author's treatise, and is deciphered by him as follows :—

עין אלמלך גדל

This reading of the epigraph I believe to be perfectly correct ; but I cannot say as much for his interpretation of it and defence thereof, which are stated by him thus :—“ *Oculus regis magni*, i. e. regis Persiae, cujus haec appellatio est propria et solennis—*βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας* . . . . . *Persicum igitur Cili-*

difficulty which could not be cleared up by means of Hebrew ; and then, it is plain that Syriac should next be tried, as the tongue of the nearest neighbours to the Phœnicians, and of a people with whom they must have had frequent intercourse. But Arabic is the very last of all the Shemitic dialects from which any assistance could in such a case be expected, as spoken in former times by barbarians who held no peaceable communication with any other nation. In the particular instance, however, of the above legend, Gesenius took the particle אל at the commencement of the second group for the Arabic definite article, though it nowhere throughout the whole Hebrew Bible occurs in that sense, but, on the contrary, is in several passages of the sacred text used as the preposition ‘to’ is in English ; and, moreover, its contraction, the prefix ל, is very frequently therein employed with a signification which may be translated ‘*belonging to*,’ or rendered by the possessive ‘*of*,’ the English sign of the genitive case. Now I admit that, if it were justifiable to interpret the particle אל in the legend before us, as the definite article, its initial group עין should then be read in the construct state הֵעֵן, ‘eye of,’ with the middle letter employed as a mater lectionis. But Gesenius was, I submit, bound in consistency to treat אל in this place, not as an Arabic, but as a Hebrew particle ; and if we allow it here the same force as its contraction, the prefix ל, has, namely, that of the possessive ‘*of*,’ then we are no longer under any necessity of translating the first group ‘eye of,’ but may render it simply ‘eye ;’ for which signification it is not to be contracted in reading, as if in regimen, but to be pronounced full הַעֵיִן, with its *Yod* used as a consonant. As a proof of this effect being at any rate sometimes produced by the prefix ל, I refer to the expression in the sacred text, הַצִּפּוֹת לִשְׂאוֹל (‘the watchmen of Saul’),—1 Sam. xiv. 16,—where, but for the interposition of the prefix in question, the first group must have been written in the construct state, without its final letter. I have not, however, deemed it necessary to advert to this point in my text ; because, even supposing vowel-letters to be found in the epigraphs of Cilician coins, it would by no means thence follow that such letters were introduced into Shemitic writing before the reign of Alexander the Great.

ciae Satrapam illa formula indicari numumque nostrum eius iussu cusum esse existimo, quod ad universam horum numorum rationem bene accommodatum esse nemo facile negabit.” —*Scripturae Linguaeque Phoen. Monum.*, p. 283. That the reasoning here employed to make out an antiquity reaching farther back than the reign of Alexander for the coin in question is just as fitly adapted to this purpose, as are any of the arguments adduced to establish a like result for the other coins of the same class, I am by no means inclined to deny; but still I must beg to offer two remarks upon its soundness. In the first place, with respect to the entire epigraph, it might be quite as well translated *fons regis magni*, through which rendering it would appear to be the figurative designation, not of a person, but of a place;<sup>a</sup> and a determination of age which is made to rest on a sentence of such very uncertain meaning, it is obvious, cannot be depended on. In the second place, with regard to the last two words of this epigraph, of whose signification we are not so ignorant as of that of the whole legend, what is known of them tells positively *against* their application to any of the sovereigns who preceded Alexander on the imperial throne of Persia. For, although the Greeks called those sovereigns respectively ‘the great king,’ they chose for themselves the title of ‘king of kings,’ which no Persian satrap, or city under his government, would have dared to change. On the other hand, the same words may be easily conceived to have been applied to any of the race of Grecian princes who suc-

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<sup>a</sup> Several towns are mentioned in the Book of Joshua with names into which עין (a fountain) enters as an ingredient,—as, for example, עין-גננים (fountain of gardens), Jos. xv. 34; עין-גדי (fountain of kid), Jos. xv. 62; —עין-דור (fountain of habitation), Jos. xvii. 11; and עין-חצר (fountain of enclosure), Jos. xix. 37,—which are transcribed in our version, respectively, En-gannim, En-gedi, En-dor, and En-hazor. But as it appears from the epigraphs of the class of coins above referred to, that the same, or very nearly the same, Shemitic dialect was spoken in Cilicia as in Palestine, it would be no wonder if the same peculiar kind of local designations prevailed there also.

ceeded to the comparatively small portion of the Persian empire that constituted the kingdom of Syria, and who could not have felt it the least disparagement to be styled by a title which their countrymen had been at a former period in the habit of giving to potentates of a higher rank and more extensive dominions. But Gesenius having, it seems, thus established most conclusively the ante-Alexandrian age of the coin under examination, proceeds still further to determine its exact date as follows. From the figure of a trireme on its obverse he draws the inference, which is probably true, that it was stamped to commemorate some naval engagement. But although many such actions occurred before the reign of Alexander, he thinks that one peculiarly suited for commemoration which was fought off the coast of Cnidus, in the year before the birth of our Lord, 394. This medal, *therefore* (he does not indeed positively assert, but only suspects), was issued from the Cilician mint just about seven years after that very date! This notable argument, which is rendered ludicrous by the air of precision thrown over it, is gravely stated by our author in the following terms:—*“Triremis imago in adversa, quae saepe comperet in Phoenico-Persicis (Mionnet vi. 644, sqq.), ad victoriam quandam navalem a Persis in Asia minore reportatam respicere videtur. Quarum licet plures sint, nulla tamen aetate Alexandrum Magnum proxime praecedente nobilior et illustrior, quam illa, qua Spartanorum classis, duce Pisandro, ab Artaxerxis II. et Persarum classe, duce Conone, ad Cnidum deleta est Olymp. xcvi. 3 (a. Chr. 394), quaque factum est ut, in pace ab Antalcida composita Olymp. xcvi. 2 (a. Chr. 387),<sup>a</sup> Asiae minoris urbes cum Clazomenis et Cypro in Persarum potestatem transirent (Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 3, § 10–12. v. 1, § 31). Ad hanc igitur respici equidem suspicor. Atque ad eandem victoriam navalem pertinere videtur hic numus (Ibidem).”* Nothing,

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<sup>a</sup> The above number is made 397 in our author's treatise; but the error is, I conceive, not his, but the printer's, in consequence of which I have taken the liberty of correcting it.

surely, could tell more powerfully against the antiquity claimed for certain Cilician coins than the necessity of resorting to such arguments in its support. Upon the whole, then, it must, I apprehend, be concluded that even the real employment of *matres lectionis* in the epigraphs of some of those coins would only supply an additional reason for placing their dates after the time of the Grecian conquest of Persia, but afford none whatever for admitting that vowel-letters were introduced before that epoch into any species of Shemitic writing.

Some of the views put forward in the course of this discussion may perhaps appear to be at variance with recent discoveries, but they in reality thence derive considerable support. Thus, in reference to my position that no people, after having become long attached to any sort of writing, ever adopt a different kind, except compelled to do so through subjugation to foreign invaders, it must be admitted, that an alphabetic application of cuneiform characters was introduced into Persia about two centuries before the age of Alexander, not through foreign compulsion, but under the auspices of a native prince. Whether that prince was Cyrus or the first Darius, need not here be inquired (though I think it has been shown, in the third chapter of Part III. of my work on the "Ancient Orthography of the Jews," most probable that he was the latter man) ; all that is material in respect to the point before us to observe, concerning this species of writing, is, that although backed by the authority of an absolute government, it yet, as far as can be judged by its extant remains, never got into popular use, but was confined to state records ; in which, too, the employment of it lasted only for about two reigns, and then, after a further lapse of time of no great length, entirely ceased. Moreover, in Lycia also traces have been recently discovered of a species of alphabetic writing older than the reign of Alexander, which, however, appears to have got in that country into general use. But so little is known of the early history of the establishment of Grecian colonies on the western and southern coast of Asia Minor, that it is impossible now to dis-

prove the conquest of the Lycians in remote times by some one or more of those colonies, which may have held them in subjection quite long enough to account for their eventual adoption of a modification of the Greek alphabet. Again, with regard to the length of time I have supposed to have formerly elapsed after the knowledge of a foreign method of writing had been forced upon a people, before they could, in the ordinary course of events, be induced voluntarily to transfer an improvement thence derived into their national system, a direct support of the justness of my computation is furnished by three bilingual inscriptions found upon sepulchral monuments not many years since disinterred in Attica, and which have been deciphered by Gesenius. From the trade carried on by the Phœnicians with Greece long before the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander, no other Shemitic people are likely to have sooner after that event borrowed from Greek writing the use of vowel-letters, yet in two out of the three inscriptions in question not a single *mater lectionis* is found in their Phœnician portions, although it can be shown by means of their Grecian lines that they must have been written since the time of the insculption of the Rosetta stone, or more than 139 (i. e. 331–192) years after the same above-mentioned event. In the third inscription, indeed, a vowel-letter occurs in the Shemitic part, but it is employed only in the Phœnician representation of the sound of a Greek proper name.

The three inscriptions are copied in Plate II. from their delineations in the treatise of Gesenius, with the Greek part over the Phœnician lines in the first inscription (No. 4), and under them in the second (No. 5); while the relative sites of the two parts in the third (No. 6) is left undetermined in that treatise, and we are merely informed that they are found upon the monument that bears them, written across different figures of the same female, one of which represents her as sitting, and the other as standing, with an infant in her arms. Here, however, I arrange the materials relating to each inscription in the same order, putting first our author's transcription of the

Phœnician part into modern Hebrew characters grouped into separate words ; then his interpretation thereof ; and in the third place the Greek part printed in modern capitals ; which, indeed, differ so very little from the delineations of the same letters in Plate II., that I should not have deemed it requisite thus to adduce them a second time, but for the convenience of the reader ; as he can with less trouble compare the deciphered Shemitic names with the corresponding Greek ones, by having them brought under his eye more nearly together :—

מצבת סכר בחים לעבדתנת בן  
עבדשמש הצדני

*Cippus memorie inter vivos Abd-tanitho (Artemidoro), filio  
Abd-schemesch (Heliodori), Sidonio.*

APTEMIDΩΡΟΣ ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ, ΣΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ.

לבנחדש בן עבדמלקרת  
בן עבדשמש בן תננץ אש כתי

*Ben-chodscho (Numenio), filio Abdmelcarti (Heraclii),  
filii Abdschemesch (Heliodori), filii Tagginez (Stephani), viro Citiensi.*

ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΣ ΚΙΤΙΕΥΣ.

•  
הרנא בעלת בונתי  
*Erene, civis Byzantii*

ΕΡΗΝΗ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΑ.

With regard to the deciphering of the Shemitic characters of these inscriptions, as exhibited in Plate II.,—upon comparing the *Samek* in the first Phœnician line of the first inscription with its various Phœnician forms in the list of Gesenius given in Plate I., it will be found to have lost its upper part, from age, or some other cause, perhaps from a flaw in the



marble ; and the Hebrew scholar will further perceive that it has been substituted for a *Zayin*, through an interchange of sibilants which sometimes occur in Shemitic writing. Moreover, the *Haleph* in the Phœnician line of the third inscription appears to have lost one of its cross-lines ; so that, if viewed by itself, it might equally be taken for a *Taw* ; but it is confined to the former phonetic value both by a comparison with the corresponding letter of the Greek name of which the group it belongs to is obviously a transcription, and also by the consideration that it is of quite a different form from the unquestionable *Taw* which is twice inserted in this line. With respect to the Greek portions of the same inscriptions,—the last letter of the second portion has been lost through a fracture of the stone ; but it being obvious what that letter was, I have taken the liberty of replacing it in my printed representation of this portion. From the general appearance of these portions, even without entering into any particulars, it is perfectly evident that they must, all of them, have been insculped later than the inscription on the Rosetta stone, that is, after the year B. C. 192. In the case, indeed, of the third portion, the circumstance of the proper name *Εἰρήνη* being written with simply an E, instead of the diphthong EI, at its commencement, is an indication of antiquity, but by no means as strong a one as that bearing in the opposite direction, which is afforded by the regular shapes of the letters in this portion ; on which account, I may add, it appears to be not only of later date than the Rosetta monument, but also less ancient than the Greek portions of the first and second of these two inscriptions, with which it has been here conjoined, if the delineation of their elements in the plates of Gesenius can be depended on as exact. On the other hand, the contents of this latest of the three inscriptions yield a minor limit to its age:—the town thereby suggested is referred to through its ancient name, ‘Byzantium,’ which was changed to the modern one, ‘Constantinople,’ early in the fourth century of our era. This limit, however, is by no means offered

as a close one ; since, from the syllabic powers of the characters (notwithstanding the insertion among them of a mater lectionis to assist in the expression of a foreign name), the Phœnician part of the third inscription would appear to have been written long before the commencement of the specified century.

With regard to *matres lectionis* in the Shemitic portion of these inscriptions,—the only elements of the first two portions which could by any possibility be mistaken for such letters, are the *Yod* in the group בְּרִי of the first portion, and that inserted at the end of the final group of each portion. But the first of these groups, translated by Gesenius *inter vivos*, is elsewhere admitted by him to be read with a sound which would be in my method of notation written BēKhaYyiM, with the letter in question used as a consonant doubled in its utterance ; and he also held this letter to be employed as a consonant at the end of the other two groups, translated by him *Sidonio* and *Citiensi*, although he, very inconsistently with this admission, read those groups, in accordance with the Masoretic system, ŠiDoNI and KiTiL. But it has been already shown, upon the far higher authority of the Seventy Jews, that the above groups would formerly have been read ŠiDoNaY and KiTiNaY, in which pronunciation the *Yod* is clearly treated, without any contradiction or inconsistency, as a consonant. In justice to the Masorets, however, I should here observe, that I have not the slightest doubt of their having transmitted to us with scrupulous honesty the mode of reading which prevailed in their days. But that which I have to deal with in the present investigations belonged to a much earlier period. So far I agree with Gesenius in results, though arriving at them, without any inconsistency, in a different way. But, with respect to the Shemitic portion of the third inscription, I almost entirely dissent from him.

In the first place, I maintain that this portion ends, exactly as the corresponding lines of the two preceding inscriptions, with a national designation, בִּינְרִי, ‘Byzantian ;’ which should

be read *BuZaNTaY*, or *BuZaNTaYa*, according as it is referred to a male or female. The difference between the two readings was in general marked in Shemitic writing by a paragogic *He*, to suggest the additional syllable required in the latter case. But this suggestion appears to have been deemed unnecessary in the line before us, in consequence of the feminine form of the immediately preceding word *בעלת*, which rendered it quite obvious that the gentile designation was here applied to a woman. I have already pointed out in the course of the present essay instances in the sacred text of the omission, for like reasons, of a written sign of the feminine gender,—instances which have been hitherto left utterly unaccounted for. But, in the present case, my reading of the above word *BuZaNTaYa* is further sustained by the corresponding word of the Greek line *BYZANTIA*, a gentile adjective expressly inflected in a feminine form. This mode of writing the last group of the line, with its final letter employed, not as a consonant, but as a sign of the syllable *YA*, indicates, notwithstanding the appearance of a vowel-letter in the first group, considerable age of the legend; as it must have been thus written while the Phœnicians were yet in the habit of reading their letters with syllabic powers. In reality, indeed, they so read, in the example before us, all the elements of *בִּנְיָי* except the third; though a modern, reading them all as consonants, and mentally inserting, after the first, second, and fourth, the vowels which the necessity of the case would then require, might possibly be inclined, at first view of the matter, to imagine that the ancients dealt with the group in the same manner. But he could hardly extend this erroneous supposition to the last letter, which there is no apparent necessity of uttering with a vowel after it when it is taken for a consonant, since it might, just as well as the third letter, be uttered by the help of the vocal part of the preceding syllable; and of course it would be so uttered in this place, if the context did not absolutely require it to be read with a syllabic value. But Gesenius, not perceiving this mode of conforming to the de-

mands of the context, and in consequence unable to read the group as a word in the feminine gender, was reduced to the necessity of treating it as the curtailed representation of a foreign name, though the very circumstance of this name's belonging to a different language from that of the Phœnician readers to whom it was intended to be communicated, would require the group denoting it to be written without any curtailment. Let it, however, be conceded that this precaution is sometimes found neglected in slovenly writing; yet, surely, no instance of such heedlessness could be expected to occur in a line inscribed upon a monument which appears, from the description, though brief, which Gesenius gives of its sculptural ornaments, to have been a highly finished work. But it may, perhaps, be here objected: is not the gentilic derivative from **בִּזְנִתִּין** a combination of letters that must have been as foreign and unusual in reference to the apprehensions of the great majority of Phœnician readers as the Shemitic group here adduced, from which it is immediately derived?—and must not, therefore, the Phœnician writer have been obliged by plain common sense to exhibit this combination, just as much as he would the original group, full, and without any curtailment of its elements? This is quite true. But **בִּזְנִתִּי**, which supplies only a mutilated representation of the proper name referred to, is notwithstanding, in accordance with the notions which formerly prevailed upon the subject, a complete exponent of the gentilic adjective thence derived, even when it is to be read in the feminine gender *BuZaNTaYa*, *provided* its final element *Yod* be pronounced, not as a consonant closing the preceding syllable, but as a syllabic sign. The latter mode, indeed, of reading this element was, in general, indicated by the addition of a paragogic *He*; but as this letter, which forms no part of the Shemitic expression of the above foreign name, would have served here only to suggest a Shemitic termination with which Phœnician readers must have been perfectly familiar, and which was, without its aid,

suggested by the feminine form of the preceding word, its non-insertion in this place was productive of no indistinctness or confusion.

In the second place, I admit that the final element of the first group הַרְנָה is employed as a mater lectionis to denote the sound of the open *E* at the termination of the Greek proper name Ἐρήνη. But I altogether deny that the initial element of the same group was likewise intended to express a vowel or diphthong. This latter point our author endeavours to make out as follows:—"Quod graecum *E* in Phoeniciis exprimitur ה littera, id nemo miretur. Namque *E* Graecorum ex ה Phoenicum ortum est, eique respondet tum figura tum loco quem in litterarum ordine occupat, quanquam potestas eius paullulum mutata est: solentque Hebraei, Syri, Chaldaei graeca vocabula scribentes, *A*, *E*, *H* litteras ineunte vocabulo nunquam non א vel ה litteris exprimere, non solum ubi spiritu aspero, sed etiam ubi leni munitae sunt, videndi causa εἰγενης in Talmude הַוְנָה, ἐνοχὴ הַנְכִיחַ, ἀτελής הַטֵּלִים,—"*Scripturae Linguaeque Phoeniciae Mon.*, pp. 120–1. This extract requires some observations. First, it is quite true that the Greek *E* is derived from the Phœnician ה in respect to some subordinate qualities, but not at all in the sense which Gesenius wished to convey, namely, in regard to phonetic power. The ה had formerly the same shape as *E*, and they still occupy the same places respectively in the Grecian and Shemitic alphabets, in consequence of which they both are employed in common to denote the number five. It may, therefore, be readily admitted that *E* is sprung from ה, in shape, in place, and in numeric value; but it by no means hence follows that the former must be derived from the latter in phonetic value also: and, in point of fact, the vowel-sound of the Greek letter in question is not derived from, but substituted for, the consonantal power of the Shemitic one. For the Greeks, having no use for more than one of the four Shemitic aspirates or gutturals (א, ה, ח, and ע), at some very remote period changed all but the third

from consonants to vowel-letters, and made a like change of the third also soon after the year B. C. 450 ;<sup>a</sup> so that thenceforward all aspirates were banished from the Greek collection of letters, and we find in their places *Alpha*, *E* (*ἄλφον*) close, *Eta*, and *O* (*ὀκκρον*) close, identical with the displaced elements, either at first, or even yet, in various other respects, but totally different from them in phonetic value. Secondly, from the assertion of our author ("quamquam potestas eius *paullulum* mutata est") that in the transition from *ἦ* to *E*, the power of *ἦ* was but little changed, it is evident that he confounded the consonantal power with one of the values of the syllabic power of the latter element. The former power of this letter may be represented by the consonant *H*, while the most commonly used of the values of the latter power, and that from which it derived its name, is denoted by the syllable *HE*: but the vocal sound *E* is totally different from the breathing, by itself inaudible, which *H* expresses, though at the same time

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<sup>a</sup> In an inscription found near two centuries ago at Athens on a marble tablet, which formed part of a monument erected to the memory of the soldiers of a certain tribe who fell in campaigns that ended with the death of Cimon, about the year B. C. 450,—and of which a particular description is given in the fourth chapter of the second book of the *Palæographia Græca* of Montfaucon,—the sentence, *ὁῶδε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπέθανον ἐν Κύπρῳ, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐν Φοινίκῃ, ἐν Ἀλιεῦσιν, ἐν Αἰγινῇ*, is to be seen written as follows:—

HOIAE : ENTOI : PIOAEMOI : AΠEΘANON : ENKYTHPOI : ENAIIT  
YHTOI : ENΦOINIKEI : ENAAIETZIN : ENAIITINEI :

Some of the letters are very differently shaped from what they are in these lines, but not the *H* or *E*. The point, therefore, which I want to establish is hereby sufficiently illustrated; namely, that the *H* was, as late as the specified date, still used as a consonant, and no distinction yet made between the open and close *E*, in Greek writing. The same lines also serve to show that the distinction between the open and close *O* was not then as yet introduced into the Greek alphabet. Hence it would appear that the account of the invention of the letters *Eta* and *Omega* by Simonides the poet, who flourished about the year B. C. 550, must be erroneous. The improvement produced by the use of these letters, surely, cannot be supposed to have been adopted anywhere else earlier than at Athens, the great seat of Grecian learning in ancient times.

the very same sound *E* bears a close similarity to, and is easily derivable from, the syllabic sound *HE*: it, however, I should add, is thence deduced, not (as Gesenius, in accordance with the prevalent error on the subject, supposed) by softening this value of the syllabic power of ה, but by resolving it into its component parts, and dropping the consonantal ingredient.

Thirdly, from the concluding part of the above extract it would appear that the author intended to insinuate, though he did not venture expressly to make the assertion, that the initial ה of each of the groups therein contained was to be read without any aspiration, whence it would immediately follow that it was in those instances employed as a vowel-letter. Thus, for example, in the case of one of those groups, as the initial sound of ἀτελής is marked with a *spiritus lenis*, the first element of אטלה, which is employed to express that sound, must, it seems, be destitute of aspiration, and therefore has nothing to denote but the vowel *A*; and, for the same reason, the first element of הנכח, being used to convey the initial sound of ἐνοχῆ, must also be uttered without aspiration; and consequently, there is nothing left for it to represent but barely the vowel *E*; and so on. Unless he meant his examples to be so applied, I really cannot imagine for what purpose he selected them, or why he should have otherwise dwelt on the want of aspirations at the commencement of the adduced Greek groups. But, unfortunately for the bearing of this argument, the ground on which it rests is quite fallacious, as the letter ה is always used at the beginning of syllables with an aspiration. In fact, the peculiarity of Shemitic pronunciation in ancient times which these examples, when fairly discussed, serve to illustrate, still adheres to the Jews, who up to this day are remarkable for introducing more aspirations than they ought into their utterance of European terms; the readings, therefore, HαTεLĒS and HεNοKĒH, though incorrect representations of the pronunciation of the Greek words to which they ultimately refer, give the true sounds of the Shemitic groups to which they are immediately applied: and

when the syllabic value of the initial ה (in the one case *HA*, and in the other *HE*) is resolved, as it always is by a modern reader, into its component parts, the vocal part is thence detached and left to be mentally supplied through a knowledge of the vowels of the Greek word ultimately represented ; so that when this letter is viewed as a consonant, nothing remains to be thereby expressed but an aspiration or rough breathing. This is still more evident in the adduced example which I have yet to notice, that, I mean, of *εὐγενής* transcribed into the Chaldee group (when its termination for the plural number is removed) הוננִס (HUGeNēs), whereof the initial sound is found actually decomposed by the Shemitic writer himself ; and the vocal part of that sound being expressly, though very imperfectly, denoted by the mater lectionis ך, nothing is left for the ה to signify but an aspiration. Lastly, supposing for a moment the ה to have lost its aspiration in the cases adduced by Gesenius, it would denote, in the first of the three here last considered, the vowel *A* ; in the second, the vowel *E* ; in the third, the vowel *U* or diphthong *EU* ; and in the primary one of הונִס, the vowel *E* or diphthong *EI* : moreover, upon the same fallacious supposition applied to other cases it might be shown to denote a variety of other vocal-sounds also, through the aid of examples drawn from the Hebrew text of the Bible ; as, for instance, in the case of הִמָּן, 1 Chron. vi. 33, which is pointed by the Masorets for the sound HĒMāN, it would, according to this pointing, dealt with in the same ingenious manner, denote an open *E* ; in that of הִנָּם, Josh. xv. 8, which is pointed for the sound HĒNām, it would, upon the same Masoretic authority, treated in the very same way, denote an *I* ; and in that of הִרְדִּיָּה, 1 Chron. v. 24, transcribed by the Seventy *Ῥδουῖα*, it would denote an open *O*. Thus, through the very supposition by means of which Gesenius endeavoured to prove the character ה sometimes equivalent to the vowel-letter *E*, it might be shown to have an indefinite number of vocal values ; so that it would thereby be made out, not at all a distinctive sign of one vowel in par-



ticular, but merely a vague indication of some vowel or other, —a piece of information utterly useless, except in the case, here not brought under consideration, of this letter being placed at the end of a group. I have thought it worth while to dwell at some length on the weakness of the argument employed upon this subject by our author; as the position which he thus tried to establish constitutes a fundamental error in his treatise. He himself, we have already seen, derided Koppius for imagining  $\text{V}$  to be a vowel-sign. But the notion that  $\text{N}$  is a letter of that sort is pressed by the very same difficulties, and can be proved fallacious in the very same manner.

It remains that I should make a few remarks upon the proper names in the first two inscriptions, but they must, from the little space left me, be very brief: they are taken entirely from the treatise of Gesenius. With respect to  $\text{TaNiTh}$ , the principal element of the first Shemitic name in the first inscription, our author gives abundant ancient authorities to show that a foreign goddess called by the Greeks *Tαναΐτις*,<sup>a</sup> was also styled by them *Ἀρτεμις Περσική*. The denomination, therefore, *Abd-tanith*, that is, ‘a servant of Diana,’ sufficiently corresponds in meaning with the first name in the Greek portion of the same inscription *Artemidorus*, which signifies literally ‘a gift to Diana,’ or ‘one dedicated to the service of Diana.’ The second Shemitic name, *Abd-shemesh*, ‘servant of the sun,’ is obviously equivalent to the name in the Greek part of the same inscription, *Heliodorus*, ‘one dedicated to the service of the sun.’ In the second inscription, the first Shemitic name, *Ben-khodesh*, ‘son of the new moon,’ or ‘one born at the time of new moon,’ obviously corresponds in meaning with the Greek designation *Numenius*, which is derived from *Νομηνία*, ‘the new moon.’ With regard to the second Shemitic name, it has been already shown that the Phœnician god

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<sup>a</sup> The above name was formerly given to the Amazons on account of their living on the banks of the *Tαναΐς*, the river which is now called the Don.

*Melkarth*, 'king of the city,' was called by the Greeks *Hercules*. The name, therefore, *Abd-melkarth*, 'servant of Melkarth,' is equivalent to the Greek denomination *Heraclius*, 'a follower of Hercules.' The third Shemitic name, *Abd-shemesh*, has been above explained in the preceding inscription. With regard to the fourth name,  $\text{נָנִי}$ , *TaGiNeS*, no word answering to the first part of this group is to be found in the remains of the ancient Hebrew preserved in the sacred text, but in Chaldee  $\text{נָנִי}$ , *TaG*, signifies 'a crown,' and in Syriac  $\text{ܢܢܝ}$ , *TaGaH*, or  $\text{ܢܢܝܐ}$ , *TAGaH*, has the same meaning; while the remainder of the combination  $\text{ܢܝ}$ , *NeS*, occurs in Hebrew, and signifies 'a flower:' so that the entire group denotes 'one wearing a chaplet of flowers,' and so corresponds with the Greek name *Στέφανος*, which is derived from *Στεφάνη*, 'a crown.' I have here only to add that, if the *Abd-shemesh* mentioned in each inscription was the same individual, it would follow that, as *Abd-tanith* was his son, and *Ben-khodesh* his grandson through another son, the person to whom the first monument was erected was uncle of the man commemorated in the second.

I regret that I cannot spare time to give more examples from this treatise, which is a very interesting book, and well worth perusal to those who will take the trouble of guarding against the erroneous views it occasionally advocates, and separating them from the main body of the work. I shall devote the remainder of the present chapter to discussing the questions, by what people the use of vowel-signs was discovered, and by what process they arrived at this invention. Here it may possibly occur to the reader that, since vowels are uttered with at least as much facility as articulate sounds, written signs might be as readily devised for the former, as for the latter elements of speech. No doubt, they might; but the signs so devised would be of no avail to an employer of the primitive alphabet (or any other immediately thence derived, while yet in its original state), until he had traced some connexion between the vowels they were made to denote, and the syllabic sounds of his phonetic system: till then they would,

to his apprehension, have no more to do, than notes of musical tones could, with his writing. Such connexions, indeed, are by modern readers instantaneously perceived; because the very way in which syllables are now written with two letters points out at once the relation that subsists between syllabic and vocal sounds. But a primitive reader enjoyed no such assistance, as more than a single letter was never presented to his notice for any pure syllabic sound; and he was, in consequence, forced to go through some analytic process in his mind, before he could detect any composition in that sound, and thereby arrive at its separate vocal ingredient. The difficulty, therefore, of introducing a set of vowel-letters, or vowel-signs of any other kind, into a system of characters previously invested with syllabic powers, was far greater than it would at first sight appear to have been. This problem, however, I am now enabled to show, was actually solved by the Greeks; and to their ingenuity is due the most important improvement of alphabetic writing that was ever achieved by man.

In the course of the investigations pursued in this essay it will, I trust, be found abundantly proved that the Hebrew alphabet, though fitted all along for a far better mode of using it, was originally employed only as a syllabary; and from the adduced parts of the treatise of Gesenius combined with their corrections, as given in the present chapter, it may be collected that the very same alphabet was at first dealt with just in the same manner by the Phœnicians, and continued to be thus treated by them till long after the period of its introduction into Greece; so that its elements must *a fortiori* have been invested solely with syllabic powers at that period. But at what date the decomposition of those powers took place, whereby this alphabet was advanced to the very superior condition of a series of vowel-letters and consonants, can now no longer be determined: all that we know with certainty in reference to this point is, that the change was effected while the system was in Grecian hands.

With the conclusion to which we have been just led, that

vowel-letters were first employed in Grecian writing, accords all that is known of the use of such signs in other phonetic systems. The Roman alphabet is obviously derived entirely from the Greek one, in its vocal as well as its consonantal ingredients. The oldest known Asiatic method of vocalization is that effected by the *matres lectionis* detected in the cuneiform alphabet of the first Persian Darius. But the monarch here named did not make use of this alphabet till after he had availed himself of the services of Grecian scribes in recording the names of the nations that supplied the troops with which he invaded Scythia; as has been collected with, I submit, a high degree of probability in the third chapter of Part III. of my treatise on the "Ancient Orthography of the Jews," from the account of that invasion transmitted to us by Herodotus, as well as from other ancient testimonies. Besides, what bears more conclusively on the point before us, the employment of one of the cuneiform *matres lectionis* with the very discrepant phonetic values of *H* and *A*, marks an imitation of the Grecian system, in which a letter, known by the correspondence between the names *Alpha* and *Haleph* to have originally denoted a syllable commencing with a *H* power of a certain species, is applied to the designation of *A*. With respect to the second kind of vocalization used in the cuneiform alphabet concurrently with the first, and which is less ambiguous, inasmuch as its elements are employed in no other way than as vowel-letters, it must, as containing only the same very limited number (3) of signs, be looked upon as merely an improvement of the first, and consequently as derived from the same Grecian model. The next oldest method of Asiatic vocalization is that exhibited in the inscriptions recently discovered in Lycia, of which some account has been given in the fourth chapter of the Part of a former treatise of mine above referred to; but the shapes of the vocal as well as consonantal elements of this writing manifestly point out their Grecian parentage; while the employment among them of distinct characters for the open and close *O*, as also

for the open and close *E*, shows the use of this method to have commenced less than four centuries and a half before the birth of our Lord. Several of the Asiatic systems of Shemitic writing, are older than either of the alphabets just considered; yet in all probability, as we have already seen, they were not, any of them, vocalized till a much later period, namely, till after the age of Alexander the Great. To every one of those systems the very same method of vocalization, by means of *matres lectionis*, as has been detected in the alphabetic species of cuneiform writing, is common; and, therefore, each of them must likewise owe its set of vowel-letters to observation of the Grecian alphabet. But whether the *matres lectionis* were a second time derived immediately from this source,—the same results following from the same causes,—or the Shemitic set of those letters were obtained from the cuneiform set, and so but mediately from their Grecian model, can no longer be determined. Neither can it now be ascertained in which of the Asiatic kinds of Shemitic writing this very imperfect mode of vocalization began;<sup>a</sup> but in whichever of them it commenced, it seems to have been thence successively communicated to all the rest through mere passive imitation.

The oldest traces of vocal designation in African writing are to be found in the hieroglyphs diverted from their original ideographic use to a secondary phonetic one in the cartouches exhibiting the names of the Egyptian kings beginning with Amasis, who reigned about the middle of the sixth century

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<sup>a</sup> When first I directed my attention to the above point, I was disposed to think it probable (and expressed an opinion to that effect in the sixth chapter of the second Part of my former work), that the use of the *matres lectionis* commenced with the Jews; because there is a smaller proportion of those letters in the ancient Hebrew than in any other kind of Shemitic writing with which I was then acquainted. But Phœnician inscriptions, since inspected by me, having removed the ground of this opinion, I now admit it to be very unlikely that the people here referred to were the foremost of the Shemitic nations of Asia to adopt an improvement derived from a Pagan source.

before the commencement of the Christian era. That the vocal as well as the consonantal application of the hieroglyphic characters referred to was derived from the alphabetic system of the Greeks, and that, too, not earlier than at the period just specified, has been proved in the first Part of my former work by a great variety of arguments grounded on both internal and external evidence, of which I shall here merely observe, that, as far as I can learn, they have not yet been answered, though twenty-one years have elapsed since they were submitted to the judgment of the public. The next oldest system of African vocalization is presented to us in the Coptic alphabet, which did not come into use till the Egyptians were converted to Christianity, about the second century of our era. But all the vowels of this alphabet (and, indeed, all the consonants, except a few at the bottom of the series) are obviously of Grecian descent. The last of the ancient African methods of vocalization I have to notice is that displayed in the Ethiopic syllabary, the elements of which are proved by their names as well as by their syllabic powers to be of Shemitic origin; while the Grecian parentage of the vocal parts of the same powers is just as plainly evinced by the number and arrangement of those parts. The modifier of this system who reduced it to its present state appears to have attained to a clearer conception than the introducer of the *matres lectionis* into the alphabets of the same Shemitic class in Asia did, of the diversities of vocal sounds, and yet to have made less progress towards the disengaging of consonantal from syllabic powers. The people who employ this syllabary, namely, the Abyssinians, could not, from the situation of their country, have had any intercourse with the Greeks till after Egypt came under the dominion of the Ptolemies; and it does not appear that they ever were so completely subjugated by that race of sovereigns as to be compelled in consequence to acquire a familiarity with the Grecian system of writing. Hence the probability arises that the vocalization of their syllabary which indicates their attainment of this familiarity was not effected, till they were

converted to Christianity by Frumentius, who was consecrated Bishop of Axum in the year of our era 335. Upon both the origin of this vocalization and the limit here affixed to its age, I find my views supported by Gesenius in the following passage of his treatise:—"Ceterum quod verba [Scripturae Aethiopicae] divisa sunt binisque punctis distincta, quod litterae more Graecorum a laeva ad dextram currunt, denique quod consonis vocales affixae sunt ad graecarum vocalium exemplar conformatae, id post Constantini demum tempore a Graecis repetitum esse videtur."—*Scripturae Linguaeque Phoen. Mon.*, p. 85.

In fine, with regard to the Asiatic alphabets of lesser antiquity, they can, all of them, even to the remotest extremities of Asia, be shown to be derived either from the Syriac or the Sanscrit system, or from both. But the vocalization of Asiatico-Shemitic writing, and consequently of Syriac, which is a prominent species thereof, we have above seen brought home to a Grecian origin; while, in the sixth chapter of the second Part of my former work, that of the Sanscrit alphabet has, through the intermediate series of vocal designations belonging to the Ethiopic syllabary, been traced to the very same origin.

To turn our attention next to the process by which the Greeks arrived at the use of vowel-signs—the vast improvement thereby introduced into the alphabet they received from the Phœnicians they must evidently have attained to, through some mode or other of decomposing the syllabic powers of its elements into vowels, and articulations not soundable by themselves, but sounded by means of the vowels, and denoted by signs which were in consequence termed consonants. In the conducting of this operation to a successful result, no assistance, I have already remarked, was afforded by the separate consideration of the several values of the syllabic power of any of the Shemitic letters; for, each of those values having been denoted by only one letter, the singleness of the sign was not at all calculated to suggest the composite nature of the thing signified. But a joint view of such of them compared together as belonged to any one and the same syllabic power,

served in a most striking manner to point out their composition, and there was a property of the system itself which naturally led an observer to make this comparison ;—a circumstance which, I may here by the way remark, shows it to have been all along intended by our beneficent Creator, that man should advance from the ruder to a more perfect employment of the alphabet originally granted to him ; the requisite aid for which purpose having been supplied, he was afterwards left to avail himself thereof through the exertion of his natural talents. The feature of the primitive alphabet I allude to, as affording this aid, consisted in the application of each letter to denoting a set of syllabic sounds, all of which began with the same articulation,—a property which was obviously fitted to induce the mind to notice what was common to those sounds ; namely, their consonantal modification, after the separation of which from the entire sounds there remained only the vowels with which the utterance of that common consonant had been previously blended. But, striking as this property was, it notwithstanding failed to arrest observation, till the primitive system came under the penetrating glance of the ancient Greeks. This ingenious people, or rather some individual among them, having been taught to read specimens of his own language written after the Shemitic fashion, and therein finding the syllabic sound *DA*, for instance, in one of his words, to be denoted by a certain character, and the sound *DE*, in another word, to be expressed likewise by this character ; also the several sounds *DI*, *DO*, *DU*, to be in like manner signified, all of them in common, by the very same letter,—he was in consequence led to compare together those sounds, in order to detect what was that common part which warranted the application to them of a common sign ; and having through this investigation discovered their constituent ingredients, he was enabled to represent them far more distinctly than before, by converting the previous syllabic sign into a consonant, and adding thereto, for the expression of the remaining part of each syllabic sound a second letter, which of course was different for the



different vowels belonging to this set of sounds. I do not mean to assert that *Delta* or *Daleth* (for the original name, דלֶת, might be read in either way) was of necessity the letter on which he first operated in this manner, or that he at first extended the operation to all his vowels. He may possibly have begun with some other letter, as for example, with *Lambda* or *Lamed* (in either of which ways the original name לָמֶד, might be read, and as the Greek way is the older, it is more likely to be the correct one), and with only two or three of his vowels. Thus, for instance, if it had struck him that the three articulate sounds *LA*, *LE*, *LO*, or even any two of them, were denoted by one and the same Phœnician letter, this observation would have naturally led him to decompose the compared sounds in the manner above described; and he might afterwards have extended the same operation, by analogy, to the other letters of this alphabet, and the other vowels of his language. But through some such analysis he unquestionably must have decomposed his syllabic sounds; for, to a certainty, he got from the Phœnicians no more than a syllabary, and he transmitted to us this syllabary improved into a system of consonants and vowels.

But the superior sagacity of the ancient Greek is evinced not only by his having been the first, or rather the only one who detected the composite nature of syllabic sounds (for others arrived at the alphabetic improvements resulting from the decomposition of those sounds only through imitation), but also by the more accurate use he made of this discovery.\*

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\* Though, for the sake of simplifying my explanation, I speak of the Grecian and subsequent Shemitic improvements of the primitive Hebrew alphabet, as effected respectively by single scribes, yet I do not mean thereby to deny the possibility of each set of alterations having been accomplished by a number of persons, working either at the same time or in succession.

In the ensuing discussion the shapes of the first Greek and contemporary Phœnician letters of corresponding names and places are assumed to have been the same;—a view of the subject which is warranted by historic evidence, more especially that of Herodotus, recorded in chapters 58–61 of his fifth

Here it will suffice to bring into the field of view, along with his set of vowel-letters, on the one side, the three *matres lectionis* that were common to all the Asiatico-Shemitic derivatives of the original Hebrew system, and, on the other, the seven variations of shape of the syllabic letters of the Africano-Shemitic derivative of the same system, whereby the at first single series of those letters was distributed into seven columns. The latter of these Shemitic modes of vocalization, though it showed a better conception of the varieties of vowels than the former, was far inferior to the Grecian method ; since it failed to disengage the consonantal powers from syllabic sounds, besides that it imposed upon readers the necessity of committing to memory 182 characters, instead of only 26 consonants and 7 vowel-letters. The former method was also very inferior to the Grecian one, not only from the deficiency in the number of the *matres lectionis*, but also from their ambiguity. For, while the ancient Greek confined his vowel-letters to the sole expression of vowels, the Asiatico-Shemitic writer, in order to avoid the introduction of new letters, which might have be-

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book, and may in a great measure be verified by actual observation, or by inference thence fairly drawn. For, in some instances, the compared characters are found to be, in their oldest extant states, exactly identical ; and, in others, they approach the nearer to identity in proportion as they are got older. In Nos. 7, 8, and 9 of Plate II. are given, from the drawings annexed to the treatise of Gesenius, copies of the oldest extant Hebrew, Phœnician, and Greek forms of letters that will presently come under consideration, namely, of *Haleph*, *Halpha*, or *Alpha*,—of *He*, *He*, or *Epsilon*,—and of *Waw*, *Vaw*, or *Digamma*. The identity of the second set of characters is actually complete, the only difference between the Greek and the two Shemitic ones being, that they are turned opposite ways, on account of the different directions of the kinds of writing in which they occur. The resemblance is least in the third set ; but even in these the identity of the Phœnician and Greek characters is prevented only by the want of a second cross-line in the former letter ; and that such a line has dropped therefrom is rendered highly probable by a comparison of the first character of this set with its modern shape, which serves to show that a line of this description has been obliterated from the Hebrew letter, and, therefore, it may be easily conceived to have been likewise effaced from the Phœnician one.

trayed the novel or the foreign origin of this part of his alphabet, applied three of his old letters, which had thenceforward become consonants, to the secondary designation of his vowels. The evils of this arrangement are illustrated by the uncertainty it has produced with regard to the true sounds of names of rare occurrence in the Hebrew text of the Bible. The ancient Greek, indeed, also applied some of the old Phœnician letters to the designation of vowels ; but he avoided employing the same letters as consonants, and in consequence selected for the purpose only those whose consonantal powers he had no occasion for, in expressing the sounds of his own language. As to the vowels *I* and *U*, he was enabled to arrive at them not only through the mode of decomposition more generally applicable which has been already described, but also by means of the particular species of this operation which is called diæresis, and is confined to the case of syllables commencing with *Y* and *W* powers, which are in fact but semi-consonantal, and have a close affinity with the specified vowels. But he had no use for the *Y* power, and, therefore, transferred to the vowel *I* the name and the place (viz. the tenth) of the letter to which that power, on the reduction of syllabic to consonantal values, had belonged ; only altering the sound of the name **י** (which, when signifying a letter, might be read *YōD* or *YōDa*) by diæresis into *I-ōta*. The *W* power, on the contrary, he continued for some time to employ, and in consequence left to it, 1st, the name **ו**, *Waw* (which was afterwards changed, sometimes to *Vau*, but more commonly to *Digamma*) ;<sup>a</sup> 2ndly, the shape of the Phœnician

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<sup>a</sup> Though the power of the *Digamma* was in the main identical with that of the Shemitic *Waw*, it included in addition some aspiration, in consequence of which it might be represented by *Wh* ; so that, when the power of the Shemitic letter was changed from *W* to *V*, that of the Greek element was altered from *Wh* to *Vh* or *F*. With the former power the letter in question passed, before the extinction of its use in Greek writing, into the Roman system ; wherein it has all along preserved the *F* shape, but now conveys the altered *Vh* power of the ancient *Digamma*. As to the Grecian name of this letter,

letter referred to<sup>a</sup> but altered in its direction (F); and, 3rdly, its place, viz. the sixth in the alphabet. But as he derived from the same *W* power the vowel *U*, he gave this additional element of his system, 1st, a new name (to wit, the sound of this vowel with the epithet *ψιλον*, expressive of 'closeness' subjoined, to distinguish it from the open *U*, which he denoted by a combination of two vowel-letters); 2ndly, a new character (Υ); and, 3rdly, a new place, viz. that next after the last letter of the Shemitic alphabet. He had no motive for concealing the novelty of the introduced element, as it was obviously his own invention, no vowel-letter existing at the time in any other system; and by distinguishing it in name, shape, and place, from its fellow-derivative, he avoided all risk of confusion between them. The remaining vowels, *A*, *E*, and *O*, he connected with the old syllabic powers of the primitive alphabet through the more general mode of decomposition above described, after which operation the names of two of the three Shemitic aspirates *Haleph*, *He*, and *Hayin*, which he discarded from his system (he at first retained for some time the use of *Hēth* as an aspirate), served to point out which of them he should select for the designation of the first two of those vowels. Thus the initial syllable of the name *Haleph* or *Halpha* (viz. *Ha*, which is one of the series of values of the old syllabic power of this aspirate), after he had rejected

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—*Δίγαμμα* (a designation derived from its shape (F), which has some resemblance to one Gamma (Γ) placed on another) was applied to it only when used as a phonetic sign, which employment of it in Greek writing has long ago ceased. The other name, *Baû*, was given to the character when viewed either as a phonetic or numeric figure; but for its latter use, which is still continued, it is denominated *ἐπίσημον Baû* (to distinguish it as a mere cipher or a sign of the number 6), and is written ς,—a shape which appears to be derived from 7 turned the opposite way, only somewhat further altered from that character through the mistake of the printers confounding it with the Greek contraction of the combination of letters ς and τ.

<sup>a</sup> See the second and third characters in Plate II. No. 9. The probability of their original identity of shape has been shown in the note preceding the last one.

the consonantal part of its composition, gave him the vowel *A*, as that to which he should assign, 1st, the above name without the initial aspiration ; 2ndly, the shape of the Phœnician letter referred to ;<sup>a</sup> and, 3rdly, its place at the head of the alphabet. In like manner, the name *He*, which is itself one of the series of values constituting the old syllabic power of the second of the above aspirates, pointed out to him, after its decomposition, the vowel *E* as that to which he should assign, 1st, this name without its aspiration (to wit, the sound of this vowel, to which was subjoined the epithet *ψιλον*, expressive of ‘closeness,’ at a later period, when a sign for the open *E* was added to the system) ; 2ndly, the shape of the Phœnician letter referred to ;<sup>b</sup> and, 3rdly, its place, the fifth, in the alphabet. But he could not in the like way connect the vowel *O* with the name *Hayin* ; because by similarly operating on this name, he would only arrive a second time at the vowel *A*.<sup>c</sup> He must, therefore, quite independently of the names of the aspirates or gutturals, through some mental analysis or methodical arrangement (such as has been already described) of the syllabic sounds of his language, have found that he had one more vowel to designate, to which he in consequence assigned the remaining guttural he had to spare, appropriating to it, 1st, the old Shemitic character for that guttural (a little circle or oval), and, 2ndly, the place thereof, the sixteenth in the alphabet ; but changing the old name, which had no connexion whatever with the vowel in question, into an entirely

<sup>a</sup> See the second and third characters in Plate II. No. 7.

<sup>b</sup> See the second and third characters in Plate II. No. 8.

<sup>c</sup> According to the Polish pronunciation of Hebrew, or the Western pronunciation of Syriac, the name *יַיִן* (*ḤaYiN*) would be read *ḤoYiN*, and consequently, if treated in the manner above described, would conduct to the vowel *O*. But according to the same mode of reading, the name *הַלֵּף* is sounded *ḤoLaPh*, so would likewise yield *O*. By this peculiar pronunciation, therefore, the ancient Greek could not increase the number of vowels connected with his system through the prescribed analysis, but would merely change them from *A* and *E* to *O* and *E*.

new one, consisting merely of the sound of this vowel, to which at a subsequent period the epithet *μικρον*, expressive of 'closeness,' was added, after the introduction of a second letter for the same general sound, which rendered it necessary to distinguish between them by the qualities of 'open' and 'close.'

On the other hand, whether the introducer of the *matres lectionis* into Shemitic writing took them without any alteration of their phonetic significations from the cuneiform alphabet, or derived them in the same manner as the framer of that alphabet had done, immediately from the Grecian one, he arrived at his conception of their vocalic office, and of the consonantal part of the powers of the original elements of his system, by no independent exertion of thought or analytic process of comparing and thereby decomposing the syllabic values of those elements, but merely through very imperfect observation of a foreign method of designation; for, otherwise, he surely must have detected more vowels than three connected with the syllabic sounds of his language, and consequently have perceived the want of a greater number than that of letters to denote them. The inaptitude, indeed, of the Asiatico-Shemitic nations to avail themselves of the full improvement which vowel-signs were calculated to produce in their several syllabic systems, is rendered evident, not only by their adopting all of them in common, no more than three out of the seven signs of this kind which they might have obtained through mere observation, but also by the very sparing use they at first made of even that small number, by the slowness with which they extended that use, and by the great length of time that elapsed after they had become acquainted with the Greek mode of writing before they admitted any signs of this nature into their respective systems; as may be clearly ascertained with regard to such of those systems as yield a sufficient supply of extant ancient specimens to enable an investigator to inquire into those points respecting them.

As the Grecian origin, whether immediate or remote, of the vocalic use of the Shemitic *matres lectionis* was less exposed

to view in the case of the *Yod* and *Waw* than in that of the *Haleph*, this circumstance accounts for the preference at first given to such use of the two former letters. The like employment of the *Haleph* seems to have been in the beginning confined solely to the assistance it afforded in expressing the sounds of Grecian proper names. Thus national vanity appears to have formerly interfered with a freer insertion of the vocal *Haleph* in other Shemitic writings ; but in the Hebrew record the Jewish priests were impelled to a sparing use of it by an additional motive of a far stronger nature, namely, their anxiety to avoid as much as possible whatever might lead to the detection of the adventitious nature therein of the *matres lectionis*,—an exposure which would have divested their misreadings of the original elements of the sacred text of all authority. In after times, when the foreign origin of the Shemitic *matres lectionis* was totally lost sight of, the use of *Haleph* as a vowel-sign gradually increased to such an extent in every kind of Shemitic writing employed in Asia, that its phonetic value is at present represented in the modern Arabic and Persian grammars solely by the vowel *A*. In the case of the cuneiform alphabet no preference was given to any of its *matres lectionis* above the rest, but all of them were after a short interval abandoned for the less ambiguous but still very defective set of three letters applied solely to the designation of vowels. The quick transition to the latter set of vocal-signs accords with the circumstance already noticed respecting this alphabet, that it was forced upon the Persian public by the absolute authority of Darius, the son of Hystaspes ; in consequence of which its variation depended not on the slow progress of national tastes and opinions, but on the judgment of a single individual,—the able man and powerful monarch under whose auspices it was brought into use.

It may appear strange that the Greeks, though a vain, ostentatious people, yet never laid claim to the credit of having invented the use of vowel-signs. But we should recollect that grammar was not formed into a regular art, nor did men

begin to speculate upon the subject of letters till about a thousand years after they had been introduced into Greece ;<sup>a</sup> by which time all the particulars respecting the alterations effected in the Phœnician alphabet to adapt it to the Grecian language were entirely forgotten. It was not till then that the grammarians, who undertook to treat *de omni scibili*, pretended to give exact accounts, as well of the number of letters imported by Cadmus, as of the time when, the persons by whom, and the manner in which additions were made to that number ;—accounts, however, which were varied by different authors, and whose fallacy is proved not only by their mutual contradictions, but also by an immediate comparison of the Greek and Phœnician alphabets in the oldest extant states of their respective elements, which serves to show that the letters of the primitive system were introduced into Greece all of them at the same time. So far I am supported by Gesenius, as may be seen in the following extract from his Treatise :—“Quo tempore et a quo litterae Phœniciae ad Graecos delatae sint, qua de re apud ipsos veteres variae erant sive traditiones, sive doctorum hominum opiniones, nobis nunc quidem disputare non vacat, unumque probasse sufficiat, id a Phœnicibus factum esse, neque vero sensim pedetentimque primum sedecim, dein reliquas litteras, sed omnes alphabeti orientalis litteras simul ex Phœnicia esse allatas, postea aliis ex Graecorum ingenio auctas.”—*Scripturae Linguaeque Phœniciae Monum.*, p. 65. In no respect, indeed, except with regard to the statement of letters having been first brought to Greece by the Phœnicians, are the accounts transmitted to us concerning this subject to be depended on ; and some of them betray their fallacy upon the slightest consideration : as, for instance, that of Palamedes having in-

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<sup>a</sup> In fixing the length of time above specified, the computation of Sir Isaac Newton is followed, which represents Cadmus as contemporary to King David. According to the vulgar system of chronology, he lived in the same age as Joshua,—a view of the subject which would leave no interval for the gradual spreading of the use of letters from the Jews to the Phœnicians.



vented the letters  $\Theta$ ,  $\Xi$ ,  $\Phi$ ,  $X$ , at the siege of Troy,—where, in the midst of battles, he was of course at leisure to pursue such investigations quite at his ease,—and of his having been led to this discovery by observing the flight of cranes,—which has, no doubt, a mighty great resemblance to those characters, whether they be viewed separately or collectively. For the refutation of this story it is scarcely requisite to observe, that the first of the specified letters belonged to the Phœnician alphabet, and, therefore, could not have been an addition made thereto by any Greek. Thus, while the grammarians resorted to the silliest fables with a view to extol the services performed by their countrymen in the improvement of the primitive alphabet, they passed over in total silence the invention of vowel-letters, which is really due to the sagacity of the Greeks, and reflects the most brilliant lustre on the genius of that people. Of the value of this invention one can scarcely speak too highly : it is, in fact, the primary foundation of the vast superiority of European over Asiatic learning ; and its effects upon the general progress of human information are analogous to those splendid results to which good methods of notation have conducted in the particular department of mathematical investigations. Against this representation of the matter, the following objection may, perhaps, be urged. The Arabic plan of vocalization is the same very clumsy and imperfect one that belongs, in common, to every other kind of Shemitic writing now or formerly employed in Asia ; and yet, were not the Arabians, during the middle ages, the great revivers of learning ? All this I admit to be true ; but still, it should be observed, they earned the credit here given to them only by translating the works of Greek authors, and never raised the standard of erudition above the level at which those authors had left it. When Science sprung forward from that level, to take a higher flight, it was through the instrumentality of no other than European writing that she ascended to her present elevated position.

# APPENDIX.

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## SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS.

1. INDICATIONS OF UNFAIR DESIGN WHICH THE FIRST VOCALIZATION OF THE SACRED TEXT BETRAYS—2. THE CHRISTIANS UTTERLY IGNORANT OF HEBREW DURING BY FAR THE GREATER PART OF THE SECOND CENTURY—3. INVESTIGATION OF THE DATE OF THE FIRST VOCALIZATION OF THE HEBREW TEXT—4. OF THE SPURIOUS GREEK VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT THAT WERE WRITTEN, MOST OF THEM, IN THE SECOND CENTURY—5. A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE CONDUCT OF THE JEWISH RULERS DURING THE SECOND CENTURY, AND A FEW OF THOSE NEXT ENSUING—6. OF THE PESHITAH, OR FIRST SYRIAC VERSION—7. OF THE SAMARITAN TEXT AND VERSION—8. OF THE CHALDEE VERSIONS, STRICTLY SO CALLED, THAT IS, THE OLDER TARGUMS—9. VALUE OF THE PRESENT DISCOVERY ILLUSTRATED BY ONE MORE EXAMPLE.

THE following chapter is but an imperfect substitute for a volume I had intended to write upon points omitted or not sufficiently discussed in the course of the treatise just ended. I regret this alteration of my plan, and can only plead in excuse the fast increasing infirmities of age, which warn me not to miss the present opportunity—the last, perhaps, that may be afforded me—of submitting to public inspection a few additional remarks. For, however incomplete some of them may be, still, if they in any degree contribute to the elucidation of my subject, it is better to put them forward even in an unfinished state, than altogether suppress them.

1. In the second chapter I have sufficiently exposed the artifice with which the earlier set of vocalizers contrived to assail the accuracy of the Septuagint, by altering the vowel-sounds of names of rare occurrence in Scripture,—sounds which had been, before that version was written, but imper-

fectly preserved, and which could, in consequence, with the less risk of detection, be tampered with. But it was chiefly by unfair management of the *matres lectionis* in the parts of the Hebrew text outside the groups denoting proper names, that those scribes endeavoured to lower the credit of the same version. The assaults so conducted may be distinguished into two classes. In the first class the employment of the letters in question for the above purpose was extremely rash, and constituted a more immediate attack on Christianity itself; where the party referred to were tempted by the virulence of their prejudices—in the case of passages of the Old Testament supporting such of the Christian tenets as they most detested—to resort to the desperate expedient of misvocalizing sentences in opposition, not only to the authority, which they did not admit, of the Septuagint, though backed by that of the inspired writers of the New Testament, but also to even the very bearing of the context. An example of this sort has been already examined in my analysis of the original state of a prophecy of Amos, of which a group denoting ‘mankind’ is transformed, by a wrong insertion of a *mater lectionis*, into the proper name ‘Edom;’ where, however, the effort to avoid the violation of the context, thus produced, has occasioned the necessity of introducing additional corruptions affecting original elements of the sacred writing. Another example more strictly agreeing with the above description of the class, inasmuch as it betrays a misuse of solely a *mater lectionis*, is supplied through the fraudulent treatment of the remarkable prophecy of King David in the sixteenth Psalm,—‘Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades [the receptacle of the dead], neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption,’—a prophecy which is recorded in ‘the Acts of the Apostles’ to have been appealed to by both St. Peter and St. Paul, as pointing to the resurrection of our LORD and the shortness of the time that his body would be allowed to remain in the grave. To overturn this interpretation (which exactly agrees with the rendering given in the Septuagint) of the original passage, the first voca-

lizers altered in the Hebrew text קֹדֶשׁ, KhaSiD'Ka, 'thy Holy One,' into קֹדֶשִׁים, KhaSIDEKa, 'thy holy ones;' in which state the combination of the noun and its affix remains to this day, in the unpointed text, with the meaning of the prophecy thereby entirely changed. In the insertion, indeed, of the first *Yod* they were perfectly justified; as it excludes the principal ingredient of the compound from a reading which conveys an abstract sense, KheSeD, 'sanctity,' and confines it to one that yields a concrete meaning, KhaSiD, 'saint,' in accordance with the demands of the context.<sup>a</sup> But, that the second *Yod* is incorrectly introduced is conceded even by the Masorets, or later set of vocalizers, whose labours did not commence till long after the secret of the earlier vocalization had been wholly lost among even the best informed of the Jews, and the disputes of their forefathers with the Christians on the passage before us had become quite forgotten; and who, in consequence, having been here left to their unbiassed judgment, stigmatized this *Yod* with their circular mark of censure; and, although they did not venture to erase it, yet pointed the penultimate syllable of the group as if it had been thence removed; whereby they virtually acknowledged it to be a spurious interpolation.<sup>b</sup>

Hebrew grammarians, indeed, have attempted to evade the foregoing admission, by styling the *Yod* in the site referred to an *otiant*, or useless letter; and undoubtedly it is deprived of

<sup>a</sup> Of course the above renderings are only for one meaning of KheSeD, which might equally be used to signify 'mercy,' or 'benevolence;' while, for these latter meanings, the corresponding concrete, KhaSiD, should be translated 'merciful,' or 'benevolent.' From such variations in the signification of words no language is exempt, in either its written or oral state.

<sup>b</sup> While the retention of the *Yod* in the site above specified strongly marks the editorial honesty of the Masorets, gross ignorance is at the same time betrayed on their part by this mode of dealing with it; for, had they been aware of the controversy which the priests of their nation sustained in former times by means of the letter so placed, they could hardly have denied its significance in this site without actually becoming Christians.

all significance by the Masoretic treatment of it and of the syllable in which it occurs. But, before this mode of preventing its ill effects was adopted, it was much worse than merely useless, and was even positively injurious, by exhibiting the noun it follows in a wrong number : it could not, therefore, have been inserted by the inspired authors of the Hebrew Bible, who, it is now on all sides agreed, did not make use of the Masoretic marks. The act, then, of calling this *Yod* an 'otiant' is, in reality, an acknowledgment that it is an interpolated letter, constituting no part of the writing of the original record. Instances, however, of this sort could not be very numerous ; because, if they were, they must almost inevitably have led to the detection of the vocalization of the sacred text with *matres lectionis*, as soon as that text was brought by Origen, in the course of the third century, under the inspection of the Christians. But there is a much larger fund of other instances, in which the first vocalizers can be shown to have endeavoured in a very insidious manner to bring the Septuagint into disrepute, and to have thereby attempted indirectly to weaken the force of its testimony in reference to the former class of passages, whose true signification they were extremely anxious to get rid of. I shall now proceed to give a brief illustration of this, their principal and by far most artful mode of trying to undermine the authority of that version.

Where a sentence of the Hebrew text, considered at first without its vowel-letters, admits of being read in more ways than one consistently with the context, those letters will in general be found inserted so as to convey the right meaning, indeed, but still in a form different from that in which it is expressed in the Septuagint ;—a contrivance which evidently tended to give that work the appearance of a very loose, though not absolutely erroneous translation, as soon as the Christians came to have an opportunity of comparing it with the vocalized text, which was imposed upon them, as if exactly in the state in which it was written by its inspired au-

thors. Thus the last group of the sixth verse of the third chapter of Genesis, וַיֵּאָכֵל, admitted of being read, before the text was vocalized, either *WaYyoHKaL*, ‘and he did eat,’ or *WaYyoHKeLu*, ‘and they did eat;’ but, after the text was vocalized, it could have been read and construed in the latter way only by means of a *Waw* added at the end of it to express the vowel *U*; and it was actually confined to the former reading and signification by leaving it without this addition. Now this group might be taken in either sense consistently with the circumstances of the narrative; though the latter will perhaps, upon consideration, be found more strictly conformable to them: for it appears more likely that the woman did not wait to finish her repast in solitude, but first brought of the fruit a portion to her husband, and then continued to eat along with him. But, however that may be, the group in question admits of either of the above readings without any violation of the context; and the vocalizers took advantage of this ambiguity\* to change what had been the received reading of it up to their time, as indicated by its old Greek translation *καὶ ἔφαγον*, ‘and they did eat;’ so dealing with it as that it should thenceforward be confined to the reading which signifies, ‘and he did eat.’ I do not maintain that this trick has been practised in every instance in which it might,—such constancy could hardly be expected in the course of an operation which betrays the plainest marks of precipitation,—but still it has been adhered to with a degree of uniformity quite sufficient to prove design; so that it now reacts upon the work at large of its contrivers, and, instead of lowering, as they intended it should, the credit of the Septuagint, actually assists to establish the spuriousness of the *matres lectionis* in the mind of every reader competent to make the inquiry, who will take the trouble of comparing this version and the original record in

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\* The ambiguity above noticed exists only in form, not in substance. For, as soon as Adam tasted of the fruit, whether he only ate after his wife or in company with her, it could be stated that *they* did eat.

its present state, with a view to ascertaining the reality of the stratagem here pointed out. The passages, indeed, that belong to the class first described furnish a more prominent proof of interpolation ; and it serves strongly to mark the providential interference of the Almighty for the protection of his Word, that it should have been placed, during the darkness of the mediæval ages, in the custody of a succession of scribes who carried their fidelity of transcription to such an extreme length as to retain, in those passages, letters virtually acknowledged by themselves to have been wrongly inserted therein. This superstitious degree of scrupulousness, which no other series of copyists, as far as I can find, ever showed, and which it is wonderful how any set of men could have been induced to observe, was evidently calculated to lead, sooner or later, to the discovery now unfolded, by preserving the passages in question in the very condition in which they were left by the first vocalizers, with all the inconsistencies which precipitation occasioned,—inconsistencies which certainly cannot be ascribed to the inspired authors of the books of the Old Testament. The same remark, indeed, applies generally to the entire vocalization of the sacred text, but more especially to the parts of it above referred to, which most conspicuously betray design. But, with regard to the class of passages at present under consideration, the evidence of fraud, though not so obvious, is more convincing in one respect ; namely, the greater amount of materials by which the justness of my representation of its existence and tendency can be tested. Many of the differences of style or form of expression to be noticed in the course of this part of the investigation are, no doubt, trivial in themselves, but by no means so in reference to the point to which attention is now directed : and the great artfulness of the contrivance here brought to light lies in this circumstance, that in general its unfairness cannot be detected by the separate comparison of any one of the vocalized words or sentences in question with its Greek rendering in the Septuagint, but only by making a large number of these comparisons, and

so arriving at the drift of the vocalization of the Hebrew portion of the compared expressions. It will thus be seen that a use of the *matres lectionis*, which is fair in the meaning it attaches to a word or sentence, is yet frequently very unfair in the motive which led to its selection.

Sometimes, however, the consideration of even a single sentence of the vocalized text, viewed in connexion with its oldest Greek rendering, is sufficient to expose the design of the vocalizers : namely, when that sentence, as originally written, contains several ambiguous groups. Let us, for instance, compare the following Hebrew verse (Gen. xli. 14), interpreted according to its primary vocalization, with the corresponding verse of the Septuagint, literally translated :—

וישלח פרעה, ויקרא את יוסף; וירצהו מן הבור, ויגלח°, ויחלף  
ס שְׂמלתוֹ; ויבא אל פרעה.<sup>a</sup>

‘Then Pharaoh sent, and called Yoseph; and *one* brought him with speed [literally, made him run] from the dungeon, and shaved *him*, and changed his garments; and he came unto Pharaoh.’

Ἀποστείλας δὲ Φαραὼ, ἐκάλεσε τὸν Ἰωσήφ· καὶ ἐξήγαγον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχυρώματος, καὶ ἐξύρησαν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἥλλαξαν τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἦλθε πρὸς Φαραῶ.

‘But Pharaoh, having sent *messengers*, called Ioseph; and they brought him away from the dungeon, and shaved him, and changed his garment; and he came unto Pharaoh.’



The three verbs in the middle clause of the Hebrew verse, together with the affixes of two of them, and the noun after

<sup>a</sup> In my representation of the above Hebrew verse, the first circular mark of something wrong is put over a blank space immediately after the verb ויגלח, where the Seventy, by the word αὐτον subjoined to their rendering of that verb, attest that the pronominal affix ך originally stood. The second little circle has a reference merely to orthography, and is intended to point out that, as the *Shin*, over which it is placed, is uttered as a *Samek*, it ought likewise to be so written, to indicate which a *Samek* is inserted in the opposite part of the margin.



the third, accompanied also by its affix, were written, before the text was vocalized, or the second verb lost its affix, as follows :—

סמלתה, ויחלף, ויגלה[ה], וירצה.

Each of these groups admitted of being read and construed in two different ways ; and, consequently, the four viewed together furnish us with sixteen different sets of readings and significations.<sup>a</sup> Of these, however, it will be necessary here to consider only two sets : first, that in which the specified groups, taken in the order in which they have just been placed, are read, *WaYeRiŞuHu*, ‘and they made him run ;’ *WaYeGaLleKhuHu*, ‘and they shaved him ;’ *WaYeKhaLlePhu*, ‘and they changed ;’ *SiMLaThoH*, ‘his garment ;’ and secondly, that in which, adhering to the same arrangement, we read them, *WaYeRiŞeHu*, ‘and *one* made him run ;’ *WaYeGaLleKheHu*, ‘and *one* shaved him ;’ *WaYeKhaLlePh*, ‘and *one* [or he, that is, *Yoseph*] changed ;’ *SiMLoTheHu*, ‘his garments.’ But from the Greek translation of the verse it will be seen that the Seventy Jews chose the first of these sets of readings, construing the three verbs in the plural number (with a natural and obvious reference to the messengers impliedly mentioned in the first clause), and the noun in the singular ; while, on the other hand, the old vocalizers adopted the second set, wherein the very opposite selection is made, as to the grammatic numbers in which the leading words are respectively inflected, and the original of each word is limited to its selected number, by the

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<sup>a</sup> The above number would be increased to thirty-two, if the second group could be read, in addition to the ways specified in my text (as it might without violating the context), *WaYeGuLlaKh*, ‘and he was shaved,’ or *WaYiThGaLleKh*, ‘and he shaved himself ;’ but both those renderings must be rejected, as directly at variance with the fact attested by the Seventy, that originally this group had an affix subjoined to it. Moreover the latter reading is liable to the additional objection, that it requires the insertion of a *Taw* between the *Yod* and *Gimel* of the original group, for which alteration no ancient authority whatever has been discovered.

manner in which those scribes dealt with it. For, since the time of the insertion of *matres lectionis* in the sacred text, the omission of a *Waw* immediately after each verb, whether followed by an affix or not, has confined all three, as far as depends on their vocalization by means of letters, to the singular number ; while, at the same time, the *Yod* interposed between the noun and its affix has restricted it to the plural. Now, even if the principal ingredient of each of the four groups could be put with equal propriety in either number, it still would afford some reason for suspecting design on the part of the vocalizers to see them choose, out of sixteen sets of readings, that one precisely in which the four ingredients in question are exhibited in the opposite numbers to those in which their Greek renderings show they were respectively read by the Seventy. But when we find this series adopted at the sacrifice of all distinctness with regard to the performers of the action denoted by the three verbs, or at any rate by the first two of them,—for which verbs the preceding part of the passage supplies no notice, expressed or implied, of any single agents to whom they could, when taken in the singular number, be separately referred ;—the suspicion that would arise in the former state of the case is, in the present one, changed almost unavoidably into certainty. It is quite inconceivable that the vocalizers should, without any necessity for so doing, represent the inspired author of Genesis as employing the above verbs in such a forced, indefinite manner, unless they were strongly influenced by some unfair motive ; and that motive could be no other than an eager desire to disparage the accuracy of the Septuagint ; as may be clearly perceived from the effect of the selection of readings to which it has in this instance conducted : namely, four apparent discrepancies between that version and its original, within the range of only a small portion of a single verse.

Although the two modes which have been now compared of reading the examined clause differ rather in form than in substance, so as virtually to yield very nearly the same mean-

ing, yet the expression of that meaning is far plainer and more natural in the former mode. Hence the Masorets—among whom the secret of the vocalization of the Hebrew text with *matres lectionis*, as well as of the motives which influenced the insertors of these letters, was not preserved—being left to their own unbiassed judgment upon the subject, freely condemned the treatment by earlier scribes of the first verb in this clause; as they pointed it for the plural number, by supplying through their *Qibbus* the want of a *Waw* at its termination;<sup>a</sup> and no doubt they would have applied the same correction to the second verb also, which just equally stands in need of it, if they had not been prevented by the defective nature of their vocalic notation, which does not regularly admit the insertion of this mark at the very end of a group, nor consequently at the end of the second verb, which lost its affix before their time. Thus they were precluded from the requisite correction of the latter group by a limitation to the employment of the *Qibbus*, which has no solid ground to rest on; since the number in which a verb should be taken is evidently quite independent of the circumstance whether it be followed, or not, by an affix.

The framers of the present and three preceding Authorized English Versions of the Hebrew Bible availed themselves with perfect propriety of the above described correction of the first of the analyzed groups; whereby they in fact concurred with the Masorets in unconsciously bearing testimony to the unfairness of the attack made by the earlier set of vocalizers on the

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<sup>a</sup> The above correction serves to illustrate my position, that originally a Hebrew verb, written in the third person of the preterite, admitted of being read in either the singular or plural number, according to the demands of the context. For therein an instance is presented to us of a verb which, without any alteration of its letters, was read in different numbers by the two sets of vocalizers, even after a restriction had been placed upon its number by the earlier set; and of course it was *à fortiori* open to the ancient reader, before any such restriction was introduced, to take this inflexion in whichever number he conceived the circumstances of the case to require.

rendering of the verb of this group in the plural number by the Seventy Jews. But all the four sets of English translators read the verb belonging to the second group in the singular, and yet endeavoured to avoid the vagueness of construction connected with that reading by, I must say, a very unwarrantable expedient: namely, by attaching to this verb a reciprocal sense, as if it were written in the *Hithpahel* form;<sup>a</sup>—a way of translating it which requires an alteration to be introduced into the body of the Hebrew word with respect to, not a mater lectionis, but an original element, *Taw*, which, notwithstanding, has not been found in it in this site in, I believe, any extant copy of the sacred text, and certainly not in any of the numerous copies that were collected by Kennicott and De Rossi. Nor did the editors of subsequent editions of the last Authorized Version remedy the evil of the extraordinary liberty thus taken with the original, by exhibiting in Italics the pronoun ‘himself,’ which constitutes part of the translation in question; but have only altered the nature of the misrepresentation resorted to; which is thereby made to bear on the structure of the language, and calculated to give an English reader the notion, that a Hebrew verb, not in a reflective form, might still acquire a reflective modification of its sense, by being combined with some Hebrew word for ‘himself,’ not even written, but only understood after it;—a mode of conveying the force of a verb reciprocal which has no existence in the sacred language. In fine, with regard to the fourth group, the noun therein contained may be read in either number, as far as depends upon the general meaning of the sen-

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<sup>a</sup> The second, third, and last Authorized English Versions, namely, those called respectively Cranmer’s, Parker’s, and King James’s, all give the same translation of the group in question,—“and he shaved himself;” while the first Authorized Version, that is, Coverdale’s, combines a reciprocal form with the passive voice in the rendering of this group,—“and he let himself be shaven;” to which no alteration whatever of the Hebrew verb therein contained could make the entire group exactly correspond.

tence ; but is limited to the singular number by the authority of the Seventy Jews, which is of far more weight than that of the old vocalizers, as they lived between three and four hundred years nearer to the time of the recorded transaction.

According to the remarks upon this example which have now been submitted to the judgment of the reader, the four groups referred to should, in an amended edition of the sacred text, be exhibited as follows :—

ס שְׁמַלְתָּוּ וַיַּחֲלֹבּוּ וַיַּגְלִחַּו וַיִּרְצֻהוּ,

and the English rendering of the entire verse would stand thus :—

‘ Then Pharaoh sent *messengers* to call Yoseph; and they

‘brought him with speed from the dungeon, and shaved  
‘him, and changed his garment; and he came unto Pha-  
rahoh.’

<sup>a</sup> Heb.—*made him run.*  
<sup>b</sup> Sept.

It would be superfluous to pursue this subject any further, as the learned reader may easily detect abundance of examples to the like effect in almost every page of the sacred record. I do not, however, promise him, nor do I wish to be considered as asserting, that he will very often find either design so manifestly exposed by means of single examples, or the reading indicated by the Hebrew vocalization of a passage of the text so inferior to that suggested by the oldest Greek translation of the same passage, as in the case of the sentence just analyzed.

2. Vowel-letters are shown to have been employed in the text of the Hebrew Bible in the time of Jerome by his observations respecting them ;<sup>a</sup> and there was no opportunity for

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<sup>a</sup> The following passage in the writings of Jerome, which has been frequently appealed to for the purpose of showing that the Masoretic points were not applied to the sacred text till after his time, as well as for that of illustrating the disadvantage resulting from their absence in the case of proper names,—serves also to attest the presence of the *matres lectionis* in that text as early as the age in which he lived:—“Nec refert, utrum Salem an Salim nominatur, cum vocalibus in medio litteris perraro utantur Hebræi, et pro voluntate lectorum, ac varietate regionum, eadem verba diversis sonis atque

their secret insertion between the age in which he lived and that of Origen, this text having been during the entire interval subject to Christian inspection. They must, therefore, have existed therein at any rate as far back as the days of the earlier of those Fathers of the Church, that is, as far back as the beginning of the third century. On the other hand, several passages of the Old Testament which are quoted in the New, with meanings quite irreconcilable with those attached to them in the vocalized text, prove beyond a doubt that the letters in question were not in that text at the dates when the Gospels and other compositions of the inspired followers of our Lord were written; nor could they have been subsequently introduced without detection, till after the early Christians had lost the protection from fraud afforded by living instructors gifted with inspiration, which lasted, at all events, to the end of the first century.<sup>a</sup> The *matres lectionis*, consequently, must have been interpolated in the Hebrew text at some period or other in the course of the second century; and the tendency of the passages thereby perverted indicates very clearly the party by whom they were inserted.

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accentibus proferantur.”—*Hieronymi Opera*, Ed<sup>o</sup>. Benedict. tom. ii. col. 574. But, as Jerome mistook for vowel-letters some elements of the Hebrew alphabet which are not of this nature, it may be right to add, as a more unquestionable proof to the same effect, that *matres lectionis* are actually included among the collections of letters with which he occasionally describes words of the Hebrew text to be written. Thus, in a letter to Pope Damasus, inserted in the second volume of the Benedictine edition of his works, while commenting on a word in Exod. xiii. 18, which he pronounces *amusim*, and interprets *munitos*, he states respecting it,—‘quod his litteris scribitur, מֶמַּם, MEM, SIN, IOD, MEM.’ Hence it is evident that the *mater lectionis Yod*, which at present is found in this word [חַמֻּשִׁים, *HaMuShIM*], was there as far back at any rate as the period when he flourished.

<sup>a</sup> Eusebius, in the twenty-third chapter of the third book of his “Ecclesiastical History,” cites the testimonies of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, to prove that St. John lived till the time of Trajan. But the reign of this emperor commenced less than three years before the termination of the first century.

In objection to the charge thus brought home to the Jewish priesthood, of having corrupted the original text of their Scriptures, it is in vain asked, when had they an opportunity for the secret commission of this crime? Even if no such time could be pointed out, that circumstance would not disprove the fact already established against them, but merely leave it in part unexplained,—a degree of imperfection which obscures human knowledge with regard to many other facts also, of whose reality there yet exists not the slightest doubt. As the case stands, however, the proposed objection can be easily answered. It is on all sides admitted that, during the whole of the second century, or at any rate during by far the greater portion of it, namely, that which remained after the death of the last of the inspired Christians, the ancient Hebrew tongue was known solely to the priests of the Jews and the agents in their employment.<sup>a</sup> They consequently had full opportunity for secretly making the interpolations alluded to in the course of the specified century, that is, during the very interval in which it has been just proved to a certainty, by the internal evidence of the case, that those interpolations were actually made. A few exceptions, indeed, are attempted to be drawn to the state of gross ignorance of the subject in question which is acknowledged to have prevailed generally among the Christians of that period. But not only may it be shown that no valid grounds are adduced for those exceptions; but also positive proofs can be given of this ignorance having been extended to the individuals of their creed who then were most distinguished for ability and learning.

First, then,—to enter upon the negative branch of this discussion,—I must deny to the Nazarenes and Ebionites the cre-

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<sup>a</sup> Under the general head of the Jewish priesthood is, in the above point of view, included that of the Samaritans, though but an illegitimate branch of the order. In no other instance, perhaps, could the two sets of men be found to have ever agreed; but in this one they were united by a common interest.

dit of that knowledge of ancient Hebrew which has been inconsiderately attributed to them. For, surely, those Judaizing sects of the second century cannot be supposed to have known more of the sacred language than did the Jews of the same period. But, during that century (and, indeed, for nearly the four next ensuing, as will under a subsequent head be shown), the great body of the Jewish laity were acquainted solely with Greek; and the comparatively small portion of their number that still continued to make use of a Shemitic tongue understood not the original language of the Bible, but only a very corrupt dialect sprung from it and Chaldee. The individuals, indeed, of the above-mentioned or other sects, who within the interval referred to composed Greek versions, to supplant the Septuagint, must have attained to some acquaintance with pure Hebrew; but writing, as they did, in the interest of the priests and scribes of the Jews, they come not within the range of cases here to be examined; nor can any information secretly communicated to them, through means voluntarily furnished by the sacerdotal class, be considered as an obstruction to the plans and contrivances of their instructors. With the exception of the extant remains of their versions, no work, or fragment of a work, as far as I can find, of any Christian writer of the second century has reached our times, which affords the slightest indication of its author having understood pure Hebrew, or even of his having ever seen a copy of the Hebrew Bible. Nor does historic evidence tell more in favour of either advantage having been enjoyed by the orthodox Christians of that century. The only extant ecclesiastical history which was written near the early times to which it relates, namely, that of Eusebius, occasionally alludes, indeed, to Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, as translators of the original Scriptures of the Old Testament; but these were proselytes or Judaizing heretics who obviously acted under Jewish influence. Amid the great number of other writers of the period referred to, of whom this work presents some account, it does not give reason to suppose that any one



of them was acquainted with the ancient Hebrew tongue, or ever had access to a copy of the Hebrew text. The author's silence on these points is the more expressive, because he is loud in the praises of Origen for having succeeded in the attainment of both aids to the study of Scripture, soon after the commencement of the third century; whence it is evident that if he had heard of either acquisition having been made in the previous century by any Christian not belonging to a Judaizing sect, he would have recorded the circumstance; and it is not at all likely that such an achievement could have been effected so near his own time without his having heard of it. The passage of his writings which has been just alluded to may be rendered as follows:—"So great a *spirit of inquiry*, with the most perfect degree of extreme accuracy, into the word of God was infused into Origen, that he even learned completely the Hebrew tongue, and obtained for his own private property *a copy of the Scriptures that are in the hands of the Jews, in the original letters themselves of Hebrew writings, &c.*"<sup>a</sup> Other feats of Origen are also mentioned in the same place; but these two are put forward in the foreground as supplying the strongest proofs of his extraordinary zeal and ability, as well as the chief grounds for astonishment at what he accomplished.

Two other passages of the historic work of Eusebius should be here noticed. The first relates to Clement of Rome, and runs to the following effect:—"Whereas Paul had addressed a homily in writing to the Hebrews in the language of their forefathers, some say that the Evangelist Luke, and others that this very Clement, translated the written composition [into Greek]."<sup>b</sup> Whether there be truth or not in the first part of

<sup>a</sup> Τοσαύτη δὲ εἰσήγητο τῷ Ὠριγένοι τῶν θείων λόγων ἀπηκριβωμένη ἐξέτασις, ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἑβραϊδα γλώτταν ἐκμαθεῖν τὰς τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐμφορομένας, πρωτοτύποις αὐτοῖς Ἑβραίων στοιχείοις γραφὰς, κτῆμα ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι.—*Eusebii Hist. Eccles.*, lib. vi. cap. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Ἑβραίοις γὰρ διὰ τῆς πατρίου γλώττης ἐγγράφως ὠμιληκότος τοῦ Παύλου

this statement combined with either of the reports thereon founded, one of them serves at any rate to show that, in the age in which Eusebius wrote, or in the earlier portion of the fourth century, the opinion prevailed among many, that Clement of Rome understood the language of the Jews as spoken by them before their Babylonian captivity. But the circumstance of our author's alluding to this opinion is in no respect at variance with my representation of his silence as to a knowledge of pure Hebrew having been enjoyed by any orthodox Christian of the second century : for he attests in the same History (lib. iii. cap. 34) the death of this Father of the Church to have taken place in the third year of the reign of the Emperor Trajan, that is, in the last year of the previous century. The second passage relates to Hegesippus, an ecclesiastical writer who came to Rome about the year of our era 160, and might be supposed at first blush to intimate that he understood the sacred language ; it runs thus :—" He also adduces some things from the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Syriac record, and especially from the Hebrew dialect, *thereby* showing himself to have become a believer from *having been originally one* of the Hebrews."<sup>a</sup> But a little consideration will suffice to render it evident that the dialect here mentioned could not be the ancient language of the Jews : for, surely, it was not by skill in a tongue that had long become unknown to the nation at large, but by familiarity with a dialect at the time spoken by a portion of his countrymen, that the Jewish origin of Hegesippus could have been indicated. That Eusebius meant to distinguish the corrupt Hebrew he here alludes to, from the pure original language of the Bible to which he applies the same epithet (Ἑβραϊς) in the sentence quoted from

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οἱ μὲν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν οἱ δὲ τὸν Κλήμεντα τοῦτον αὐτὸν, ἐρμηνεύσαι λέγουσι τὴν γραφήν.—*Eusebii Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iii. cap. 38.

<sup>a</sup> "Ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίου εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ, καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραίων αὐτὸν πεπιστευκένας.—*Eusebii Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iv. cap. 22.

him in the preceding paragraph, by calling the later subject of this epithet a dialect (*διάλεκτος*), and the earlier one a tongue (*γλωττη*), might, I conceive, be maintained with some degree of probability ; but at all events the context makes it perfectly clear that, in the place before us, he speaks only of the mongrel offspring of Hebrew and Chaldee which at the time referred to was vernacular to such of the Jews as had not passed over to the use of Greek as their native language. The very same expression (*τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ*) is employed in this sense by St. Luke also, in Acts, xxi. 40, and xxii. 2, and is in like manner proved by the context to be there so used. For, when the Jerusalem populace kept silence, on hearing St. Paul speak ‘in the Hebrew dialect,’ it was obviously because they found him to address them in words which they understood.

From the mass of individuals to whom the result of the foregoing observations is applicable, one has been incidentally noticed in modern times as excepted, whose exclusion from the general class is entitled to attention on account of the excluder’s learning. It occurs in a part of the writings of Michaelis (John David), where, arguing from the Shemitic style of the language of the New Testament against the possibility of its having been forged by any of the Christian fathers in the second or third century, on account of their total ignorance of Hebrew, he excepts three authors from this state of ignorance, one of whom flourished about the middle of the second century. “. . . had the Fathers,” he observes, “of those ages been inclined to impose, they were mostly devoid of the means ; since those who are ignorant of Hebrew and Syriac could hardly introduce Hebraisms and Syriasms into their writings, . . . . . if the New Testament be a forgery, the Christians of the second and third centuries must be supposed capable of an imitation which cannot be distinguished from an original. On the contrary, the language of the early Fathers, though not always the purest classic Greek, has no resemblance to that of the New Testament, not excepting the works of the few who

had a knowledge of the Hebrew, Origenes, Epiphanius, or Justin Martyr, from whom, as a native of Palestine, it might with some reason be expected."<sup>a</sup> Before discussing the soundness of the last of the exceptions made in this extract, I take the present opportunity of noticing, by the way, a fallacy in its main drift which is also to be found in the reasoning of the late Archdeacon Paley on the same point, and was expressed by him in very nearly the same words.<sup>b</sup> It is quite true that the Fathers of the Church in the second and third centuries were unable to write in the style employed in the New Testament; but their inability to do so was not at all occasioned by their ignorance of pure Hebrew, as was imagined by the able modern authors to whom I here allude. Upon a due consideration of the subject, it will, I think, be found that, when a man writes in a foreign tongue, his deviations from the customary forms of expression used in that tongue are not caused by a knowledge of any dead language, but by an inability to keep clear of the peculiarities of his native dialect. The Hebraisms, therefore, of the Greek Testament are not to be accounted for by the circumstance of its authors having understood the ancient Hebrew, but by the influence upon their style of the idioms of their mother-tongue, which were just of the same description as those to be met in pure Hebrew, and undistinguishable therefrom, as soon as the corresponding phrases of each kind are translated into Greek.<sup>c</sup> Upon the same ground also it will be seen, that the Asiatic Christians of the second and third centuries were precluded from the employment of a similar idiomatic style, not by their ignorance of the ancient

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<sup>a</sup> *Introduction to the New Testament by Michaelis* (Marsh's translation), vol. I. part I., chap. ii. sect. 10.

<sup>b</sup> *Evidences of Christianity*, part I., chap. ix. sect. 2.

<sup>c</sup> The idioms to be found in the Hebrew of the Bible, or the earlier Hebrew,—in the Hebrew of the Targums, or the later Hebrew,—and in the Syriac—are all of the same general nature; and, when they are in common transferred to one and the same foreign language, whereby they are divested

Hebrew, but by the spread of Greek during those centuries in western Asia, whereby it gradually took the place of several of the various Shemitic dialects there previously spoken, and so became for some centuries to a large portion of each of the different nations inhabiting that extensive region, no longer a foreign, but their native dialect. Hence it may be inferred that, if a Grecian treatise were extant of any Asiatic Christian of the period referred to, who then still continued to use a Shemitic dialect as his mother-tongue, it would display a greater or less share of Hebraisms, in proportion as the author's familiarity with the dialect he employed more or less exceeded his familiarity with Greek. It accords with this conclusion that, in the passage last cited from Eusebius, he states that Hegesippus is shown to have been originally a Jew, not only by two other criteria which need not here be repeated, but also by that of his "adducing some things from the Hebrew dialect," that is, if I understand the expression rightly, 'by infusing into his Greek some phrases borrowed from the later Hebrew : ' and this explanation of the words in question, which yields the only intelligible meaning I can assign to them, is sustained by the few fragments of his work transmitted by Eusebius, which exhibit some of the very idioms employed by the Evangelists and Apostles, though not as thickly interspersed through his writings as through theirs.

To return now to my subject, and examine the bearing upon it of the passage above quoted from Marsh's translation of Michaelis, in which it is asserted that a knowledge of Hebrew might be expected in Justin Martyr, because he was a native of Palestine. In making this assertion the German author appears to have quite overlooked the difference between the

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of much of their separate peculiarities, as well as of the differences produced by the variations of roots and inflexions of roots in cognate dialects, they come out entirely, or at any rate very nearly, identical. As far, then, as concerns the argument above examined, there is no occasion for distinguishing between the idioms of the earlier and the later Hebrew, or between the Hebrew and the Syriac idioms.

original language of the Old Testament and the corrupt dialects of it, which came into use after the Babylonian Captivity. For, the reason here assigned by him has no validity whatever, except on the supposition of Hebrew having been known in the age of Justin among a considerable portion of the natives of Palestine,—a supposition which, whether it be true or not, with regard to any of the dialects in question, is at all events utterly unfounded in reference to the parent tongue, or that one to which alone the present inquiry relates. Nor is the adduced reason in the least strengthened by circumscribing the place of this Martyr's birth within narrower bounds, as, for instance, within the part of Palestine occupied in his time by the Samaritans,—a people from whom he is thought by some to have been descended. By this limitation of his country the proportion of its natives who then continued to speak a Shemitic dialect might possibly come out greater than when it was deemed coextensive with the entire region of Phœnicia, and so the likelihood might be increased of his having known such a dialect ; but the improbability of his having been acquainted with the original tongue would remain just as great as before. Whether he understood Samaritan, or not, can now no longer be determined to a certainty ; but idiomatic expressions thence borrowed do not pervade his writings ; and consequently it is certain that he was not more familiar with that dialect than with Greek. Still, let us for a moment suppose that he was perfect master of Samaritan, and yet it would not thence follow that he had any knowledge of pure Hebrew. For, surely, the Samaritans of his day must have been at any rate as ignorant of the sacred language as the Jews themselves then were : even the bare circumstance of their employing a Samaritan version of the Pentateuch is sufficient to establish the ignorance in question against them ; as they would have had no occasion for this version if they could have read the original record, or have understood it when read to them by their priests. It is, however, unnecessary to dwell longer on the

fallacious nature of the ground upon which a knowledge of the original language of the Old Testament has been attributed to Justin Martyr ; as more direct evidence of his utter deficiency in this respect still remains to be adduced.

In the second place, positive proofs of the total ignorance of the text of the Hebrew Bible, under which the Christian writers of the second century laboured, may be derived from such of their productions as have reached our times with any bearing upon this point. Through want, however, of time and room, I am precluded from submitting to the reader's judgment a full illustration of this subject, and must confine myself to briefly noticing some passages in the writings of two of the most remarkable men of that century,—one of them, the very individual whose right to the credit of Hebrew learning has been shown in the preceding paragraph not to have been hitherto by any means established ; and the other, Clement of Alexandria. From the works of the former author I select for consideration the account he has transmitted to us of his controversial dialogue with Trypho the Jew, as affording more than a mere negative proof of his ignorance of the Old Testament in its original language. For not only does he, in the case of disputed points that could scarcely be decided without an appeal to the Hebrew text, fail to make this appeal, but also shows, by his manner of expressing himself on those occasions, that such a mode of treating the subject was quite beyond his reach. Thus, when he had, in sect. 66 of the above-mentioned dialogue, repeated the remarkable prophecy, Isaiah, vii. 14, according to the form in which it is rendered in the Septuagint,—‘ Behold, a virgin shall conceive in the womb, and bear a son,’—and Trypho, in sect. 67, contended that this prophecy related not to a virgin (*παρθένος*), but to a young woman (*νεάνις*) ; surely, the most natural way of deciding the question at issue, and that which obviously must have first occurred to any one acquainted with the sacred text, would have been to search therein for the original term referred to, viz., עלמה,

HaLMaH,<sup>a</sup> which, as far as depends upon its etymology, עלם, 'to conceal,' denotes 'a female concealed from public view,' and so, in conformity to eastern customs, more appropriately 'a virgin' than 'a young woman.' I grant, however, that while this term is restricted to the former sense in Gen. xxiv. 43, it admits of being rendered in the latter in one or two other passages of Scripture; in order, therefore, to fix its meaning in the place before us, the consideration of it by itself is not sufficient, and we must further look to the way in which it is affected by the context. But the words immediately preceding announce a miracle, and there would evidently be nothing miraculous in the case, if it was predicted merely of a young woman (and not of one after pregnancy still remaining a virgin) that she should bring forth a son. Our author, however, instead of resorting to any reasoning of this kind, comes out at last in sect. 71—after fencing with the question and using the Socratic method of disputation respecting it for some time,—with an observation,—the only one, as appears to me, that he makes directly to the point,—of which the following is a

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<sup>a</sup> In support of the above remark, it may be observed that Jerome, in discussing the meaning of the same passage, refers directly to the original of the term in dispute; and, while he admits that original not to be the appropriate Hebrew for 'a virgin,' but a word which is, in general, of more extensive signification ("virgo Hebraicè BETHULA appellatur, quæ in præsentī loco non scribitur; sed pro hoc verbo positum est ALMA, quod præter LXX. omnes adolescentulam transtulerunt."—*Hieron. Opera*, Ed°. Benedict., tom. iii. col. 70), he gives an instance from Genesis of this word being confined by the context to the designation of a virgin ("Et in Genesi legimus ubi Rebecca dicitur Alma"—*Ibid.*), and he very justly decides that it is also limited by the context to this sense in the place under discussion ("Quando autem dicitur: Dabit Dominus ipse vobis signum, novum debet esse atque mirabile. Sin autem juvenula vel puella, ut Judæi volunt, et non virgo pariat, quale signum poterit appellari?"—*Ibid.*). Here I have to add, by the way, that if Jerome, though greatly fettered in his judgment by Jewish teachers, did notwithstanding come to a right decision on this subject, every unprejudiced reader of Hebrew who does not lie under the same disadvantage may *a fortiori* be expected to do so.



literal translation :—" But I disbelieve your teachers who are not agreed that the *writings* by the Seventy seniors, who *were* with Ptolemy that was King of Egyptians, afford a correct interpretation ; but attempt themselves to interpret."<sup>a</sup> When this general remark of our author is applied to the particular passage under discussion, we find that his defence of the rendering given of it in the Septuagint rests merely on his belief, and not upon the knowledge which a reference to the original text would have supplied ; so that he here virtually admits his ignorance of that text.

In like manner, his antagonist, as described by him, betrays the very same ignorance. Thus, when Justin Martyr had, in sections 72 and 73, charged the teachers of the Jews with having made certain erasures from Scripture, that is, from the Septuagint,<sup>b</sup> the natural mode of trying the justness of this charge would evidently have been, to see whether there existed in the original text any Hebrew for the words or sentences stated to have been erased ; but, instead of a defence founded on such an investigation, the following is the only one presented to us :—" And Trypho replied, whether, indeed, the teachers of the people have, as you assert, expunged something

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<sup>a</sup> ΑΛΛ' οὐχὶ τοῖς διδασκάλοις ὑμῶν πείθομαι, μὴ συντεθειμένοις καλῶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Αἰγυπτίων γενομένῳ βασιλεῖ ἐβδόμηκοντα πρεσβυτέρων· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐξηγεῖσθαι πειρῶται.—*Justin Martyris Opera*, Ed°. Benedict., p. 169. We have here an allusion—perhaps the oldest extant—to the first efforts of the Jewish priesthood to supplant the Septuagint, by means of oral translation, or of a Greek version founded thereon; which would appear to have been written by their scribes in order to effect this object, before recourse was had for the same purpose to any of the other spurious versions of the second century.

<sup>b</sup> By the *Scriptures* (αἱ γραφαί) Justin Martyr means everywhere the Septuagint, the only form of them with which he appears to have been acquainted. This is admitted by the learned framers of the Benedictine edition of his works in the instance of the passage above noticed ; as may be seen from the following remark, at the bottom of the page of that edition from which the sentence contained in my last note is extracted :—" Cum his qui contextum Hebraicum manibus Judæorum violatum fuisse volunt, non facit Justi-

from the Scriptures, God *alone* is able to know ; but such a *charge* is like an incredibility.<sup>a</sup> An express confession could hardly have proved with greater force Trypho's ignorance of the Hebrew text than the admission of it implied in this observation : and yet he is styled by Eusebius 'the most distinguished of the Hebrews [that is, of the Hebrew laity] of his day.'<sup>b</sup> In fact, none of the Jews, except the priests and their immediate agents, had then the slightest knowledge of their Bible in its original language.

To conclude this critique, it is to be observed that most of Justin Martyr's charges of erasure, made by him against the Jews in the sections last specified, were unfounded, and can, in consequence, be brought forward as positive proofs of his ignorance of the ancient Hebrew. Let us, for instance, turn to the commencement of the tenth verse of the ninety-sixth (numbered by him ninety-fifth) Psalm, which, according to his mode of reading it, runs to this effect : 'Say among the heathen, The LORD reigneth *from off the cross*.' Whether the words introduced by him [*ἀπο τοῦ ξύλου*], corresponding to those here printed in Italics, constituted at first a marginal

nus, quem luce clarius est (ut Simonius, Hist. Crit., lib. 2, cap. 18, et Martianæus noster, in Defens. text. Hebr., p. 168, observarunt), de sola interpretatione Septuaginta interpretum contendere, nihil prorsus de Hebraico contextu cogitare." But, while I agree with those learned editors in the position here maintained by them to be perfectly evident, I totally dissent from the use made of it in this annotation. They derive an argument for the genuine state of the Hebrew text, in the time of Justin Martyr, from the fact of his making no reference to it (and consequently no attack upon it), combined with the tacit assumption that he was perfectly acquainted therewith ; whereas the fair inference from this fact is, that he was totally ignorant of that text.

<sup>a</sup> Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων, εἰ μὲν, ὡς ἔφη, εἶπε, παρέγραψάν τι ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ, Θεὸς δύνανται ἐπίστασθαι ἀπίστω δὲ ἔοικε τὸ τοιοῦτον.—*Just. Mart. Opera*, Ed°. Benedict., p. 171.

<sup>b</sup> Καὶ διάλογον δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους συνέταξεν, ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως πρὸς Τρύφωνα τῶν τότε Ἑβραίων ἐπιστημώτατον πεποιήται.—*Euseb. Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iv. cap. 18.

note which was afterwards, through the fault of some transcriber, shifted to the body of the Psalm, or through whatever other means they came to be therein placed in the copies of the Septuagint to which he had access; there cannot be any doubt but that they are an erroneous interpolation; as will at once be perceived by a reference to the original text. Our author, therefore, was quite mistaken, not only in adopting the words in question as a genuine portion of the above-mentioned Psalm, but also in thence charging the Jewish priests with the crime of expunging them from Scripture; and this example affords a negative proof of ignorance of the Hebrew Bible against Trypho, as well as a positive one to the same effect against Justin Martyr. One of the disputants did not make, in this instance, the reference which a knowledge of the original text would have obviously suggested; and the other did commit here a twofold mistake, from each part of which the same knowledge, had he possessed it, would have saved him. It is unnecessary to go through such of the other examples as bear the same way in the sections referred to, both negatively against Trypho's, and positively against Justin Martyr's acquaintance with the Hebrew text.

But the strongest evidence of ignorance of Scriptural Hebrew, on the part of the Christians of the second century, is that afforded by the writings of Clement of Alexandria, who was pre-eminently the most learned Father of the Church in that century, in like manner as his pupil, Origen, was among those who flourished during the following one. Now, as he takes upon him, occasionally, in those writings, to give the correct pronunciation and strict meaning of Hebrew words, this practice of his suggests a ready mode of testing his knowledge of the sacred language; for the more obvious the true sound or sense of a word may be, the more forcibly and clearly does his ignorance of it in either respect bear upon the point under inquiry. The two following examples, then, selected from a large number, will be quite sufficient for my purpose. I commence with his pronunciation and interpretation of "*Eva*,

the Greek transcription by the Seventy seniors of [𐤒𐤓𐤕, HēWāH, 'life'] the proper name of the first female of the human race. After strangely identifying the sound of this name with Εὐάν, an exclamation of Bacchanals crowned with wreaths of serpents (in consequence of which he tacitly assumes that the notion of a serpent is included in its meaning), he next confounds it with Εὐία [𐤒𐤓𐤕, HēWYāH], the Chaldee for a 'a serpent,' and through the combination of those two steps interprets it to signify 'a female serpent'! The original passage, omitting an irrelevant part of his description of the votaries of Bacchus, may be translated literally as follows:—"The raging Bacchus do Bacchanals in orgies celebrate, . . . . crowned with serpents, uttering with shouts Eu-an,—*namely*, that Eu-a by whom sin *was introduced, which death accompanied.*<sup>a</sup> But the serpent is consecrated a sign of Bacchanalian orgies. Immediately *hence*, therefore, according to the accurate *signification of the word in question* of the Hebrews, the name Eu-i-a, pronounced with a rough breathing of its initial element [*i. e.* Heu-i-a] is interpreted a serpent, *viz.*, the female one."<sup>b</sup> Although the eloquence of Clement would, perhaps, appear to better advantage if this passage were quoted in full, yet the weakness of the reasoning employed in it is rendered more evident by the naked state in which it is here presented to view, divested of part of its ornament. On the unsoundness, however, of his argument, I need not dwell, as the falsehood of the conclusion to which it led him with respect to the mean-

<sup>a</sup> Something has evidently dropped from the above place, which I have ventured to supply from the account of the transaction referred to which is given in the Bible. As there can be no doubt to what the author here points, his argument is not affected by making the reference to that subject more explicit.

<sup>b</sup> Διόνυσον μαινόλην ὀργιάζουσι Βάκχοι . . . . . ἀνεστεμμένοι τοῖς ὄφεσιν, ἐπολοῦσθοντες Εὐάν· Εὐάν ἐκείνην, δι' ἣν ἡ πλάνη παρηκολούθησε. Καὶ σημεῖον ὀργίων βακχικῶν, ὄφεις ἐστὶ τετελεσμένος. Αὐτίκα γοῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν Ἑβραίων φωνὴν, τὸ Εὐία δασυνόμενον, ἐρμηνεύεται ὄφεις ἡ θήλεια.—*Clementis Alexandrini Opera*, Ed<sup>o</sup>. Potteri, p. 11.

ing of Eve's name is too obvious to require any proof. It only then remains that I should take some further notice of the very gross mistakes committed by him with regard to the pronunciation of this word, with a view to bringing more prominently under observation an inference which may be thence deduced. First, in consequence of the above proper name being written by our author in the accusative case with the same combination of Greek letters [*Euav*] as the Bacchanalian cry alluded to, he rashly assumed them to be pronounced in the same way; although this combination conveys for the former meaning the trisyllabic sound *He-u-an*, and for the latter the dissyllabic one, *Eu-an*. He, indeed, attempted to remove part of the difference by reducing the former sound to two syllables; but, instead of making this reduction by joining the second vowel with the syllable commencing with the third, to produce the sound *wan* (which would have been expressed in the Greek writing of his day by a *Digamma* before the letters *Alpha* and *Nun*), he did so by combining it with the first, to form the diphthong *eu*, and so pronounced the entire word *Eu-an*,—an error into which he could not by any possibility have fallen if he had known how this name was exhibited in the original writing of the Bible. From his confounding, then, sounds so different, as well as from the manner in which he endeavoured to lessen their difference, it is plain that he was unacquainted with the proper name in question as recorded in the Hebrew text, and, consequently, that he had not read that text even as far as the third chapter of Genesis. But, by the second step of his reasoning (in which he arrived at a sound more correct, indeed, in the particular of commencing with an aspiration, but yet, upon the whole, still further from the true one), we are conducted to precisely the same result, though not with the same degree of certainty as before. For he could not connect the sought name with *Eῡα*, through the circumstance of this group's yielding the sound of a Shemitic term for a serpent, unless the word so represented had that signification in the ancient Hebrew. From his adopt-

ing this connexion, therefore, it would appear that he assumed *E´ia* to denote the sound of the term for a serpent, employed in the account to which he alludes of the interview of that reptile with Eve, as given in the original text : whereas the term actually used with this sense in the place referred to is quite a different one ; nor is that whose sound he expressed found to occur in any sense whatever in the extant remains of the ancient Hebrew, but only in a corrupt dialect of it spoken in later times. From both steps of his exposition, then, it follows (though, I admit, more strongly from the first), that he was quite ignorant of the part of the sacred text which contains the third chapter of Genesis. But had Clement been restricted by a Jewish teacher to learning a single chapter of the Hebrew Bible, this is in all likelihood the very one he would have pitched upon, from the natural desire of a scrutinizing mind to examine the account of the Fall of man as conveyed in the original record. As, then, he certainly was not instructed in this portion of the sacred text, it is utterly improbable that he ever learned to read even a single line of that text.

For my second example I choose one which betrays our author's ignorance of the Hebrew dialect spoken in his own time, just as well as of the original tongue ; namely, his explanation of *Hosannah* [הַשְׁעִיָּה נָא, HOSHĪHĀH NāH, 'save pray,' —Ps. cxviii. 25,—contracted into the single word הַשְׁעִיָּה HOSHĀHNāH], an ejaculation common to the earlier and later stages of this language, to which he expressly assigns the following signification :—"Light and glory and praise with supplication to the Lord."<sup>a</sup> Assuredly the Jewish instructor of Clement must have laughed heartily in his sleeve when he succeeded in imposing on this erudite scholar—by far the most

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<sup>a</sup> Φῶς καὶ δόξα καὶ αἶνος μεθ' ἱκετηρίας τῷ Κυρίῳ· τοῦτ' γὰρ ἐμφαίνει ἐρμη-  
νεύομενον Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ τὸ Ὡσαννά.—*Clementis Alex. Opera*, Potteri Ed<sup>o</sup>,  
pp. 104–5. The last word of this passage is written, in the edition from  
which it is extracted, Ὡς ἀννά, in consequence, I presume, of the learned  
Bishop's here following, without due consideration, the example set to him

learned Christian of his day—such an interpretation. *Hosannah*, indeed, came eventually to be used in acclamations of praise and thanksgiving ; but, in its primary and literal sense, it is a prayer, to the purport of which not the slightest allusion is made in the meaning here appropriated to it,—a meaning which, notwithstanding, is put forward with professional authority, and with all the parade of a formal definition.

3. The epoch of the introduction of *matres lectionis* into the sacred text can now, I am in hopes, be satisfactorily made out with a very near approach to exactness. It has already been shown, under the head of the previous discussion, that, to a certainty, those letters found their way, into the spelling of the words of the Hebrew Bible, before the publication, about the year of our era 230, of the Hexapla of Origen ; not, indeed, by means of the first or Hebrew column of that work, of which no part whatever has survived the ravages of time ; nor by the aid of the extant remains of the second column (which convey through combinations of Greek letters the sounds formerly attached to the Hebrew words, without the slightest intimation how those sounds were denoted in the older species of writing, or whether it contained separate signs, or not, for their vocalic ingredients) ; but through the express mention incidentally made by Jerome of the existence of vowel-letters in the Hebrew Scriptures in his day, combined with the circumstance that there was no opportunity for their secret insertion therein during the interval of time that elapsed between him and the earlier author above mentioned ; since the sacred text was in the hands of the orthodox Christians, and under their inspection, for the entire of that interval.

But the date of the first vocalization of the sacred record can be carried a century farther back by comparing the sense

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by previous editors. It is very possible that, if Clemens had written his words distinctly separate from each other, he might have misdivided the above one in this manner. But as the ingredients of Greek lines were not so written in his time, the additional blunder in question ought not, in fairness, to be imputed to him.

of the text thus altered with that of the fragments still preserved of the spurious Greek versions of the second century, and combining the result with evidence supplied by Epiphanius which can be brought to bear upon the subject. On the one hand, it is quite plain, from the numerous instances of agreement between the above fragments and the corresponding parts of the vocalized text, in places where they in common differ from the Septuagint, that, either the framers of the versions to which those fragments respectively belonged were furnished with copies of the Hebrew Bible vocalized as at present, which were imposed upon them, in like manner as one afterwards was upon Origen, as wholly genuine ; or were taught by agents of the Jewish priesthood to read the text in its original state as if it had been so vocalized. But the latter side of this alternative must be rejected, as involving the obviously absurd supposition that the priests would unnecessarily intrust the secret whose concealment they had most at heart to men who were apostates, or adherents but in part to the doctrines of the Jews. It only remains, then, to be inferred that the authors of the versions alluded to performed their respective tasks under the guidance of vocalized copies,—a guidance which they followed more or less closely through diversities of taste,—or from other causes by which they may have been variously influenced. On the other hand, it is equally clear, from very gross though undesigned inconsistencies in other parts of the same vocalization, that it must, besides being executed hastily within a small compass of time, have been finished but very shortly before the earliest of those versions, namely, that of Aquila, was written : for otherwise the Jewish priests would have had leisure enough to detect the blunders committed in this vocalization, while yet it was confined to their own keeping, and then would most unquestionably have removed those indications of its spuriousness, before they suffered it to get into other hands. From the junction, therefore, of both considerations it unavoidably follows, that the introduction of *matres lectionis* into the sacred text preceded the



publication of Aquila's version, and did so by only a very short interval of time. But this version, according to the express testimony of Epiphanius, was brought out in the twelfth year of the reign of the Emperor Hadrian,<sup>a</sup> which synchronizes with A. D. 128-9. I admit that the learned author here appealed to was very far from being an accurate reasoner, and that consequently his calculations cannot be always implicitly relied on ; yet still he may have correctly stated the facts on which many of those calculations are grounded ; and when they are, like the one just adduced, neither improbable in themselves nor contradicted by any other ancient author, I confess I do not see how our assent can be rationally denied to them. Allowing, then, between two and three years for the formation of Aquila's version, I feel warranted in concluding that the first vocalization of the Hebrew text was effected in the course of the 126th year of the Christian era.

4. The spurious Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible, most of which were written in the second century, and the rest not long after, may be distinguished by the bearing of their extant remains into two classes, according as they tended to support Jewish or Christian views. To the former class belonged those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, together with one of three versions composed by unknown writers, which was designated, from the relative place of the column in which it was inserted by Origen, the seventh ; while the latter class included another of the same set reckoned in like manner, from the site of its column, the sixth, and also those denominated from their respective authors, ὁ Σύνδος, ὁ Ἑβραῖος, and ὁ Σαμαρείτης. The versions of the first class are justly styled spurious ; as they in many instances, for the purpose of giving the Septuagint an appearance of incorrectness, exhibited the sound of names of rare occurrence and the sense of obscure passages in accordance with no genuine readings of the Hebrew text ; and those of the second class, though far more honestly written, were not entirely exempt from faults subjecting them

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<sup>a</sup> *Epiphaniū lib. de Mensuris et Ponderibus*, cap. xii.

to the same discreditable title. For they, at least in some instances, represented the Old Testament as describing names and events of the New more explicitly than it really does, and so far transgressed the bounds of genuine interpretation. In palliation of the faults here alluded to, it is but right to observe that, during the second century the Christians were utterly ignorant of the ancient Hebrew tongue, and even in the third century, after they had got the aid of the Hexapla of Origen (of which the two initial columns conveyed the sounds of the original words, the first in Hebrew, and the second in Greek characters), they were by no means furnished with sufficient knowledge of that language to enable them to cope with the Jews in the interpretation of the sacred text. While, then, they were convinced, by their reliance on the Septuagint, that certain passages of that text were unfairly translated by their opponents, they were tempted, in the heat of controversy, to insert in their own versions, as the only counterpoise they had in their power to oppose to this unfairness, names and descriptions which they by the light of the New Testament knew to be correct, but which they still violated the strictness of truth in representing as expressly mentioned in the Old Testament.\* A further distinction between the two classes lies in the circumstance that the versions of the Jewish class were primary; while, on the other hand, those of the Christian class, as written, some of them in total ignorance, and the rest with a very

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\* The first clause of the verse, Hab. iii. 13,—**יֵצֵאת לִישַׁע עַמִּי לִישַׁע אֶת־** מִשְׁיַחְךָ—which is rendered in our Authorized Version,—“Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people, *even* for [*their*] salvation, with thine anointed,”—presents to us an example of the practice above described, through the translation given of it in the version numbered the sixth:—**ἐξῆλθες τοῦ σῶσαι τὸν λαόν σου διὰ Ἰησοῦν τὸν χριστόν σου** (Thou wentest forth to save thy people by means of Jesus thine Anointed). Whether the word *Ἰησοῦς* was first introduced into this rendering of the clause, or taken immediately from an older rendering no longer extant, it is clearly the right name of the personage here described as concurring with the Father Almighty in the salvation of his people; but still the original affords no warrant for its insertion in this place.

imperfect knowledge of the language of the original record, were secondary, that is, not immediate translations of that record, but only translations of translations. Hence it is most likely that the sixth version, which belongs to the latter class, was a secondary one, though we can no longer ascertain from what primary version it was immediately taken. But with respect to the three denominated, from the native languages of their several authors, 'the Syriac,' 'the Hebraic,' and the 'Samaritan,' they were confessedly secondary Greek versions. Their respective primaries, arranged in the same order, appear to have been,—the Peshitah, the only Syriac one old enough for the use here assigned to it,<sup>a</sup>—some translation, no longer extant, of the original text into the later Hebrew tongue, that

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<sup>a</sup> To the above determination of the immediate original of the secondary version written by ὁ Σύρος has been objected the following note upon Gen. xxii. 13, found in several ancient Greek MSS. (indeed, according to Montfaucon, in all of them, the expression employed by him in his remarks upon this note being, *sic omnes MSS. et Combefisius ex Eusebio Emiseno*). ὁ Σύρος καὶ ὁ Ἑβραῖος κρεμάμενός φησιν, ὡς σαφέστερον τυποῦν τὸν σταυρόν, that is, "the versions of ὁ Σύρος and ὁ Ἑβραῖος use the participle κρεμάμενος, 'suspended' [instead of that employed in the Septuagint, κατεχόμενος, 'detained'], in order the more obviously to typify the cross." But κρεμάμενος is not the proper rendering of the corresponding word of the Peshitah, כָּשָׁר, H<sub>2</sub>KhID, which signifies 'caught,' or 'detained.' This objection entirely fails, from being grounded on the assumption that each secondary adhered throughout strictly to the primary one which was its immediate original,—an assumption which is shown to be erroneous by a comparison of versions. The only effect, therefore, of bringing under consideration the note here adduced is to give us an additional example of the practice described in my text, which is supplied from two of the secondary versions referred to. Here it may be of use to warn the reader that the versions of ὁ Σύρος and ὁ Ἑβραῖος, having been evidently written on the Christian side, are not to be confounded with the works which were formerly styled respectively τὸ Συριακόν and τὸ Ἑβραϊκόν. Of these titles, the former, employed in a passage already quoted in this Appendix from the "Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius," lib. iv. cap. 22, is shown, by the context of the place where it occurs, to have denoted a book, advocating tenets peculiar to converts who had been originally Jews; and the latter is the name given to the Jewish edition of the Septuagint by Origen in the Benedictine Collection of his writings, tom. iv. p. 141.

was made by the Jews before they began to corrupt the Septuagint,—and the Samaritan version still extant, the only one known to have been ever in the possession of the Samaritans. These three secondaries appear to have been composed after the age of Origen, as no mention of any of them occurs in his acknowledged writings. But at any rate they were frequently consulted for many subsequent ages,—a circumstance which seems to indicate that, even after the Christians were allowed access to the sacred text and instructed in its language, their knowledge of that language still continued, for a considerable length of time, very defective and imperfect. For, on the supposition that men of learning became well acquainted with the contents of the Bible in its original tongue, they would seldom have occasion for versions of any kind; and their employment of mere versions of versions would probably cease altogether. Yet the Christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries resorted to and depended on the secondaries in question to a great extent; as is plainly shown by the vast number of quotations from them which are to be seen in the controversial works of those authors.\*

The spurious Greek versions of the first class having never gained the confidence of the Christians (who, though unable to detect the cause of their apparent accuracy, always distrusted them on account of the suspicious character of the individuals by whom they were written), and, on the other hand, having been found by the Jewish rulers unavailing for the purpose for which they chiefly had been fabricated, namely, that of supplanting the Septuagint, were eventually abandoned by both parties; and then the versions of the second class,

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\* Respecting the above-mentioned fact Montfaucon gives the following information:—"Syri porro lectiones adferuntur ab Eusebio Cæsariensi, a Diodoro Tarsensi frequentius; ab Eusebio Emiseno, Hieronymo, Theodoro et aliis. Quodque notandum est, iidem, maximeque Diodorus, Syrum cum Hebræo sæpe conjungunt hoc pacto, ὁ Σόπος καὶ ὁ Ἑβραϊὸς, vel, ὁ Ἑβραϊὸς καὶ ὁ Σόπος, quando scilicet amborum interpretationes conveniunt, quod sæpe contingit."—*Præliminaria in Hexapla Origenis*, p. 19.

which were composed only in opposition to them, shared the same fate. Hence no part of the works of either class has survived the ravages of time, except some fragments which have been transmitted in the form of quotations in the writings of early Christian authors, or are to be seen inserted as notes in the margins of very ancient manuscript copies of the Septuagint, extracted in an isolated state chiefly from the columns of the Tetrapla or Hexapla of Origen.<sup>a</sup> Of the fragments of each kind I shall confine myself to noticing those which belong to the first class, as being the specimens which have a more immediate connexion with my subject. A greater number of the quotations (not, however, in the original Greek, but translated into Latin) are preserved in the works of Jerome than in those taken together of all the other early Fathers. They form a very interesting portion of his comments upon Scripture, on which account I would willingly, if room permitted me, have given an illustration of their nature much fuller than the following one. The observations made by this writer on Deut. xxvii. 26, while expounding the parallel passage of the New Testament, Gal. iii. 10, commence thus:—"Hunc morem habeo; ut quotiesquumque ab Apostolis de veteri Instrumento aliquid sumitur, recurram ad originales

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<sup>a</sup> To the above exceptions is to be added Theodotion's translation of the Book of Daniel, which has been preserved through its adoption by the Church at a very remote period, and consequent substitution for that of the Seventy, in nearly all such copies of the Septuagint as were subsequently written. This fact is recorded by Jerome, in the preface to his translation of Daniel, as follows:—"Danielem prophetam juxta Septuaginta interpretes Domini Salvatoris nostri ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione; et hoc, cur acciderit, nescio."—*Hieron. Opera*, Ed°. Benedict., tom. i. col. 988. In consequence of this alteration, the assistance to be derived from the Greek Bible, in correcting the present vocalization with letters of the Hebrew text, cannot be depended on as well in this, as in other parts of that record. Nor is this evil remedied by the discovery in the Chisian Library at Rome of an ancient MS. copy of the Septuagintal rendering of the Book of Daniel, which was printed in that city in the year 1772: as the translation thus recovered is unfortunately in too corrupt a state to answer the above use.

libros, et diligentur inspiciam, quomodo in suis locis scripta sunt. Inveni itaque in Deuteronomio hoc ipsum apud Septuaginta Interpretes ita positum : *Maledictus omnis homo qui non permanserit in omnibus sermonibus Legis hujus, ut faciat illos ; et dicet omnis populus, fiat.* Apud Aquilam vero sic : *Maledictus qui non statuerit verba Legis hujus, ut faciat ea ; et dicet omnis populus, verè.* Symmachus : *Maledictus qui non firmaverit sermones Legis istius, ut faciat eos ; et dicet omnis populus, amen.* Porro Theodotio sic transtulit : *Maledictus qui non suscitaverit sermones Legis hujus, facere eos ; et dicet omnis populus, amen.*—*Hieron. Opera*, Ed°. Benedict., tom. iv. col. 255–7.<sup>a</sup> The Judaizing tendency of the more remarkable spurious versions of the second century is exemplified, in the fragments of them here adduced, by the non-appearance in each fragment of any word signifying ‘all’ immediately after the first verb of the sentence, such as is placed in the corresponding part of the rendering given in the Septuagint of the same passage of the original text. The very same tendency of the versions in question is indicated more briefly in Jerome’s annotations upon the disputed term of the Hebrew verse, Isaiah, vii. 14, which the Seventy interpreted ‘a virgin,’ but all the other translators he alludes to, namely, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, are attested by him to have represented as denoting ‘a young woman,’—‘quod præter LXX. omnes *adolescentulam* transtulerunt.”<sup>b</sup>—*Hieron. Opera*, Ed°. Benedict., tom. iii. col. 70. These examples have been selected, not as more forcibly bearing on the subject to which they are applied than others, but because some of the remarks

<sup>a</sup> The remarks of Jerome on Deut. xxvii. 26, next following those above adduced, have been already quoted near the end of the first chapter.

<sup>b</sup> The hostility of Gesenius to the Christian religion is in like manner betrayed by his treatment of the same Hebrew word ; respecting the meaning of which in the place above referred to, he asserts in his *Lexicon Manuale*, —“LXX. male reddunt *παρθένος*,” in utter disregard of the inspired authority of St. Matthew, as well as in direct opposition to the bearing of the context.

of this Father serving to explain them have been already quoted in the present volume.

The fragments of the other kind, which are to be met in the form of marginal notes in ancient Greek MSS. serve, in like manner as those transmitted in quotations, to display the Judaizing tendency of the class of spurious versions under examination ; but are more effective in exposing the fallacy of the ground on which superior accuracy of translation is claimed for those versions, and in showing that, where they differ from the Septuagint, they agree more closely, not at all with the written words of the Hebrew text in their original state, but only with those words, as altered in sound or sense by means of an unfair vocalization. From Montfaucon's collection of the fragments of both kinds I here adduce a few specimens of those of the second kind ; and regret that I have not room left for a more copious illustration of their bearing on my subject. The Hebrew portion of each example has been taken by this author from modern books ; as no part of the first column of the Hexapla, which contained the Hebrew text in an ancient form of the letters, has reached us through any channel whatever. The pronunciation in each instance subjoined to the Hebrew is placed within brackets, to show that it does not belong to the quoted line, but has been added by me for the convenience of such readers as are not familiar with unpointed writing in this language :—

Gen. xxxvii. 36,—פֹּטִיפָר [PhUTIPhaR], A. Σ. Φουτιφάρ.  
O. Πετέφρη.

Josh. xvii. 7,—יֹשֶׁבֶת [YoSheBE], A. Σ. τοὺς κατοικοῦντας.  
Αλλος, Ιασήφ. Αλλ. Ιασβήδ. O. Ιασσιβ.

Judg. ii. 7,—אֶחָד יְהוֹשֻׁעַ [HaHaRE YeHOShuāH], Παντες.  
μετὰ Ιησοῦ.

„ ii. 14,—בֵּיד [BeYaD], Σ. Θ. ἐν χειρί. O. εἰς τὰς  
χεῖρας.

„ xviii. 28,—רְחֹב [ReHOB], οἱ λοιποὶ, Ρεωβ. O. Ρααβ.

In these compendious notes, as well as in the specimen of the

Hexapla preserved in the Barberini MS. which has been adduced in the first chapter, O denotes the Seventy Interpreters; and A, Σ, Θ, respectively, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, the authors of the more important of the later versions which Origen compared with the Septuagint. In the same notes *οἱ λοιποὶ* is substituted for A, Σ, and Θ, taken collectively; and *ἄλλος*, or *ἄλλ*, is employed to signify the writer of some one of three other later versions of which Origen got only parts copied out, and did not specify by whom they were written; *πάντες* means the entire collection of Greek translators, the framers of the oldest Greek version as well as those of all the later ones. With the help of this preliminary explanation, the contents of the adduced notes can be easily understood. Thus, for instance, it is stated in the first of them that the name of the officer of Pharaoh's court, mentioned in Gen. xxxvii. 36, was transcribed in the versions of Aquila and Symmachus *Φουτιφάρ*, but in the Septuagint *Πετεφρῆ*, or rather *Πετεφρήs*.<sup>a</sup> In their respective modes of dealing with this name it may be perceived that the two specified later transla-

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<sup>a</sup> A sigma is obviously omitted at the end of the above name in the quoted line; but whether through mistake of the scholiast or of some copyist, it is immaterial to determine. The similar name, indeed, of the priest of On would be rightly exhibited without this letter at its termination; because, being in each of the two places of its occurrence in Scripture (Gen. xli. 45, 50), written in the genitive case *Πετεφρη*, without a Greek ending for that case, it is correctly put in the same form for the nominative also. But the name above considered is terminated by an *Eta* with an *Iota subscriptum*; that is, it has got a regular Greek ending for the case in which it is employed (the dative): and, therefore, it should be inflected with a Grecian termination for the nominative also. Accordingly, this word in Gen. xxxix. 1, where it occurs in the nominative case, is to be seen actually written *Πετεφρήs*. The two Egyptian names appear to have been essentially the same, and to have differed solely in the degree of strength with which their final syllable was uttered, in consequence of which the transcript of only the one of feeble termination received a Grecian inflexion at the time when the Septuagint was written; but in the age of Josephus, when men had become more habituated to Greek, both transcripts were inflected in the Grecian manner, and written with exactly the same letters.



tors followed exactly its Hebrew vocalization, in consequence of which its sound has been hitherto deemed more correctly represented by them than by the Seventy Interpreters. But now that the vocalization in question is found to be no genuine part of the original record, but an addition made to it by fallible scribes in the second century, far greater weight must be attached to its oldest Greek transcription, which is besides supported by very strong internal evidence ; as it is shown, through the extant remains of the Coptic dialects, to have been in the ancient Egyptian language a characteristic denomination, such as all names formerly were, and to have conveyed in that language a most appropriate description of one of the two persons to whom it is in Scripture applied. Hence, notwithstanding the rare occurrence of this name in the Bible, which encouraged the vocalizers to tamper with it, their misrepresentation of its sound can be proved by the sole consideration of its Egyptian original, independently of the conclusion to be derived respecting it from the more general proofs of the spuriousness of the *matres lectionis* in the sacred text.

In the second example the original group יִשָּׁב is so vocalized (by means of a subjoined *Yod*) as to yield the meaning, 'the inhabitants of,' and is translated in exact accordance with this vocalization in the versions of Aquila and Symmachus ; while it is transcribed in one of the unnamed later Greek versions Ιασηφ, and in another Ιασβηδ, but in the Septuagint Ιασσιβ. In this instance the rendering in common of the group in question in the two first mentioned of the later versions, having no ground to rest on but its Hebrew vocalization, is proved erroneous by the far higher authority of the Septuagint, which is directly at variance with that vocalization ; and its transcriptions in the other pair of later versions are refuted, not only by the adverse testimony of the Septuagint, but even by that of the Hebrew text in its present state. But as the translation of this group in the former pair of versions bears upon the sense of the clause it occurs in, it can be shown incorrect in a second way also by means of the context, even in-

dependently of the discovery by means of which the spuriousness of the *Yod* at its termination is ascertained ; and it is worth while to examine it in this way, in order to clear up the meaning of a sentence which at present is utterly unintelligible. The whole of the passage containing the group under inquiry is rendered in our Authorized Version as follows :—  
 “ And the coast of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethah, that *lieth* before Shechem ; and the border went along on the right hand unto the inhabitants of En-tappuah. *Now* Manasseh had the land of Tappuah ; but Tappuah, on the border of Manasseh *belonged* to the children of Ephraim.”—Josh. xvii. 7, 8.  
 The part of this passage to which attention is here more especially directed, namely, the latter part of the first of these verses, stands in the Hebrew text, after certain alterations (indicated in the mode of printing it) in this form :—

והלך הגבול אל הימין ואל ישב עין תבור

Although the three groups with initials of a larger size are transcribed in the Septuagint as proper names, the first two of them are treated as appellative words, and the third made only the final part of a name, by the framers of our Authorized Version, who, I may by the way observe, could not have objected to the first being a proper name on account of the emphatic ה prefixed to it ; as the group transcribed by them, in the earlier portion of the same verse, Michmethah, has also that prefix. The ו placed before the second אל is marked as an introduced letter, because it is not exhibited in this site in the more generally received editions of the text. It may, however, be stated in support of this correction, not only that the additional letter is required by the context, and sustained by the authority of the Septuagint, but also that Kennicott found it here preserved in the MS. which he distinguished by the number 84. The correctness of the mark of censure placed over the final letter of the second of the groups commencing with a large initial will be established in the course of the ensuing investigation.

As the Septuagint has evidently suffered some corruption in the place under examination, I shall quote this portion of it from each of the two principal MSS.

*Vat.*—καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια ἐπὶ Ιαμὶν καὶ Ιασσὶβ ἐπὶ πηγὴν  
Θαφθώθ.

*Alex.*—καὶ πορεύεται τὰ ὄρια ἐπὶ Ιαμὶν καὶ Ιασήφ<sup>a</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν  
Θαφθώθ.

A comparison of these extracts with the corresponding Hebrew clause given in the last paragraph serves to show that the first *ἐπὶ* in the Vatican line is rightly omitted in the Alexandrian one, and that the third *ἐπὶ* of the former line is misplaced in both, and ought to stand just before, instead of after, the proper name with which it is immediately connected. The same authority decides also in favour both of the final consonant of this name as written in the Vatican line, and of the penultimate word of that line *πηγὴν*, of which *την γην* in the other line is besides clearly shown by the context to be a corruption. For it would be nonsense to represent the whole land of Thaphthoth (or Tappuah) as one of the places by reaching to which the position of the boundary of this very land (or a line dividing it between the tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim) was to be determined. After the application of these corrections to the Greek extract, each of them may be translated as follows: ‘and the boundaries go along unto Iamin and unto Iassib, a fountain of Thaphthoth.’ Here, supposing the boundaries, or boundary (for the word of this meaning is singular in the Hebrew, and it is evidently imma-

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<sup>a</sup> The manner in which the second name in the lower Greek line is exhibited, considerably reduces the authority of the Alexandrian version in this instance, by showing that it was here altered so as to accord with one of the spurious versions of the second century, in which this name was also written *Ιασηφ*; and a similar observation may be applied to it in other cases also. On the other hand, the Vatican MS., though it appears in the form of a copy less corrected, does not, as far as I can find, lie under the great disadvantage of having been adulterated by a collation with any of the spurious versions.

terial to the sense in which number it is taken) to lie in nearly a straight line, the position of this line is sufficiently marked by the mention of two places to which it reaches, or through which it passes; and the tenor of the sentence is perfectly clear, though the actual division thereby indicated can be no longer made out, in consequence of our ignorance of the sites of the specified places. But the Hebrew clause will be found to yield in substance the very same meaning, PROVIDED the *Yod* of the group ישר be rejected; while, on the contrary, if that letter be retained, this clause must remain utterly senseless, from its describing certain human beings as inhabitants of a fountain. For the expedient whereby it is attempted to evade this gross absurdity—by depriving the Hebrew term יַעַן of all signification, and converting it into part of a proper name—is quite inadmissible in itself; and is besides directly opposed, not only to the testimony of the Septuagint, which renders this term by one signifying ‘a fountain,’ but also to that of the Hebrew text, which exhibits twice in the next verse the very same proper name תַּפּוּחַ, TaPpUāH, without any collection of letters immediately preceding it that could be taken to represent its initial syllable. Other considerations might also be added *ex abundanti*, bearing with great force against any interpretation of the clause containing ישר which depends on the received vocalization of this group. For instance, how is a place indicated by calling it a fountain of Tappuah, without specifying any name of that fountain? or what meaning can be assigned to the statement that “the border went along on the right hand,” without mentioning any point through which it proceeded, or any object to the right of which it might, when viewed from that point, be said to go? The combination, indeed, of grounds against the retention of the *Yod* at the end of the group in question is quite strong enough to warrant its rejection, even if we had not the means of distinguishing it by its phonetic use from the genuine elements of the sacred text; but, now that it is discovered to belong to a class of letters interpolated in that text by fallible scribes, there

surely cannot be any hesitation about either removing it or marking it as otiant. I admit that the group referred to is rendered in the Syriac version ܝܬܒܐܝ, *YoTheBaI*, 'inhabitants of.' But the testimony of the oldest Greek version on the subject, which is so powerfully corroborated by the internal evidence of the case, cannot be set aside for the opposite attestation of any later translation; and the only effect of this attestation is to show that the Syriac translators, in the instance of a passage made very obscure by containing two names that had become obsolete and admitted in the abstract (though not in this place duly considered) of being read by other words, contented themselves with following the then received reading of those groups; and that the Jews, in their effort to disparage the Septuagint, had introduced this reading before it was rendered permanent by means of an incorrect vocalization. In fine, I request the reader to observe the very striking illustration, this example affords of the injurious consequences that have followed from the circumstance of proper names not having been pointed out to the eye in the sacred text by any peculiarity in the mode of writing them.

The third example attests the remarkable fact that the name of the immediate successor of Moses was transcribed in all the later Greek versions, as well as in the Septuagint, *Ἰησοῦς*, answering to the Hebrew sound of it, *Yeshuah*;—a fact which serves to prove that the name of this leader of the Jews was, even as late as the second and beginning of the third century, too strongly impressed upon the public mind to admit of its being tampered with in works then open to the inspection of the public.

The fourth example informs us that the group בִּיד, *Judg.* ii. 14, was translated by Symmachus and Theodotion *ἐν χειρὶ*, 'in the hand,' but by the Seventy *εἰς τὰς χεῖρας*, 'into the hands.'<sup>a</sup> With regard to the Hebrew group in this example,

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<sup>a</sup> The above Greek rendering is given in only the Vatican copy of the Septuagint. In the Alexandrian copy the translation is *ἐν χειρὶ*, which

the following portion of the Authorized English Translation of the verse containing it will be sufficient to show its bearing in the specified place :—" And the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he delivered them INTO THE HANDS OF spoilers,—" The group in question might have been read, before the Hebrew text was vocalized, either *BeYaD*, 'into the hand of,' or *BeYaDe*,<sup>a</sup> 'into the hands of;' but after the vocalization was effected, it was confined to the latter or former reading and sense, according as a *Yod* was or was not subjoined to it. The Seventy, we may perceive by the rendering they adopted, very properly read the name of this group in the plural number ; and consequently the vocalizers, in conformity with their usual plan of attack, treated it so as that it should thenceforward be restricted to the singular. But Symmachus and Theodotion went in some degree farther in their opposition to the Septuagint, by availing themselves of the ambiguity of the prefix **נ** to give it a sense here that can hardly be reconciled with that of the preceding verb; and, indeed, even the choice they made, in common with the vocalizers of the singular number, for the word expressive of 'hand,' when referred to a plurality of persons, is rather awkward, though, I admit, there are precedents for this incongruity. The foregoing extract from the Authorized English Version shows that its learned framers decided in favour of the rendering by the Seventy of the group here brought under examination, notwithstanding the apparently closer translation given of it by the two specified later Greek interpreters.

In the last of the notes quoted from Montfaucon's Collec-

affords another instance, in addition to that presented in the second example, of this manuscript having been adulterated through collation with some of the spurious versions of the second century.

<sup>a</sup> The group above referred to would, according to the rules of pronunciation now in force, be read for its second acception *BIDe*; but the sort of use thus made of its second element could not have commenced till after the introduction of the *matres lectionis* into the sacred text.

tion, קהל is stated to be transcribed in the Septuagint Πααβ, but in all the other Greek Versions Πεωβ. The latter transcription has apparently the advantage of a closer agreement with the Hebrew group ; but what it really approaches nearer to is that group, not as originally written, but as subsequently altered by means of an interpolated letter.

This research might be continued to a much greater extent ; but circumstances, I regret to say, deprive me of the power of now completing it in the manner I had at first intended: the number, however, of examples here analyzed will, I hope, be sufficient to convince the reader of the fallacy of the ground on which superior accuracy has been hitherto attributed to the spurious Greek versions of the second century. The fourth example affords an instance of the framers of some of those versions surpassing the old vocalizers in hostility to the Septuagint ; while in the third they, on the contrary, are all to be seen, not merely less opposed to that record, but even actually supporting it ; and in their efforts to bring it into disrepute they are in general found to have acted with more caution than the Hebrew scribes here compared with them, for which a cause can easily be assigned. For their several translations were, as soon as written, at once submitted to the scrutiny of both Christians and Jews ; and they had reason to fear that they would offend the judgment of the public, and in consequence fail in their attempt to supplant the Septuagint, if they ventured on too violent and abrupt an attack on a work which, up to a period not long antecedent to their respective times, had met with universal approbation ; while, on the other hand, the vocalized copies of the sacred text were at first intended for the sole use of the Jewish priests and their agents,—men who had recently become much prejudiced against the above version. Under these circumstances, it is no way surprising that the vocalization referred to should have gone to greater lengths than any of the Greek versions of the second century, in the attempt to lower the credit of the Septuagint. The striking subject, indeed, for wonder is that, notwithstanding this diffe-

rence between the two modes of operating, the more violent and less guarded one should be that alone which was attended with any degree of success. But, however strange this result may appear, still, several considerations can be adduced, concurring to account for its production.

In the first place, the Hebrew text—which appears to have become, through increasing ignorance of the sacred language, a sealed book to even the most learned of the Jewish laity as early, at any rate, as the age of Philo Judæus, or before the middle of the first century, and to the whole body of the Christians soon after the commencement of the second—was not restored to the inspection of the latter party, nor did they in any degree recover the power of reading it, till Origen published the celebrated Hexapla about the year of our era 230, or fully a hundred years after the oldest of the spurious versions referred to, namely that of Aquila, had been written. But during the whole of the specified interval, those versions, though they did not succeed in the primary object for which they were intended of supplanting the Septuagint, were gradually preparing the minds of men for the acknowledgment of discrepancies between it and the Hebrew Bible, as soon as the opportunity should be renewed to them of comparing those works. This opportunity, indeed, the Jewish priests had at first no intention of conceding, and were driven to try the effect of, only as a last resource, after every other attempt to undermine the credit of the Septuagint had failed. Yet this alteration of their plan, though due to an after-thought, proved in a high degree favourable to their views ; since the accustoming of the public mind to continual charges against the correct preservation of the translation, while no similar accusations were brought against the original, had a tendency to prevent the Christians from searching for the source of the above discrepancies where it might have been most naturally looked for, in an altered state of that one of the compared records which alone had been at any previous time out of their sight. As a second impediment to their detecting on which side the



blame of those discrepancies should fall, may be mentioned their ignorance of the language of the Hebrew Bible at the epoch when a copy of it was placed within their reach, and their recovery of that language only through the aid of teachers whose interest it was to conceal from them the changes which the sacred text had undergone while out of their keeping. Three more obstructions to their penetrating the true state of the case are to be found respectively,—in the high character which the Jews always enjoyed, and, at every period except that in question, justly deserved, of strictly faithful guardians of the Hebrew record,—in the great difficulty which persons accustomed to the very superior alphabetic system of the Greeks, then the one in most general use throughout the civilized portion of the world, must have experienced to conceive how the text of the Old Testament could have been originally written without any signs whatever for vowels considered apart from consonants ;—and in the naturalization, as it were, of the *matres lectionis* for an antecedent period of considerable length in the systems of writing employed by most of the Semitic nations, and even in that of the Jews as far as it was applied to ordinary uses. Hence the consequence arose that, although the old vocalizers went to more daring lengths in their attacks upon the Septuagint than any of their abettors in this fraud, yet their work never incurred the slightest suspicion of constituting a spurious addition to the original spelling of the words of the sacred text : while, on the contrary, the Greek versions made to accord with this vocalization in the second and third centuries were suspected of unfairness from their very first publication, though the Christians could not discover wherein that unfairness lay, and even admitted them to be stricter translations than the Septuagint. At least they conceded this ground of superiority to the versions of Aquila and Symmachus, as may be perceived by Origen's arrangement of them in the Hexapla, he having therein placed those versions in columns nearer than that of the Septuagint to the Hebrew one, as if they approached more closely to what is expressed in the original record.

5. When the Jewish priesthood turned from eulogizing to calumniating the Septuagint, they did so, not by asserting that it was from the first an erroneous version (for then they might have been refuted by their own former praises of the work), but by accusing the Christians of having intentionally corrupted it in numerous passages, more especially in the prophecies relating to our Saviour. This charge was obviously unfounded. Some alterations, indeed, which escaped notice from being of minor importance, crept into this book in the course of time ; but, even if the Christians had harboured the wish, they could not have found an opportunity, for committing the crime of which they were thus accused ; as various heresies arose among them from a very early period, the respective adherents of which, as well as the orthodox members of the Church, watched each other with a jealous eye ; so that, if any corruption of this version had been designedly introduced by any of the conflicting parties, it would have been at once detected and exposed by the rest. Hence the Christians never lost their confidence in the correctness of the first Greek version, and they were further protected from the tendency of the earlier attempts to bring it into disrepute by their distrust in the agents engaged in those attempts. The primary attack of the Jews on this venerable record was perpetrated at first by orally interpreting certain passages at variance with their renderings therein, and afterwards by producing a spurious version written in conformity with those erroneous interpretations, which they, notwithstanding, endeavoured to pass off as the genuine Septuagint, and in consequence maintained the one in Christian keeping to be corrupt, wherever it differed from theirs. But this version did not long hold its ground, and so completely failed of the object for which it was fabricated that not a vestige of it now remains. The second attack on the Septuagint was made by means of later Greek versions successively written by persons secretly under the direction of the Jewish priests, or at least to some extent favouring their views, in the second and earlier part of the third century ; and

chiefly through the aid of three composed in the former century by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion respectively, of whom the first, apostatizing from Christianity, became a Jew, and the other two were Judaizing heretics. But those versions never met with a general reception, and failed of bringing the Septuagint into disrepute for a like reason, though not quite so strong, as did that employed in the first attack. Although the Fathers of the Church were unable to detect in what their fallacies consisted, yet, from the suspicious characters of their authors, the Christian public distrusted them nearly as much as the fictitious Septuagint, which was at an early period universally rejected as a fabrication of the Jewish priests or their acknowledged agents. One part at least (if not the whole) of the first attack on the credit of the Septuagint is alluded to in a passage of Justin Martyr's controversy with Trypho which has been already quoted in page 568.<sup>a</sup> The works employed in the second attack and remaining part of the first are mentioned, though in a light by much too favourable, in the following passage of Origen's commentary on the Gospel of St. John, where, after adverting to a proper name which he held to have been corrupted, he proceeds thus :—"The like fault of names may be seen in many places throughout the Law and the Prophets ; as we have accurately ascertained, having been instructed by Hebrews, and having compared our copies [of the Septuagint] with theirs, which are attested to be correct by the editions, as yet uncorrupted, of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus."<sup>b</sup>

The third and principal attack was made through the vocalization of the Hebrew text. The traces of erroneous infor-

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<sup>a</sup> In the passage above referred to, the reader may perceive that Justin speaks in general terms of the attempt of the instructors of the Jews to interpret the Hebrew Scriptures differently from the way in which the Seventy Seniors did, without specifying whether he viewed it only in its primary state when it was made in oral expositions, or also as it was afterwards conveyed in writing.

<sup>b</sup> Τὸ δ' ὁμοιον περὶ τὰ ὀνόματα σφάλμα πολλαχού τοῦ Νόμου καὶ τῶν Προφητῶν ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν· ὡς ἠκριβώσαμεν ἀπὸ Εβραίων μαθόντες, καὶ τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις

mation communicated to the translators by the vocalized record, which are to be found in even the few specimens of extant remains of the Greek versions of the second century exhibited in the course of the last discussion, show very plainly that the Jewish priesthood must have prepared this work for the use of their agents before the second attack upon the Septuagint; though they did not venture to let it come under public inspection till after all the other means they tried for lowering the credit of that version had proved abortive. As the chief cause of the previous failures lay in the suspicious characters of the persons successively engaged in this operation, it was obviously of the utmost importance to the success of the hitherto foiled enterprise of the rulers of the Jews, that they should obtain the services, unconsciously given in the cause they had so much at heart, of some agent who was quite above the suspicion of designedly seconding their views; and Origen was of all men the very fittest for their purpose, both from the great inquisitiveness as well as uncommon energy of his mind, and also from the very high degree of estimation in which he was held by the Christians of his day. Accordingly, the bait was laid for this author: a copy of the vocalized text was placed within his reach, of which he eagerly obtained possession, and as eagerly availed himself of Jewish instruction with regard to the language in which it was written;—instruction which was then, for the first time since the commencement of the second century, given correctly to a Christian. The success of the contrivance just described is placed in a very striking light by the circumstance already noticed—and for which I have endeavoured to account—that while the principal spurious Greek versions were from the first distrusted by the Christian authorities, and at last totally rejected, the vocal-

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αὐτῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα συνκρίναντες, μαρτυρηθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν μηδέπω διαστραφειῶν ἐκδόσεων Ἀκύλου, καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος, καὶ Συμμάχου.—*Origenis Opera*, Ed°. Benedict., tom. iv. p. 141. A few lines lower down in the same page this author calls the Jewish edition, here referred to, of the Septuagint, το Ἑβραϊκόν.

ized text, though conveying grosser corruptions of sound, in respect to certain names, and of sense, with regard to certain passages, than did any of those versions, was at once universally received, and is still even up to the present day considered genuine in its vocal as well as consonantal ingredients. In the instance, indeed, of a transaction managed with so much art, and to the success of which secrecy in certain respects was so essential, no direct exposure by means of external testimonies can be expected. But the view just given of the conduct of the parties therein engaged is powerfully supported by internal evidence, indirectly derived from some ascertained circumstances of the case, as well as from an examination, under the last head very briefly noticed, of the extant fragments of the spurious Greek versions ; and it is further strengthened by the consideration that it affords a satisfactory solution of difficulties which appear to be otherwise quite inexplicable. The writing of the Hebrew text is of such a description that, even after it received its first vocalization, the power of reading it, and understanding the language in which its purport is conveyed, could not be acquired without the aid of oral instruction ; and at the period in question that instruction could not be obtained without the connivance of the Jewish priests, as the information requisite for the purpose was then confined to themselves and the scribes under their immediate control. By what motive, then, different from that just assigned, could these men have been led to the abrupt and violent change of policy indicated by their treating, in reference to this subject, Clement of Alexandria and his pupil Origen in ways so directly opposite ? or how else can the apparent inconsistency be explained, of their allowing instruction most highly prized by them to be given to a leading adversary, which they, up to the same period, withheld from their friends—from even the most learned laymen of their nation—from all, indeed, who did not belong to their own order, or that of their scribes, except a few agents connected with them through some secret tie ? Why did they select for such exceptions men who could not be fully

trusted? Aquila, the most remarkable of those agents, was a renegade. Why did they prefer his version to that made by themselves? Though it be matter of some doubt whether Commodus preceded or followed Theodotion in the order of succession, yet it is on all sides agreed that they both wrote later than Aquila, and that each of their versions was, upon the whole, less adverse than his to the Septuagint. Why then did the priests, while Aquila's version was in high favour with them, notwithstanding, get others composed less suited to their own taste?

To unravel the difficulties suggested by these and various other questions of like nature, an easy clue is afforded by the foregoing representation of the subject; but there is one point connected with it which requires a fuller explanation. The Jewish priests, while endeavouring to gain currency for certain corruptions of Scripture, had it not in their power to employ the agents on whose fidelity they could best depend: they were forced to select such as were less objectionable to, and, therefore, more likely to impose upon the Christians. But in their eagerness and haste to prepare for the first of those agents, who appears to have been Aquila, a vocalized copy of the Hebrew Bible, they suffered to slip into its vocalization, besides their intentional perversions of the sense, a great number of mistakes which in no way contributed to the promotion of their design, but, on the contrary, were calculated eventually to expose the spurious nature of the *matres lectionis*; while a full century intervened between the finishing of the work thus executed, and the days of Origen. How then came it to pass that they did not avail themselves of this long interval to remove such untoward errors from the altered spelling of the sacred record, before they allowed it to be submitted to the inspection of the orthodox Christians? The answer to this question is supplied through a consideration of the character of the individual employed by them on the occasion here referred to. He had deserted the cause of the Christians, and might equally forsake that of the Jews, if he found a way of again ingratiating himself with his former friends by means of a very

important communication. It would, therefore, have been to the Jewish priesthood a most dangerous step to intrust Aquila with the secret of their vocalization of the original text,—a secret which they could not prevent a man of his sagacity from penetrating, if they had attempted to correct the numerous undesigned errors of this operation, after they had placed a copy of the work in his hands, and had got him sufficiently instructed in its language to enable him to peruse it. They in consequence left the errors in question uncorrected, and preferred, as the lesser of two evils between which they were compelled to make choice, the liability to a remote exposure of their fraud, by means of those errors, rather than run the risk of an immediate one through an agent on whose fidelity they could not depend. The oversight which made it impossible to avoid both dangers, and appears to have been destined by Providence to effect at last the defeat of their project, was their failing carefully to revise the vocalized text, before they suffered a copy of it to get into the possession of any stranger. But to render this omission subservient to the eventual exposure of their fraudulent contrivance, it was requisite (exclusively of the perpetuation of the above errors throughout the successive transcriptions of the sacred text) that a knowledge of the ancient Hebrew should be diffused among men not belonging to, or dependent on, the sacerdotal class. Now a provision for the fulfilment of this condition may, I submit, be traced in the sudden change of policy of the Jewish priests, by which, after getting Origen to a certain extent instructed in the tongue in question, they proceeded to confer the same benefit on their own countrymen, from whom it had for a long previous interval been withheld. In thus altering their treatment of the laity, they probably had an eye merely to preparing the way for urging their people to abandon the Greek versions which had turned out such unsuccessful instruments of deception, and qualifying them to return to the use of the sacred record in its original language. But the change had a tendency to another effect also which they seem to have overlooked, namely, that of extending the knowledge

of this language beyond the persons under their immediate control, and of thereby facilitating to their adversaries its acquisition to an extent greater than was consistent with the secure preservation of their secret. The progress, however, of this result was but slow ; as we find Jerome, nearly two centuries after the age of Origen, complaining occasionally in his writings of the great difficulty of meeting with competent instructors in Hebrew, as also of the large sums he had to pay for their assistance. In fact, it was only from an exertion of extraordinary abilities and industry that either he or Origen arrived at any proficiency in this study : the instruction afforded them for the purpose was quite insufficient to enable ordinary capacities to master the subject ;<sup>a</sup> and accordingly, it may be observed that, after the lapse of a few more centuries, the Christians sunk a second time into total ignorance of the original language of the Bible. On the other hand, the knowledge of this language, which appears to have been communicated with less reserve to the Jewish laity, gradually spread among them till at length it reached a considerable

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<sup>a</sup> The inadequacy of the Hebrew information afforded to Origen might easily be evinced by examples taken from his writings. But, having no longer room left for this species of proof, I must now confine myself to quoting a censure passed on him by Huetius, for allowing himself to be guided in the interpretation of Scriptural names by such an authority as that of Philo Judæus,—an error from which an accurate knowledge of Hebrew would certainly have guarded him. The following are the words of Huetius here referred to:—" Qui vero non offendisset Origenes Philonem sequens ducem, qui Judæus licet, Judæis prognatus, ne mediocri quidem litterarum Hebraicarum aura, uti neque Hellenistæ fere reliqui, fuerat afflatus?"—*Origeniana*, lib. ii. cap. i. sect. 2. It may be worth while to observe upon this extract, that Huetius here imputes utter ignorance of Hebrew generally to all the Greek authors who flourished after the age of Philo,—an imputation which is strictly true with respect to all of them (except, indeed, such as were inspired, or belonged to the Jewish priesthood), until we come down to the age of Origen himself; and afterwards became again applicable to them, in a gradually increasing degree, till we arrive at the period when the patriarch Photius lived, whose writings prove that the Christians were then a second time sunk into total ignorance of the original language of the Bible.



number of their body ; so that, when the Christians began, upon the revival of learning in Europe, to direct their attention again to the study of Hebrew, they experienced no difficulty to procure the aid of an abundant supply of rabbinical teachers.

The abruptness of the change of language to which the Jewish priests resorted in the performance of divine service, before the bulk of the laity were prepared for this innovation by adequate instruction in the ancient Hebrew, is evinced by the vehement opposition of the Jews to this measure, and the tumults it occasioned, which rose to such a pitch as to render necessary the interference of the Roman Government. In reference to this subject, there is still extant in the original Greek a decree of the Emperor Justinian, which is numbered the 146th in the collection of his later ordinances (*νεαπαὶ διατάξεις*) printed by Henry Stephens in the year 1558. The entire decree is worth attentive perusal ; but here I must confine myself to a single passage near its commencement, in which, after alluding to the violent dissensions of the Jews, and the disputes among them whether their Scriptures should be read in the synagogues in Hebrew alone, or also in Greek, this Emperor proceeds as follows :—" We, therefore, having been informed of the circumstances relating to this controversy, have judged those to be more equitable who wish to make use of the Greek tongue also [that is, in conjunction with the ancient Hebrew] in the reading out of their sacred books, and of absolutely every tongue, whichever *each* locality causes to be better suited and more familiar to the hearers."<sup>a</sup> From this extract it is plain that the Jewish priests did not succeed in the attempt to confine the public service of the synagogues to the ancient Hebrew tongue till after the reign of Justinian,

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<sup>a</sup> *Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν τὰ περί τούτου μαθόντες, καλλίους ἐκρίναμεν εἶναι τοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν βιβλίων ἀνάγνωσιν παραλαμβάνειν ἐθέλοντες, καὶ φωνὴν πᾶσαν ἀπλῶς ἣν ὁ τόπος ἐπιτηδειοτέραν καὶ μᾶλλον γνώριμον τοῖς ἀκούουσιν εἶναι ποιεῖ.*—*Impp. Justiniani, Justinii, Leonis Novellæ Constitutiones*, p. 372.

which ended about the middle of the sixth century of our era. But the power of expelling the disobedient from their community was too formidable to be long resisted ; whence it is likely that they carried their point soon after the epoch just specified. The act, however, of compelling their congregations to hear the Word of God read solely in a dead language, that was unknown to the great majority of the nation, must at first have considerably reduced for a time their popularity ; and most probably during that interval were written such of the earlier Jewish works as exhibit traces of an independent spirit, on the part of the authors, to the extent of rendering passages of Scripture according to the translations given of them by the Seventy Interpreters, in some of the instances in which this conformity to the Septuagint is strongly supported and strictly required by the context.

6. How and when the Peshitah was framed, are questions hitherto undecided ;<sup>a</sup> but now at last we shall, I am in hopes, be conducted to their final settlement by the aid of the discovery unfolded in this volume. With regard to the first point, the writers of the seventeenth century held that this version was taken entirely from the text of the Hebrew Bible ; while, on the other hand, those of the present day, judging this view of its origin irreconcilable with the fact that it differs from that text in a great many places in which it agrees with the Septuagint, maintain it to be in part derived from the latter work also, though they are at variance with each other as to the exact nature of this mixed derivation. The Greek record is assumed, by some of them, to have been made use of contemporaneously with the Hebrew one in the first formation of the version under discussion, and by others, to have been resorted to only long afterwards, in order to its correction and improve-

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<sup>a</sup> In the discussion of the first of the above questions the Old Testament of the Peshitah is of course the only part of it taken into consideration, as the difficulties therein examined have no connexion with the remainder of this version.

ment. But neither of these assumptions can stand the test of examination. For, in reference to the former, how can it be admitted that translators who had the advantage of consulting the original record would in numerous instances allow greater weight to any version, and more especially to one in a foreign language? Or if, according to the latter assumption, the blame of the seeming deviations from the Hebrew text be shifted from the Syriac translators to a set of men imagined to have lived at a later period, when the Christians had lost the power of reading that text, the difficulty of the case is hereby altered indeed, but scarcely diminished. For we are thus required to concede that an imaginary set of correctors of the Peshitah, of whom not even the slightest tradition has reached us, were some way or other induced, in a considerable number of instances, to rely more on a foreign than on their own version; and that, too, after their attachment to the latter work had been increased by time, and they had been long accustomed to regard it with a high degree of veneration. It is true, that about the seventh century, at a period when the Christians were a second time immersed in total ignorance of the ancient Hebrew, another Syriac version was written, wholly derived from the Septuagint. But this work never superseded the Peshitah as the Authorized Version of the main body of the Syriac Christians, although it was erroneously supposed to be a closer translation; and, surely, the very same feeling which excluded it from such an advancement of authority would have equally interfered with the employment of any Grecian document, in either the primary formation or subsequent correction of the national Syriac version. Let us now try what light the discovery before us throws upon this subject. The Septuagint and Peshitah, though written quite independently of each other, agree in a great number of places in which they disagree with the vocalized Hebrew Bible; because they are in common immediate translations of one and the same record, taken from it when it was in a different state from that in which it is at present exhibited, and while it was as yet unvocalized. On the other hand,

they disagree upon a lesser, though by no means inconsiderable number of passages of that record, but chiefly with regard to such as contain names of rare occurrence, or are involved in some obscurity of meaning ; because the framers of the later version, being unable to surmount the difficulties of those passages by mere knowledge of the ancient Hebrew, and not having the aid of the earlier one, were forced to consult the persons reputed to be the best informed upon the subject in their day. But the passages in question belong to the very class of sentences with misreadings of which the Jewish priesthood ventured to make their attack on the Septuagint ; and, supposing them to have commenced those misreadings before they got the Hebrew text surreptitiously vocalized, some of the resulting perversions of sound or sense might be old enough to find their way, in the manner just described, into the Peshitah. Thus the application of a single principle serves to account for, not only the agreements of two independent versions in a great variety of instances in which they might be expected to differ, but also for the exceptions to those agreements,—what it certainly could not in any conceivable manner effect, if it were not founded in truth.

To the foregoing discussion it may be worth while to subjoin two remarks. First, the derivation of the Peshitah in part from the Septuagint, which seems to be indicated by the class of passages first referred to, having been now disproved, this circumstance greatly strengthens the force of the evidence of the two versions in those passages in which they agree ; because that evidence is the concordant testimony of two records that were framed quite independently of each other. Secondly, however valuable the Peshitah may be, its authority is shown by the second class of passages to be very inferior to that of the Septuagint ; as indeed might be deduced from other considerations also, as, for instance, from its having been written (as will be presently shown) nearly four centuries farther than the oldest part of the Septuagint from the time when the Hebrew of the Bible was spoken as a living language.

To turn next to the second question, the age of the Peshitah,—from the complete identity of the language employed in the two parts of this version it has been very generally inferred that they were composed by the same persons, or at any rate about the same time ; and in corroboration of this inference it may be observed that some passages of the rendering therein given of the Old Testament yield strong indications of their having been written by Christians. As then the year in which the Gospel of St. John was framed, or the sixty-ninth year of the first century of our era, affords a major limit to the antiquity of the New Testament of the Peshitah, it does so likewise to that of the Old Testament of the same version ; —a limitation which might probably be brought, upon the same principle, a few years lower down, only that the exact date is unknown of the first Epistle of St. John, which appears to be the latest work of which a translation was included among the original contents of this version.<sup>a</sup> So far most of those who have studied the subject seem to be agreed ; but much greater difficulty has been found in attempting to fix a minor limit to the age of this record. Since the publication at Rome of a complete edition of the works of Ephraim the Syrian, which was finished in the year 1747, it has been ascertained that he quoted several passages of Scripture exactly as they are translated in the Peshitah ; which, consequently, must have been composed before the middle of the fourth century, the period

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<sup>a</sup> Although the Peshitah now presents to the reader a translation of the entire New Testament, it did not, as originally compiled, contain renderings of the second Epistle of St. Peter, of the second or third of St. John, of that of St. Jude, or of the Apocalypse. The vision which forms the subject of the last-mentioned work is expressly attested by Eusebius, in the eighteenth chapter of the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, to have been impressed on the mind of St. John near the close of the reign of Domitian ; so that, if a translation of that work had been included among the original contents of the Peshitah, the major limit to the age of this version might have been brought down to the 96th year of the first century of our era, as synchronizing with the last year of Domitian's reign.

when this author flourished. Hitherto no greater antiquity has been made out for the above version upon any satisfactory ground, though it has long been supposed by a considerable portion of the learned to be above two centuries older.<sup>a</sup> But now the justness of their opinion on this point can be established by means of the present discovery, and the date of the Peshitah be thereby thrown back to a period very little distant from the end of the first century. There are two ways of arriving at this result. In the first place, the Christians were utterly ignorant of the original language of the Old Testament, and consequently incapable of writing any translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, from shortly after the beginning of the second century till the age of Origen; if, then, they composed the Peshitah before the end of this interval, they must have done so before its commencement, that is, before more than a very few years of the second century had elapsed. In the second place, it is rendered manifest, through the internal evidence afforded by a comparison of the Old Testament of this version with the Hebrew text, that it must have been framed by translators who made use of unvocalized copies of that text. But, until after

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<sup>a</sup> Bishop Walton supposed the Peshitah to have been written by apostolic men (Proleg. xiii. 15), that is, I presume, by immediate disciples of the Apostles; and although this opinion is not likely to be well founded (as the persons alluded to were too much occupied with missionary labours to have leisure for undertaking a work which affords very clear indications of great care bestowed upon its formation, besides that there is no reason to imagine them all to have been acquainted with the ancient Hebrew), it yet appears to have led him to a just conclusion with regard to the age of this version. For, if we take the middle point of time between the earliest and the latest dates that could be assigned to the Peshitah on this supposition, the period so determined would come out not very distant from the end of the first century. The martyrdom of Polycarp, the last of the individuals in question of whom accounts have been transmitted to us, and probably, from his great age, the very last of their number, is dated at the latest (for authors differ on this point) A. D. 168; while, on the other hand, the deaths of some of those men may be conceived to have taken place as early as the persecution of the Christians which immediately followed the martyrdom of St. Stephen, A. D. 34. But the middle date between these two is A. D. 101.

such copies had become extinct among the public, the Jewish priests could not have ventured to place a vocalized copy in the hands of Aquila ; because if they had, they would have subjected themselves to imminent danger of his discovering, through a comparison of it with one of the older kind, the fact of its vowel-letters being interpolated elements,—a fact which they have been shown in a preceding article of this Appendix most anxious to keep concealed from him. Moreover, the extinction of the unvocalized copies proceeded of necessity at a slow pace, according as they fell into the possession of individuals unable to make any use of them, after the deaths of all owners (whether Christians or Jewish laymen) who had been acquainted with their language. So that at least twenty years may be deemed to have elapsed after the Peshitah was written, before Aquila obtained a vocalized copy of the sacred text ; to which about three more may be reckoned to have been added, before he completed, with the help of that copy, the Greek version he is attested to have published in the year of our era 128–9. According to this calculation the Peshitah was written before a period five years subsequent to the commencement of the second century. But if the amount of the two requisite deductions from A. D. 128–9 be judged greater than I have made it by any number of years, the minor limit to the age of this version may be pushed farther back to the extent of that difference.

7. The Samaritan Pentateuch was brought under notice and referred to by a series of Christian writers extending from Eusebius in the beginning of the fourth century to Georgius Syncellus about the end of the eighth ;\* after which it was lost sight of in Christendom till the year 1631, when Father Morin

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\* Georgius Syncellus quoted the above work only at second-hand from the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. Most of the intervening writers referred to appear to have consulted only a secondary version of it, formed by translating its Samaritan version into Greek,—a work which has been briefly noticed under the head of a previous discussion. Jerome, however, is to be excepted from the number of those who are likely to have so acted.

of the Oratory in Paris, published an account of two copies then recently brought from the East, which were purchased, one of them at Constantinople, by M. De Sancy, the French ambassador there, and afterwards Archbishop of St. Maloes, and the other at Damascus, by Pietro della Valle, a Roman knight.<sup>a</sup> I should add that several valuable copies were procured about the same time from Aleppo by Archbishop Ussher, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin ; and although the work was first printed from the former MSS. in the Paris Polyglot, in 1645, its second edition came from the press corrected and improved by the aid of the latter set in the London Polyglot, in 1657. During the space of above eight hundred years that this record disappeared, it was in the sole keeping of the Samaritans ; but the care and fidelity with which they preserved it for that long interval may be judged of by the circumstance, that there are several passages of Scripture in which ancient authors during the five preceding centuries, especially Jerome, remarked agreements or disagreements between it and the Jewish edition of the Pentateuch, or between it and the corresponding portion of the Septuagint ; which same agreements and disagreements may be observed to hold between the three compared documents even up to the present day.

When, after the publication of Morin's account, the text itself was exhibited in the Parisian and London Polyglots, it excited much attention among the learned ; but the numerous

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<sup>a</sup> *Exercitationes in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*, pp. 7-10, 370-1. According to the commonly received representation of Morin's account of the matter, which I incautiously followed in a note at the bottom of page 106 of this volume, the two copies above mentioned are confounded together ; but, on reference to the pages just specified of Morin's own work upon the subject, it will be seen that they are quite distinct MSS. ; and on further consulting the final pages of his account, it will be perceived that the first printed specimens of both the text and version in question were taken from the copy which belonged to *Della Valle*, whose name (transcribed in Latin, by Morin, à Valle) appears to be the same as that written in old Norman French *Du Val*, which has been long since, in the English use of it, altered into *Wall*.



discrepancies they found between it and the Jewish edition of the same text caused it again to sink into oblivion ; and in this state of neglect it has been permitted to lie for much the greater part of the time which has elapsed since it was first printed. Now, however, that the vast majority of those instances of disagreement can be accounted for, and shown not to affect at all the integrity of the original ingredients of either edition of the text, the very feature of the case that up to the present time has thrown a shade over the work before us will, I expect, henceforward constitute its highest interest. For the true explication of the apparent discrepancies between the two records, which has at last been arrived at, serves powerfully to corroborate the proofs derived from other sources of the adventitious nature of the *matres lectionis* in each record. Bishop Walton in vain endeavoured to account for the greater scarcity of those letters in the Jewish than in the Samaritan Pentateuch, by assuming that the Masoretic points, which were introduced only into one of those works, occasioned the removal of a large portion of the characters in question from that one, while their number was left undiminished in the other. This view of the subject is given in his learned treatise on the Samaritan Pentateuch, as follows :—“ . . . in vocibus quas plene vel defective scriptas notant Judæi, non sunt accurati Samaritani, sicut nec erant Judæi ante Masorethas punctorum autores ; unde observatur literas quæ post punctationem abesse debent, plerumque in codicibus Samaritanis relictas esse, quia scilicet ita scribebant ante punctorum inventionem.”—*Prolegom.*, xi. 10. But this explanation is directly refuted by the fact that Hebrew words are often to be seen written with fewer vowel-letters in the Samaritan than in the Jewish edition : and, besides, it does not at all meet the principal difficulty of the case : namely, the circumstance that corresponding syllables, instead of being vocalized in one edition and unvocalized in the other, frequently exhibit different vowel-letters in the two editions ; whence arise differences which go to the extent of altering, not only the inflexions of

the words and forms of expression, but sometimes even the very meaning of the passages they occur in. What uneasiness the discrepancies of the latter kind excited, as long as attention was directed to a comparison of the two editions, may be estimated by the vast importance which the Bishop attached, not to the general removal of those discrepancies,—a result never even contemplated, much less hoped for, by the learned of his day,—but to the very subordinate service of reducing them to distinct classes. Upon this point his opinion is expressed in the same treatise in the following manner:—"Quod enim de editione Græca τῶν ὁ diximus, idem de exemplari Samaritano optandum, ut doctus aliquis iudicio et linguarum cognitione pollens, et partium studio non abreptus, cui otium et ingenium ad rem tantam aggrediendum suppetit, accurate discrepantias has examinaret, et quænam ex scribarum errore, quænam ex codicum Hebræorum varietate ortæ sint, quænam de industria mutationes factæ, distingueret. Certe qui hoc opus perficeret, magnam à grata posteritate laudem reportaret."—*Prolegom.*, xi. 16.

It is not my intention in this place to enter into a general examination of the contents of the two editions of the Hebrew Pentateuch: that may be found already done in the second Dissertation of Kennicott and in the writings of other authors. There is but one peculiarity of the Samaritan record which I wish here to bring under notice, and even of that one I can spare room for no more than a single example. For the most part the two editions, as far as they present the same sentences, show no difference of any kind except in their vowel-letters;—a circumstance, I may by the way observe, which had an obvious tendency to lead to the discovery of the interpolation of those letters in each edition. Where, however, the consonants of corresponding sentences do not entirely agree, those employed in the Samaritan copies appear to be connected with a more ancient pronunciation of the sacred language. Thus the pure Hebrew termination in the *M* articulation is frequently preserved in this edition of the Pentateuch, where it

has been changed in the Jewish copies into the corresponding Chaldaic ending in *N* ; this variation marking the effect produced upon the Jewish scribes by their long residence, during the Babylonian Captivity, among a people who used Chaldee as their vernacular dialect. A remarkable instance of the corruption in question, as far as respects proper names, is exhibited in that of the youngest son of Jacob, which is at present found written everywhere in the Jewish edition of the Bible בְּנִימִן, *BeNYaMIN*, but in the Samaritan copies of the Pentateuch בְּנִימִים, *BeNYaMIM*. The latter compound is pure Hebrew for 'son of days,' while the former is its Chaldaic corruption. The Rabbins, indeed, from an anxiety to sustain the correctness of the language of the edition of the text in their keeping, insist upon 'son of right hand' as the meaning of the recorded name ; for which latter signification the Jewish mode of writing the compound would, I allow, be the correct one. But the particulars of the case tell most decisively both for the first of those etymologies, and against the second. The name under discussion was chosen for his infant by Jacob, at a period when he was suffering under the deepest affliction ; and the subsequent fortunes were not very distinguished of either the boy who then received it, or the tribe which was called after him. Now 'son of days,' or 'child of old age,' is a mournful denomination, which might very naturally occur to the patriarch when he was reminded of his own mortality by the death of a wife whom he loved with the tenderest affection ; while, on the other hand, his giving the new-born child at such a time the triumphant designation of 'son of right hand' would have suited neither his feelings as a man nor his prescience as a prophet. Thus it would appear, as far as a valid inference can be drawn from a single example, that, as the Samaritan characters approach nearer than the Jewish ones to the oldest known shapes of the Hebrew letters, so likewise, in the few instances in which the terminations of corresponding words in the two editions differ, the Samaritan endings are those of greater antiquity. This result accords with a remark made by

Morin in the publication of his which has been already referred to, that the Samaritans formerly spoke a less corrupt dialect of Hebrew than the Jews:<sup>a</sup> for it is evident that the copyists whose vernacular tongue came nearer to pure Hebrew would be those less likely to let slip into their transcriptions any combinations of letters incorrectly representing the ancient forms of the original words.

With respect to the particular name which has been just examined, I rather question whether its older pronunciation should now be reverted to. The *N* termination of this word is at present received by, I believe, every nation looking on the Pentateuch as an inspired work, except the small existing remnant of the Samaritans; it was adopted at a very remote period, even before the oldest part of the Septuagint was composed; and it is sanctioned by the practice of the writers of the Greek Testament. It is true that, although the quotations of the Evangelists and Apostles afford decisive authority for the meaning of passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, they by no means do so for the primitive pronunciation of the names therein occurring; their testimony on the latter point reaching solely to the pronunciation which prevailed at the time when they lived, as we have already seen in the case of the name of the royal Psalmist. But still we surely are warranted in following the example of inspired men upon this point; and as a freedom of choice is thus left open to us, it would, perhaps, upon the whole, be the course attended with least evil to adhere to the now almost universal practice of writing the word in question *Benjamin*;<sup>b</sup> notwithstanding the

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<sup>a</sup> The above remark of Morin is conveyed in the following terms:—"Præterea Samaritanorum plebem Hebraicæ linguæ idioma sincerius Judaica conservasse. Ab Hebræo enim proprius abest, magisque phrasim et genium Hebraicæ linguæ sapit Samaritica versio quæ nobis est præ manibus, quàm Chaldaicæ periphrases, Judæorumque alii libri Chaldaici, ut ex speciminibus nostris manifestum erit."—*Exercitationes in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*, p. 371.

<sup>b</sup> The above form is that in which the name in question should be written in German or Italian; but, to avoid an additional corruption not long since introduced, it should be written in English *Benjamin*.

circumstance that this form of it conveys a corrupt pronunciation of the original name.

With regard to the language of the Samaritan version, which has been transmitted to us only through a single work not in common use or easily procured, a brief specimen of it may perhaps be acceptable to the reader ; which, to save him trouble, is exhibited in Hebrew letters of the Jewish rather than of the Samaritan form. The verse selected for the illustration of this subject is Gen. ii. 24, as exhibited in the parent tongue and some of the cognate dialects, preceded by its Authorized English rendering ; which, after the insertion of a word within brackets corresponding to one lost from the original passage, serves to convey its meaning in each of the Shemitic tongues it is quoted in, except the Chaldee verse, in the rendering of which the supplemental expression, ‘the dormitory of,’ should be introduced between the words ‘leave,’ and ‘his father.’

*Authorized Eng.* “Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife ; and they [*two*] shall be one flesh.”

*Jewish Text,* על כן יעזב איש את אביו ואת אמו, ס  
ודבק באשתו ; והיו ——— לבשר אחד.

*Samar. Text,* והיה משניהם

*Samar. Vers.* בדיל כן ישבק גבר ית אביו וית אמו, ויתעלצ באתתה ; והיו משניהון לבסר חדה.

*Chaldee Par.* על כן ישבוק גבר בית משכבו אביו ואמו, וידבק באתתיה ; ויהיו ——— לבסרא חד.

*Syriac Vers.* סܠܐ ܫܠܝܢ ܢܥܡܫ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܐܒܝܗ ܘܕܥܝܢ ܕܐܡܐ. ܫܠܥ ܠܢܐܠܡܐ. ܫܠܥܝܢ ܠܢܥܡܫ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܐܒܝܗ ܘܕܥܝܢ ܕܐܡܐ.

From the Samaritan edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch no more of this verse is given than the portion in which these two editions differ, by means of which portion a word lost from the Jewish copies can be restored to its proper site ; where, however it should be replaced within brackets and with the note in the opposite part of the margin, “Codex Samaritanus.” On the other hand, the word ‘two’ should be inserted in the cor-

responding part of the English Translation in *Italics*, and with the marginal note thereon, “*Mat. xix. 5, Mark x. 7, 1 Corin. vi. 16, Eph. v. 31, put likewise in Italics, in order, not only to point out the parallel passages of the New Testament, but also to sustain its insertion in the specified place by the inspired authority of those passages.*” When there are such vouchers for the justness of this correction, there is scarcely any occasion for adding, that it is moreover supported by the joint and mutually independent testimonies of the Septuagint and Peshitah. The only other difference between the two copies of the Hebrew verse is occasioned by the circumstance of the verb immediately before the dropped group having been vocalized by the one set of scribes, and passed over without any vocalization by the other ; in consequence of which its inflexion, which is clearly in the plural number, must be read in the Samaritan edition *WeHaYeHu* (that is, if strictly rendered, ‘and they shall have been,’ i. e., shall immediately be), while in the Jewish edition it is contracted into *WeHāYU*. With respect to the Samaritan translation, its first and ninth groups differ from the corresponding ingredients of any of the other Shemitic representations of the same verse : but still the former occurs in the Chaldee dialect with the very meaning that is here wanted for it ; while the verb of the latter group, not being found in either Syriac or Chaldee, is rendered by Morin and Walton “*adhære-bit*” (shall cleave unto), on the assumption of a perfect agreement between the Samaritan version and Hebrew text. But, as such an agreement can in some instances be positively shown not to hold, it would perhaps be safer to translate the group in question according to the well-known signification of its verb in Hebrew, ‘to rejoice ;’ which verb being here put in a passive form, the compound might be rendered, ‘and shall be delighted with,’—a rendering which accords, though but loosely, I admit, with the sense required by the context in this place. Of the remaining words of this translation, all are the same in their roots, and several of them entirely the same, as the corresponding ingredients of the Hebrew, Syriac, or

Chaldee verses. But where the inflexions differ, one instance is presented to us of the Samaritan dialect approaching in grammatical structure nearer than either of the others to the parent Hebrew tongue. The verb substantive, which is in the original verse exhibited in the form of a tense compounded of the future and a subordinate preterite, retains this compound form in the Samaritan translation, while it is rendered by a simple future in the Syriac and Chaldee verses. But a second verb of the Hebrew verse in the same compound form is rendered by a simple future in all the three translations ; so that the nearer approach, in the particular just noticed, of the Samaritan, than of either of the other dialects, to the structure of the ancient Hebrew has been only in part preserved. In this dialect the pronominal affixes differ from the equivalent Hebrew ones, just as much, though not in quite the same manner, as they do in the Syriac and Chaldee dialects ; while, on the other hand, those employed in the same places respectively of the two editions of the text are completely identical.

As the fact last mentioned supplies a more decisive limit to the antiquity of the Samaritan vocalization of the Hebrew Pentateuch than that previously given, I shall here bring it prominently under observation by an immediate comparison of some equivalent affixes in the different Shemitic languages referred to, which are taken from the various representations of the verse above quoted, and those of two other verses, the several exponents of the same pronouns being arranged in the same columns respectively, as follows :—

|                         | Gen. ii. 24.<br>his father. | Exod. iii. 22.<br>and upon your daughters. | Deut. xii. 31.<br>their sons. |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Jewish Text,</i>     | את אביו                     | ועל בנותיכם                                | את בנייהם                     |
| <i>Samaritan Text,</i>  | את אביו                     | ועל בנותיכם                                | את בנייהם                     |
| <i>Samar. Version,</i>  | ית אברה                     | ועל בנתכון                                 | ית בנייון                     |
| <i>Chaldee Paraph.,</i> | אברהי                       | ועל בנותכון                                | ית בנייהון                    |
| <i>Syriac Version,</i>  | לְאִבְהִי                   | וְעַל בְּנוֹתֵיכֶם                         | בְּנֵיהֶם                     |

Here the pronominal affixes in the same places respectively of the two editions of the text are exhibited exactly the same, and

are so presented to us in the vast majority of instances, except where a different treatment of them by the two sets of vocalizers has been occasioned by their having been entirely overlooked, or their nature mistaken, by one set;<sup>a</sup> in consequence of which an affix correctly vocalized in one of the editions is sometimes to be met either not vocalized at all, or erroneously vocalized, in the other. But with such exceptions, which are comparatively few, the affixes under consideration are constantly treated in the same manner in the two editions. To account for the identity of their vocalization to this extent, it cannot be alleged that the pronunciation of those affixes by two nations, long debarred from any mutual intercourse, continued always the same; and even if it had done so, an identity of their vocalization would not of necessity have thence resulted; as an affix, which must be supposed pronounced in the same way in every part of the same edition, is yet to be found therein variously vocalized to the extent of greater or less fulness, and likewise corresponding affixes in the same places respectively of different versions may be seen in the above examples vocalized with some degree of variety. The exact identity, therefore, of vocalization here brought under notice is utterly inexplicable, except on the supposition of the insertion of vowel-letters in one edition of the text having been copied from the other. But the Jews, besides hating the Samaritans, despised them too much to borrow from them any improvement. Hence it follows that the Samaritans must have been the borrowers, and consequently that the original record was vocalized later by them than by the Jews. The interval, however, between the two operations could not have been of any great length; for the Samaritan scribes evidently participated with the Jewish vocalizers (notwithstanding their mutual hatred) in the wish of keeping the introduction of the *matres lectionis* into the Hebrew text a secret. But the comparison of an unvocalized copy with a

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<sup>a</sup> Thus, for example, in each edition of the text, the pronominal *He* is in some places mistreated as a paragoric *He*.



vocalized one would have at once exposed this secret. Both parties, therefore, must have concurred in the effort to put the earliest possible termination to the danger of their common adversaries ever obtaining an opportunity to make such a comparison ; and for this purpose they must have proceeded as expeditiously as they could, the former party to get conveyed to the latter a vocalized copy, and the latter to write new copies or vocalize their old ones after this model, and not suffer a single copy to remain unvocalized. Thus it turns out that the Samaritan vocalization of the Pentateuch could not have taken place till after the year of our era 126, but that it was effected very soon after that epoch.

It remains that I should offer a few remarks upon the age of the Samaritan version, which will, I think, be found, upon investigation, bounded by the date, to which a close approximation has been above obtained, of the Samaritan vocalization of the text. This version was supposed by Dr. Kennicott to be older than the Septuagint ; but its juniority to that record can be clearly made out by the circumstance of its agreeing in purport with the Samaritan text in several places in which the vocalization thereof is erroneous ; whence the consequence appears inevitable that it must have been composed after the Samaritan copies of the Pentateuch had been vocalized. A curious instance of this adaptation of the Samaritan translation to an erroneous vocalization of the Hebrew text occurs in the first clause of the verse, Gen. xlix. 11, which, notwithstanding its brevity, betrays no less than two mistakes of the Jewish vocalizers ; but of these the Samaritan scribes availed themselves, for the purpose of transforming a prediction of the subsequent fertility in vines of Judea into an accusation of drunkenness against the posterity of Judah. The whole verse is first quoted from the Authorized English Translation, after which are placed the part of it here to be examined, as transmitted in the Jewish and Samaritan editions of the text, and in the Samaritan, the Syriac, the Greek, the Latin, and the Chaldee versions, with a literal interpretation subjoined to each representation of its purport :—

- Authorized Eng. Vers.* { “Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass’s colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes.”
- Jewish Text,* — אסרִי לגפן עֵרֶה, ולשרקה בניִ אֶתְנִי; כבֹּס  
 ‘He will surely bind his young ass unto the vine, even the foal of his she-ass unto the fruitful vine; he will surely wash,’ &c.
- Samar. Text,* — אסרִי לגפן עֵרֶה, ולשרקה בניִ אֶתְנִי; כבֹּס  
 ‘Bound [i. e. enslaved] are the men of his city unto the vine, even the sons of his strength unto what is vile; he will surely wash,’ &c.
- Samar. Vers.* — אסרִי לגפנה קרתה, ולרִיקה בניִ עֲמוּקָה; רחֵץ  
 ‘Bound are the men of his city unto the vine, even the sons of his strength unto vileness; he will surely wash,’ &c. &c.
- Peshitah,* — נִשְׁכַּח חֵמָה לְחֵלֶם. סִפְפִּסְסִי כִּי לְזִטָּה. נִשְׁכַּח  
 ‘He will bind his young ass unto the vine, even the foal of his she-ass unto the shoot of the vine; he will wash,’ &c. &c.
- Septuagint,* — Δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπελον τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ ἑλικί τὸν πῶλον τῆς ὄνου αὐτοῦ· πλυνεῖ  
 κ. τ. λ.  
 ‘Binding his young ass unto the vine, even the foal of his she-ass unto the tendril of the vine; he will wash,’ &c. &c.
- Vulgate,* Ligans ad vineam pullum suum, et ad vitem,  
 O fili mi, asinam suam; lavabit, &c. &c.  
 ‘Binding his young ass unto the vineyard, and his she-ass, O my son, unto the vine; he will wash,’ &c. &c.
- Targum of Onkelos,* { יסתר ישראל לקרתיה, עמא יבנון הכליה, יהון צדיקא סחור סחור ליה ועבדי אוריתא באולפן עמיה;  
 ‘Yisrahel shall dwell around his [Yudah’s] city, the Gentiles shall build his temple, there shall be the just around him and the servants of the law in doctrine along with him;—’

The Chaldee rendering of the Hebrew line is here placed the farthest from it, as being totally unconnected with its literal interpretation,—a charge which can but very seldom be brought against the Targum of Onkelos. In this instance, however, national prejudices appear to have made the Jewish writer deviate, on one side, even more, in point of form at least, than the Samaritan scribe did on the other, from strict accuracy of translation. Of the little circular marks of censure put over three letters of the above line, as exhibited in the Jewish edition of the Hebrew text, the second has a reference merely to orthography, and is inserted on the authority of the Masorets, who have pointed the subjacent character to be read with *S* power ; and, accordingly, the letter of that power has been substituted for it in the margin. The justness of the two remaining censures is established by the joint and independent testimonies of the Septuagint and Peshitah : as the writers of the former version show by their translation of the first and penultimate words of the first clause that they read them *HōSeR*, ‘binding,’ and *BeN*, ‘foal of,’ without any vowel that could be denoted by *Yod* at the end of either ; and the framers of the latter version in like manner show that they read the same words respectively *HāSaR*, ‘hath bound,’ that is (as they make use of a future tense), ‘will surely bind,’ and *BeN*, ‘foal of,’ without an *E* or *I* at the end of either word. The writer of the Vulgate also attests the spuriousness of the first of those *Yods* by following the Seventy Jews in their interpretation, and consequently in their reading of the word to which it is annexed ; but for the purpose of making out the second *Yod* genuine, was reduced to the absurdity of representing Jacob as speaking to, and of, his son Judah at the same time. To decide between the Greek and Syriac renderings of the initial word, it is necessary to look to the second clause of the verse, as there is an obvious parallelism between the two clauses. But the verb of the second clause, which is written in the form of a preterite, has a future signification attached to it in both of the versions referred to ; that is, it is rendered in each of them as a prophetic future, and consequently the parallel verb of

the first clause should also be thus rendered ; so that the Syriac construction of this word appears to be more strictly accurate than the Greek one. On the other hand, though the meaning of 'the tendril of a vine,' given by the Seventy to the noun of the fourth group, can hardly be reconciled with the context, yet the signification of (ἄμπελος καρποφόρος) 'a fruitful vine' attached to it by them elsewhere (Jer. ii. 21) would make good sense in this place ; and, as this testimony is the highest uninspired authority within our reach for the several meanings of a Hebrew term of rare occurrence, that one of these which is here applicable should, I submit, be preferred to 'the shoot of a vine,' the signification of the Syriac rendering of the same word. In every other respect the two compared renderings of the clause in question fully agree ; and the united authority of the versions from which they are taken, with regard to the meanings to be chosen for the two ambiguous terms, עֵר and אֶתֶן, is so much the weightier, because neither set of translators could have mistaken the sense of the first of those terms ; it not having been ambiguous in their time, but written עֵר, HəYiR, in the same manner as it now is for the meaning they assigned to it of 'a young ass,' whereas for that of 'a city' it would then have been written עִר, HîR ;<sup>a</sup> but the signification of this word determines which of the two belonging to אֶתֶן is here to be selected. Thus it will be found that the first clause predicted in figurative language, indeed, but with certain assurance of the fulfilment of the prophecy, a great abundance of vines, and the second a great

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<sup>a</sup> The above nouns are still preserved distinct in the plural number, that denoting 'young asses' being written עֵירִים, and that expressing 'cities,' עִירִים, in every instance but one, namely in Judg. x. 4. But the exception is not here to be taken into consideration ; for the two nouns, both of which occur in that verse, are by a play upon the words there written in exactly the same way, עֵירִים,—a sort of joke whose appearance in the specified place has hitherto perplexed the learned. But it now turns out that the levity thus indicated is to be attributed not at all to the inspired author, but merely to a subsequent vocalizer of this part of the sacred text.

abundance of wine, in the land to be afterwards inherited by the descendants of Judah.

To turn our attention next to the mode of perverting the sense of the above clause which the Samaritan scribes employed,—they made significant the first of the faulty *Yods* by reading the group it closes, neither *HoSeR*, ‘binding,’ nor *HaSaR*, ‘hath bound,’ i. e. ‘will surely bind,’ but *HaSURE*, ‘bound,’ in the Hebrew form of the participle *pahul* in the masculine plural construct state; and, by translating it in their own form (which thus appears to be identical with the equivalent Chaldee one) for the same inflexion, *HaSIRE*. Accordingly, they vocalized this word in their edition of the text, אַסִּירִי; and, retaining it in their version, they there vocalized it אַסִּירִי. Of the second group, לַנֶּפֶן, ‘to the vine,’ they made no alteration whatever in the text, and merely subjoined to it a ה in their version, to give the noun which constitutes the principal part of this group a feminine termination. Of the third group עִירָה, ‘his young ass,’ they introduced no variation into their text, farther than by vocalizing its affix, which they thereby changed from ה into ו; but they quite altered its meaning, by translating it in their version קִרְתָּה, which exactly agrees (except in being quite unvocalized) with קִרְתָּה, the Chaldee for ‘his city.’ With regard to the fourth group of the clause, Father Morin, and after him Bishop Walton, rendered the noun belonging to the Samaritan translation of this group, though different from the corresponding portion of it in the text, by the very same Latin word (*palmes*) as they applied to that portion, on the gratuitous assumption of a perfect and complete agreement between the Samaritan text and version; and even Castel, in his *Hep-taglot Lexicon*, adopted their translation of this noun. But, as appears to me, where a Hebrew term and the Samaritan translation thereof, if a word of rare occurrence in this version, do radically differ, a more secure plan of ascertaining the sense of the latter term is, to try whether there be identical with it in root a word of known meaning, in any of the ancient cog-

nate dialects, which is reconcilable with the tenor of the previously analyzed part of the Samaritan passage ; and, if so, to assign to it that meaning, even though not correctly agreeing with the sense of the former term. Now רק, the radical part of ריקה, which is the Samaritan rendering of the Hebrew שרקה, is significant in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, denoting in the two former languages ‘empty, worthless, or vile,’ and in the latter ‘spit upon, contemptible, or vile,’ and is actually here vocalized by the Samaritans in the same way as it is in both Hebrew and Chaldee. According, then, to the rule just laid down, the signification attached by the Samaritan scribes to part of שרקה is the epithet ‘vile ;’ whence it follows that they represented the whole word as composite, the meaning of the other part (ש) being well-known, as that of the ordinary substitute in Hebrew compounds for the relative pronoun אשר. But the circumstance of their having thus dealt with the Hebrew term shows that its initial element had been changed from *Samek* to *Shin* before their time. To the faulty *Yod* of the fifth group they gave significance by reading that group in their text, and translating it in their version, בִּנְיָ, ‘the sons of.’ In the case of the last group of the clause, אֲתָנָ, ḤaThoNO, ‘his she-ass,’ which the Jewish vocalizers neglected to confine, by the insertion of a vocal *Waw* in its second syllable, to the sense it here bears, the Samaritan scribes took advantage of this omission to transform it into ḤETHaNO, ‘his strength,’ by slipping a vocal *Yod* into its first syllable in their text ; in consequence of which they were enabled to translate it in their version עֲמִיקָה, ḤaMUQeH, ‘his strength,’—a compound, indeed, of which the principal ingredient signifies only ‘depth,’ or ‘deep,’ in Hebrew and Chaldee, but is a term of frequent occurrence in the Samaritan version, and the meaning ‘strength,’ or ‘strong,’ agrees in common with the context of several places in which it is therein found. The first word, רִחֵץ, of the Samaritan translation of the second clause is perfectly identical with a Hebrew verb of the same meaning as that in the corresponding site of the Hebrew text.

I have only here further to remark, with respect to the translation given in common by Morin and Walton of the first clause in both the Samaritan text and version, that, although its initial expression '*ligata est*' (inflected so as to agree with '*civitas ejus*') might possibly be excusable when applied to the first group of the Samaritan translation, on account of our want of complete knowledge of all the inflexions of the Samaritan dialect, it cannot be tolerated as the rendering of the corresponding group of the Hebrew text, which ought here to be construed, according to a similar use of the employed words, '*ligati sunt*,' the Latin expression in each instance being used, not as a preterite tense, but as a participle or participial adjective, with the verb substantive understood after it in the present tense. Besides, those very learned men appear to have overlooked the circumstance that this participle is applied in both text and version to two subjects which are in each translated respectively '*civitas ejus*' and '*filiis roboris ejus*:' but as it is referred to nouns in different numbers and genders, it should, according to ordinary practice, be made to agree with that in the plural number and masculine gender. At any rate, all appearance of irregularity in this case would be removed, by substituting for the Latin representative of the former subject, '*habitatores civitatis ejus*.' The circumstance of the epithet in question being applied in each record to two subjects, one of which is actually expressed in the plural masculine construct state, and the other capable of being understood in the same state, may, perhaps, afford some ground for its being itself also in both of them put in that form. The substitution, however, of the construct for the absolute state of this epithet in the Samaritan lines is, I admit, a grammatical irregularity; still, it is one which violates not sense, but merely form, and for which precedents might be adduced from several parts of the Jewish edition of the sacred text.

From this analysis it will, I think, be perceived, as far as the fact can be proved by a single example, that the Samaritan version is not at all as strictly faithful a translation as it

has been hitherto supposed ; but that the Samaritans were just as ready to calumniate the Jews, when they had an opportunity of doing so without tampering with the original letters of the Hebrew text, as the Jews were to vilify the work of the Seventy Interpreters. My principal object, however, in adducing this example, is to give an instance of part of their translation being grounded upon two very gross inaccuracies in the vocalization of the text, and, therefore, composed after the time of that vocalization. The very same circumstance, besides thus affording a limit of age to the formation of their version, affixes one also to the vocalization of their text agreeing with that already determined. For the inaccuracies referred to are common to both editions of the vocalized text, and are of so strange a nature that they could hardly have been adopted by two parties independently of each other ; but it is far more likely that the Samaritans borrowed them from the Jews than that the Jews took them from the Samaritans. The adduced example serves also to prove the Samaritan version to have been written after the vocalization of the Samaritan text through a second particular, in addition to that above relied on. For it has been shown that the framers of this version read עִירָה, in the line referred to, HIRoH, ‘his city,’ instead of HāYiRoH, ‘his young ass ;’<sup>a</sup>—a mistake which they could not have made till after the text

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<sup>a</sup> The above group עִירָה is actually, in the place referred to, pointed by the Masorets for the sound HIRoH, although the context of the remainder of the clause, as pointed by them, shows that they understood it there to signify ‘his young ass.’ But this alteration of the sound of the group for such signification could not have been adopted till after the introduction of *matres lectionis* into the original text of the Bible. This confusion of the sounds of two perfectly distinct words is not to be imputed to men who have shown themselves so strictly honest as the Masorets have in every instance, but to those who previously had the exclusive custody of the sacred volume ; and who seem to have, even at the sacrifice of the distinctness of its language, taken several opportunities of confounding the consonantal with the vocal *Yod*, for the purpose of making it appear as if the latter *Yod* had been, from the first, an element of the Hebrew text.



they consulted was vocalized. Onkelos, I may here add, can be shown by his translation of this line to have committed the very same mistake,—a circumstance which in like manner contributes strongly to the proof that his version also was posterior in age to the introduction of vowel-letters into the sacred text.

8. The Targums, or Chaldee translations, of the greatest age and highest repute among the Jews are those respectively of the Pentateuch by Onkelos, and of the next ensuing historic books of the Bible (except that of Ruth) down to the end of the second Book of Kings by Jonathan Ben Uziel. The latter author is supposed to have translated not only the portion of the sacred text just specified, which is, according to rabbinical classification, appropriated to the earlier prophets, but also that comprising the writings more usually styled prophetic, which are, upon the same authority, confined to the more limited designation of the books of the later prophets. But the second part of the work attributed to him is so very inferior to the first in accuracy and closeness of interpretation, that it most probably is due to the pen of a different writer. Even the part which is on all sides admitted to be his production is not so exact a translation as the Targum of Onkelos, which very seldom exhibits any paraphrastic or supplementary words. Both these Targums, however (the second being understood in the sense to which it has been just restricted), are quite literal enough to be entitled to the name of *versions*, though they are usually called *paraphrases*, in common with all the remaining Targums, which are composed in a much looser style. Onkelos and Jonathan are assumed by the Rabbins to have flourished about the time of the birth of our Saviour; and it must be allowed that they lived before the Talmud was completed, both of them being therein mentioned.<sup>a</sup> A boundary, however, which considerably reduces

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<sup>a</sup> “Prophetas priores et posteriores explicasse [Jonathanem] testatur Talmud, tract. Megilla, cap. 1, ubi legitur targum Legis Onkelum proselytum composuisse, targum prophetarum Jonathanem filium Uzielis.”—*Waltoni Proleg.*, xii. sect. 10.

the imagined age of their respective works, has been already suggested to the learned by the utter silence respecting all the Targums observable throughout the writings of Jerome. From the great industry and zeal of this Father of the Church, combined with his scrutinizing habits, it has been justly inferred that he would have consulted, at any rate, the best of them, if they had been in existence as early as the period when he wrote: his failing, then, to take notice of any of them shows that the most valuable of their number, which happen to be the oldest two, could hardly have been composed till after his death in the year of our era 420. And now, at last, this limitation to the antiquity of the entire set is confirmed by the internal evidence of the case furnished through the aid of the present discovery. For all the Targums adhere to the bearing of the sacred text in by far the greater portion of instances in which its passages, or the names therein occurring, betray an erroneous vocalization; and, consequently, they could not, any of them, have been framed till after that text was vocalized, that is, till after A. D. 126. But during the whole of the interval between this date and A. D. 420, the main bulk of the Jewish nation, it is well known, spoke Greek as their mother tongue; and, until they abandoned this language and returned to the vernacular use of a Shemitic dialect, versions or paraphrases in that dialect would obviously have been of no service to them.

The remark last made enables me to carry the reduction of the antiquity of these works a step further, by applying it to one of the later decrees of Justinian, of which a passage has been quoted in a preceding article of this Appendix. The decree referred to, which was passed about the middle of the sixth century, shows very plainly that Greek was, at that time, still the language in common use among the great majority of the Jews; and consequently, that they had not then as yet recovered such a degree of familiarity with Chaldee as would qualify them to derive any benefit from Targums. But this decree, besides thus supplying a closer limit to the age of the

oldest of the works under consideration, serves also to extricate the investigation from an appearance of discrepancy with which it would be otherwise embarrassed. Those works, in several instances, fairly interpret prophecies relating to the Messiah, which the Jewish priesthood have for a great length of time past constantly misconstrued ; whence it would seem to follow that they must have been composed before the prejudices of the Jews against our Lord commenced ;—an inference directly at variance with that already drawn from another aspect of the very same case, that they were not written till after the sacred text was vocalized in the year of our era 126. This difficulty the above decree clears up, by directing attention to a period long subsequent to the date just specified, when the sacerdotal class had, from despotic treatment of their congregations, become exceedingly unpopular. For, while their influence on the minds of the Jews was thus weakened, it is not at all surprising that interpretations of the prophecies in question derived from the Septuagint and supported in each instance by the context, though strenuously discountenanced by those men, should yet have been then confidently propounded by Rabbins free from their control, and favourably received by the nation. In this way it can, without any inconsistency, be deduced from historic information of unquestionable authority, combined with the internal evidence of the case, that none of the Targums were framed till after the middle of the sixth century. The older ones, however, were most probably written soon after ; as the interpretations they exhibit at variance with the tenor of the vocalized text could scarcely have been adopted without the counter-sanction of the Septuagint. But the Rabbins lost the power of consulting that work, after the language in familiar use among them was changed from Greek to a Shemitic dialect ;—an event which appears to have taken place not long after the epoch just mentioned.

9. I shall close this Appendix with an application of the discovery now unfolded to the analysis of a very important

correction recommended by Dr. Kennicott in his treatise: "On the State of the printed Hebrew text of the Old Testament," but which he failed to sustain upon sufficient grounds. His argument on the subject is contained in the following passage:—"In Josh. xxiv. 19, we read . . . . *And Joshua said unto the people, Ye cannot serve the Lord*,—this is the proper translation of the present Hebrew. But can anything be more astonishing than—first, to find Joshua exhorting, entreating, pressing the people, by every motive of gratitude and of interest, *to serve the Lord* and him only—and then, after the people had promised obedience, to find Joshua telling them, *Ye cannot serve the Lord!* What! could he possibly dissuade them; could he try to discourage them from the very thing which he was labouring, with all possible energy of soul, to induce them to vow most religiously? This surely may be pronounced impossible. *Behold how great a fire a little spark kindleth!* See, what absurdity becomes chargeable upon the venerable speaker in the text; what perplexity, what contradiction arises, and spreads its unkindly influence in this part of Scripture, only from the improper insertion of one small letter—and of *that particular letter* which is *put in, and left out, in a thousand other words, at the transcriber's pleasure!* I speak thus positively, because I make not the least doubt of the learned reader's agreeing, that the present word תוכלו [TUK<sub>e</sub>LU], *poteritis* [or *potestis*], was originally תכלו [TeKaLIU], *cessabit*: and I may venture to recommend this criticism as worthy of real honour, because it is not my own, but the remark of the late Mr. Hallett, in his *Notes on Texts of Scripture*; vol. iii. p. 2. It may be necessary to observe that, כלל [K<sub>i</sub>LLaH] signifying *cessavit*, the words of the text לא תכלו [LoH TeKaLIU] signify *non cessabit*, or *ne cessetis*—YE SHALL NOT CEASE, or CEASE NOT, *to serve the Lord*: and then, the reason is most forcible and conclusive—CEASE NOT *to serve the Lord* (continue and persevere in his service); FOR *he is an holy God; he is a jealous God*;"—*Dissertation the Second*, pp. 375–6.

The argument here urged for the removal of the first *Waw* in the examined group is, on the one hand, strengthened by

the consideration, that no satisfactory explanation of the proposed clause has ever yet been made out, on the supposition of this group in its present state being uncorrupted. There is some plausibility, indeed, in the view of the bearing of the prophet's appeal to his countrymen which is held in accordance with this supposition by a large portion, perhaps the majority, of the members of the Established Church ; namely, that Joshua does not here speak of an absolute impossibility of serving the Lord, but only of its extreme difficulty ; and that he directs the attention of the Israelites to this difficulty, not with any intention of deterring them from the service of God, but rather for the purpose of inducing them to make the greater and more strenuous efforts to surmount the obstacles impeding their adherence to that line of conduct.<sup>a</sup> If the construction thus put upon the clause before us were admissible, it would, I grant, clear the prophet's speech of all appearance of inconsistency ; but, unfortunately, it is directly at variance with the obvious tenor of the original line as at present written, as well as with that of the Authorized English Translation thereof, and also with those of all the more ancient renderings except one ; and that one we shall find upon examination to be utterly unwarranted. The Hebrew clause in its present

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<sup>a</sup> Thus, for example, the critique on the above clause of a distinguished divine of the Church of England is expressed in the following terms :—" Verse 19, Ye cannot serve the LORD]. This is far from signifying an utter impossibility of it (for that would have contradicted his exhortation in verse 14), but that they were so very prone to idolatry, that they would not be able to persevere stedfast in their resolution, unless they took care constantly to reflect upon and lay to heart what they now acknowledged (vv. 17, 18), which he was afraid they would not do."—*Bishop Patrick's Commentary, in loco*. I quite agree with this learned divine in the principle, that there can be no real discrepancy between two genuine passages of Scripture ; but I question whether writers may not have been sometimes mistaken in the application of this principle ; and I submit that the safest mode of trying to remove an appearance of such a disagreement is, not by attempting to draw an inference opposed to the plain, obvious meaning of what is expressly written, but by searching whether there may not be one or more words corrupted or mistranslated in the original of either or both of two passages that are seemingly conflicting.

state and the several more important renderings of it, arranged in the order of their dates, with a literal interpretation subjoined to each of them except the last, are as follows:—

Hebrew, לא תוכלו לעבד את יהוה,

‘Ye cannot serve the LORD,’

Septuagint, Οὐ μὴ δύννησθε λατρεύειν Κυρίῳ,

Ye cannot at all serve the LORD,<sup>a</sup>

Peshitah, ܠܐ ܬܘܠܝܠ ܠܥܒܕ ܐܬ ܝܗܘܐ :

See, however, lest perchance unable ye *may* be to serve the LORD,<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Greek interpreters appear, by their translation of the original clause, to have read its first verb with emphasis, such as would be expressed in the modern way of writing Hebrew by subjoining a *Nun* to the group representing it; and in this manner we may perceive the corresponding word is actually written in the Chaldee line; but there the addition has no bearing on the sense, as the final *Nun* uniformly constitutes in that dialect a part of the employed inflexion in every instance without exception, and consequently without any resulting distinction.

<sup>b</sup> The exposition of the clause under examination which is at present maintained by a considerable portion of the divines of the Established Church was advocated nearly three hundred years ago by Andrew Masius, who appears to have derived it from the interpretation given of this clause in the Peshitah; as, I conceive, is proved by the following extract from his learned commentary:—“ . . . existimo Imperatorem, illis verbis, ‘ Non poteritis servire Domino,’ et quæ sequuntur, occultè tectèque perstringere inconstantiam mutabilitatemque animorum, qua ab Jehovæ cultu ad aliorum deorum sacra semper illos fuisse propensissimos testatissima sacris historiis res est: *et simul istu tanta difficultate proposita, id efficere velle, ut ipsorum hæc susceptio atque professio religionis sit quàm deliberatissima.* Quasi hæc sit Imperatoris oratio: Audio quidem vos promptos animo, paratosque ad serviendum Deo nostro Jehovæ esse; sed vereor ut hæc vestra alacritas sit diuturna . . . . . Proinde etiam atque etiam videtote quid agatis.”—*Masii Commentaria in Josuam*, p. 338. From the striking correspondence between the remarks in this extract upon the above clause and the translation of it in the Peshitah, more especially between the last sentence of the extract and the beginning or extra-supplementary portion of the translation,—a correspondence which extends even to the very form of expression used on each side,—there is, I conceive, reason to infer that it was part of the Peshitah which Masius had in his possession, though he is shown, by the age assigned to it in the dedication of his work, to have deemed it part of a later Syriac version.

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| <i>Vulgate,</i>                    | Non poteritis servire Domino,            |
|                                    | Ye shall not be able to serve the LORD,* |
| <i>Targum of<br/>Jonathan,</i> }   | לא תוכלון למפלה קדם יי                   |
|                                    | Ye cannot serve before the LORD,         |
| <i>Authorized<br/>Eng. Vers.</i> } | “Ye cannot serve the Lord,”              |

In all the lines here adduced, except the Syriac one, an impossibility is plainly and unequivocally insisted on, unqualified by any consideration that could fairly leave room for our looking upon it as a mere difficulty; and in the Greek line, besides the absence of all qualification, the negation of the possibility of the service alluded to is further strengthened by the addition of a second negative particle. It only remains, therefore, to be inquired, whether the Syriac rendering affords any just ground for explaining away the alleged impossibility. The first three groups of this rendering are overlined, to indicate that they do not correspond to any of the ingredients of the Hebrew clause; and the first four words of its English interpretation are similarly marked, instead of being exhibited in Italics; because they are supplemental only with respect to their remote Hebrew, and not in reference to their immediate Syriac original. Now, it is obvious that, in translating sentences elliptically worded, the legitimate use of supplements is to fill up the chasms in accordance with the part of the sense which is in each instance actually expressed, so as not to alter that sense, but merely render the expression of it more complete. But, according to this rule, the only admissible supplement in the case before us is that of the verb substantive, introduced for the purpose of completing the sense and rendering the Syriac participle equivalent to the Hebrew

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\* The Hebrew inflexion of the verb under examination is employed to convey a reference to either the future or the present,—a circumstance which accounts for the difference in point of tense between the translations of this verb in the Vulgate and in the other versions.

verb to which it is made to answer ; while the overlined words of this rendering, as well as of its English interpretation, must be rejected, as quite altering the sense of the original clause, and converting the impossibility therein expressed positively, and without any qualification, into a mere difficulty that might be surmounted by caution and strenuous exertion. But when the marked words are left out of account, and the supplied verb substantive no longer subject to their influence is put in the indicative form, the meaning of the Syriac line comes out perfectly agreeing with that common to all the other lines, ‘unable *are* ye to serve the Lord.’ As long, then, as the first *Waw* of the Hebrew group under examination is admitted to be one of its genuine elements, there is no justifiable mode of extricating the original clause from an expression of impossibility to serve the Lord, which can hardly be reconciled with the exhortations to serve him conveyed in other parts of the same speech. So that, were this the only circumstance to be taken into consideration, it would, I submit, render the spuriousness of the letter in question, if not absolutely certain, at least probable in a very high degree.

On the other hand, two facts, from the notification of which Dr. Kennicott cautiously abstained in his quoted argument, bear very powerfully against the reading and interpretation recommended by him of the group וְלֹא. The first is, that not a single extant copy of the sacred text exhibits this group without the *Waw* in its initial syllable ; at least, among all the numerous *variæ lectiones* inserted in his own edition of the Hebrew Bible and those afterwards collected by De Rossi, not one presents the verb so written in this place. The second fact is, that not a single ancient version warrants our rendering this verb along with the preceding negative particle, ‘cease not,’ or ‘ye shall not cease ;’ even the Peshitah, which, as we have seen, puts so very forced a construction on the clause containing it, still does not deviate from the general bearing of the sense attached to it in all the other versions. It is, then, no wonder that the expectation expressed by Dr. Kennicott on



this subject has been disappointed ; and that the learned have not hitherto agreed to the proposed correction of the group referred to. The circumstance of the letter *Waw* being erroneously inserted in a thousand other sites affords no proof that it is so in a place in which its appearance is supported directly by every extant copy of the Hebrew text, and indirectly by every known version : and as long as the presence of this letter in any group of the sacred record is so supported, and no distinction found out between it, when used to denote a vowel, and other elements of the Hebrew text, its retention must be acquiesced in, however objectionable the resulting context of an entire passage may appear. For we cannot be as certain of the validity of an inference on which our objection rests, as of the direct meaning, if expressed without obscurity, of any clause of such passage ; nor can we venture to set up our judgment against that meaning or evade its force, where no ground has been detected for questioning the perfect genuineness of the writing in which it is conveyed.

In this way I conceive a conscientious reader of the Bible to have been, before the present discovery, situated with respect to the passage under consideration, and others of the same kind ; with whose bearing, even supposing him able in some degree to suspend his judgment, he must have felt himself sorely perplexed. But when once it is established that the *matres lectionis* constitute no part of the Hebrew text as originally written, but only an uninspired addition subsequently introduced into it, he will, indeed, respect this addition for the valuable assistance it affords towards the perusal of the original writing ; but still he will find himself at liberty to treat it as he would any other merely human commentary on the Bible, and reject every application of it that is at variance with the general tenor of Scripture, or in any other respect unsound. In fine, he will thus, in the case of the passage selected for my example, get relieved from a very gloomy picture of God's mode of dealing with the Israelites, in requiring from them an obedience beyond their strength, and which can hardly be re-

conciled with the gracious and authoritative assurance elsewhere given, that 'God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able to bear;' and he will arrive at this gratifying result without any disrespect offered to the genuine portion of the sacred text, and without any attempt to alter a single letter of its original ingredients.

The foregoing observations serve to place the very ingenious emendation of תוכל suggested by Hallet on a firmer basis than that upon which it has hitherto rested, and to vindicate Kennicott's adoption of it, notwithstanding the defect I have noticed in the argument by which he was led to take this step, and the circumstance of his being mistaken as to the original state of the specified group, in which he supposed it to have contained the second, though not the first, of the vowel-letters it at present displays. But to complete my analysis of this example, I have one more difficulty to clear up, which is likely here to occur to an inquiring mind. It may very naturally be asked,—If the group in question was originally, through want of vowel-letters, open to two modes of reading, and two translations, how can it be imagined that the Seventy Jews and the Syriac interpreters (each of which sets of translators must have been far more familiar with the language and writing of the sacred text than any modern Hebraist) should have failed to perceive the option within their reach; or that, perceiving it, and acting, as they certainly did, quite independently of each other, they yet should have, both of them, made the wrong choice? More especially, how is it to be supposed that the Syriac interpreters could have done so, when they have plainly shown, by their forced construction of the clause containing this group, that they would have eagerly resorted to any other sense of it than the one they adopted, if such had been known to them? To prepare the reader for my answer to these questions, I must request him to turn his attention to the first article of the fifth chapter of this volume, in which he will find it proved (by a comparison of the Jewish and Samaritan editions of the sacred text, in the case of

words that have been vocalized in either edition, and passed over without any vocalization in the other), that Hebrew verbs ending in *He* did not formerly, as at present, drop that letter for certain plural inflexions ; and he can test the soundness of the proof there adduced by the application of it to a great number of cases. He will thus be enabled to perceive that, although the unvocalized group, תכל, is now open to the two readings TuKeLu (ye can), and TeKaLlu (ye shall cease), yet it was not so originally, but was written תכל solely for the former reading and sense, and תכלה, TeKaLleHu, for the latter. But, though the final letter of תכלה was not, before the vocalization of the text, omitted on account of the transition of this inflexion from the singular to the plural number, yet it might have been lost through the oversight of a transcriber or his mistaking it for a paragogic *He* that he was at liberty to omit, of which mistake some instances have been given in the foregoing pages : and the circumstance of two sets of interpreters well skilled in the written language of the text adopting, both of them independently of each other, an erroneous meaning of the group in question shows, to a certainty, that its terminating element actually was lost before the days of the older set, in consequence of which both parties were confined to that meaning. I should add that, subsequently, the inserters of the *matres lectionis* in the Hebrew Bible were by the same cause placed under the very same restriction ; for though they would, in the process of vocalizing this group, have erased the *He* if then contained in it, they could not have understood the verb thereby represented in the sense of ‘ceasing,’ unless they found that letter at its termination.

In fine, the faulty group should, I submit, be written תִּכְלוּ, with a mark of censure over the vowel-letter erroneously inserted ; and the analyzed clause should be translated, in an amended edition of our English version,—

“Ye shall not cease to serve the LORD.”







